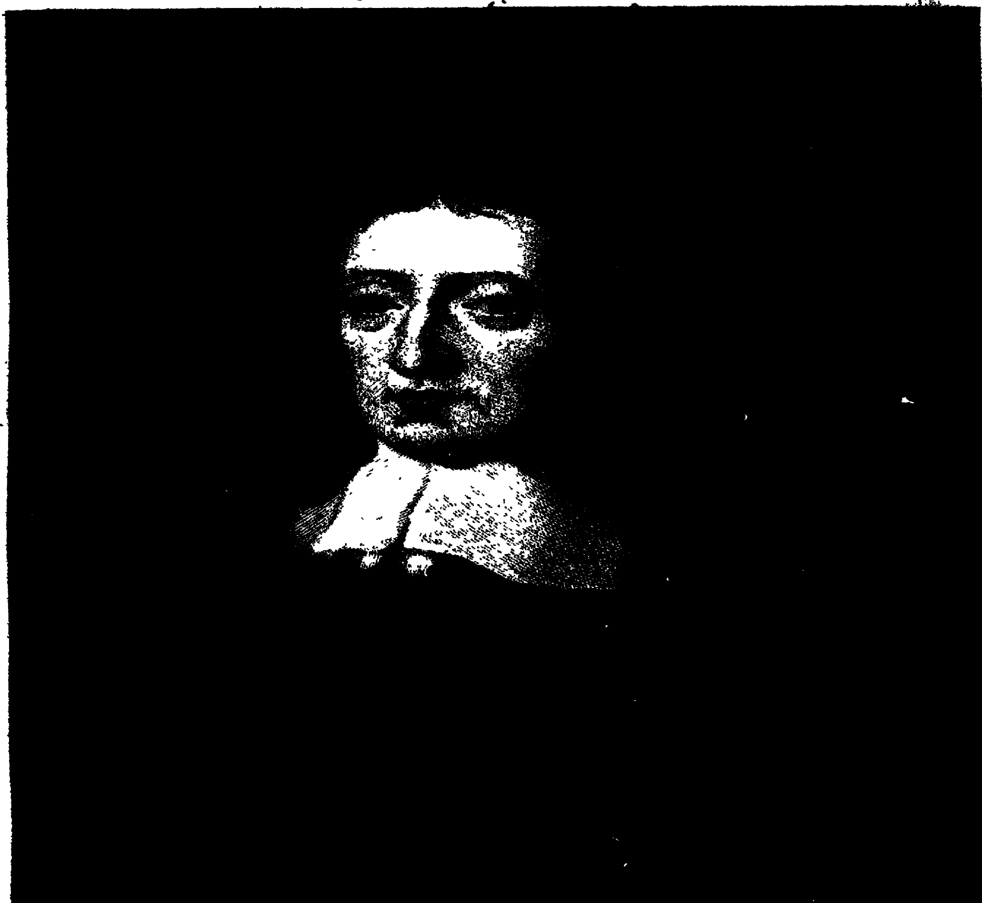


MILTON.

I. PROSE WORKS.

II. POETICAL WORKS.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCXLIII.

THE

PROSE WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON;

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY REVIEW,

BY

ROBERT FLETCHER.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET,
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MDCCCXLIII.



AN

INTRODUCTORY REVIEW.

THE name of Milton is his monument. It is venerable, national, and sacred; and yet, with whatever glory invested, it is inscribed, and not unworthily, upon this volume.

To her great poet England has done justice. His renown equals his transcendent merits. His name is a synonyme for vastness of attainment, sublimity of conception, and splendour of expression. A people profess to be his readers. His poetry is in all hands. It is in truth a fountain of living waters in the very heart of civilization. Its tendency is even more magnificent than its composition. Combining all that is lovely in religion, with all that in reason is grand and beautiful, it creates, while it gratifies, and at the same time purifies, those tastes and powers that refine and exalt humanity. It is almost of itself, not less by the invigorating nature of its moral than of its intellectual qualities, sufficient to perpetuate the stability of an empire. Constituting a most glorious portion of our best inheritance, his poetical writings are, emphatically, national works; and as such, long may they be revered and esteemed amongst us! "They are of power," to use his own words, "to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility." They will be lost, only with our language:—the tide of his song will cease to flow, only with that of time. Having won, he wears, the brightest laurels; and by the acclamations of ages, rather than the testimony of individuals, his seat is with Homer and Shakespeare on the poetic mount. To apply again his own language to his own achievements, he has sung his "elaborate song;"—he has performed the covenant of his youth, "to offer at high strains in new and lofty measures;"—his devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, "who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases," has been heard and answered!

"Oh! what great men hast thou not produced, England! my country!" might we exclaim with one of the first of modern poets and philosophers, when contemplating these and similar works. And a thorough Englishman this great poet was! Prelates, and tithes, and kings, were not the burthen of his song, and therefore the poetry can be praised even by those whose souls are wrapped up in these things. While he soared away "in the high reason of his fancies," and meddled not with the practical affairs of life, his enemies can be complimentary, and undertake to bow him into immortality. They would fain suppress all other monuments of this Englishman:—it remains for us to appreciate them. Let us never think of John Milton as a poet merely, however in that capacity he may have adorned our language, and benefited, by ennobling, his species. He was a citizen also, with whom patriotism was as heroical a passion, prompting him to do his country service, as was that "inward prompting" of poesy, by which he did his country honour. He was alive to all that was due from man to man in all the relations of life. He was invested

with a power to mould the mind of a nation, and lead the people into "the glorious ways of truth, and prosperous virtue." The poet has long eclipsed the man;—he has been imprisoned even in the temple of the muses; and the very splendour of the bard seems to be our title to pass "an act of oblivion" on the share he bore in the events and discussions of the momentous times in which he lived. Ought not rather his wide renown, in this capacity, to lead us to the contemplation and study of the whole of his character and his works? Sworn by a father, who knew what persecution was, at the first altar to freedom erected in this land; he, a student of the finest temperament, bent on grasping all sciences and professing none, and burning with intense ambition for distinction—forsook his harp, "and the quiet and still air of delightful studies;" and devoted the energies of earliest and maturest manhood, to be aiding in the grandest crisis of the first of human causes: and he became the most conspicuous literary actor in the dreadful yet glorious drama of the Great Rebellion. He beheld tyranny and intolerance trampling upon the most sacred prerogatives of God and man, and he was compelled by the nobility of his nature, by the obligations of virtue, by the loud summons of beleagured truth, in short, by his patriotism as well as his piety, to lay down the lyre, whose earliest tones are yet so fascinating; to "doff his garland and singing-robes," and to adventure within the circle of peril and glory: and, buckling on the controversial panoply, he threw it off, only when the various works of this volume, surpassed by none in any sort of eloquence, became the record and trophy of his achievements, and the worthy forerunners of those poems, which a whole people "will not willingly let die."

The summit of fame is occupied by the poet, but the base of the vast elevation may justly be said to rest on these Prose Works; and we invite his admirers to descend from the former, and survey the region that lies round about the latter,—a less explored, but not less magnificent, domain.

The recovery of a good book is a sure and certain resurrection. The envious deluge of oblivion cannot long settle over such works as these. The rainbow springs up, and we see it on the tempestuous aspect of these times,—a sign of the storm, and a signal of peace!

We are not now employed on ruins. John Milton's works have been long buried, but they are not consumed;—long neglected, but they are not injured. Many of them certainly have to do with the interests of time, but all of them are impregnated with thoughts which, springing from the depths, shall partake of the immortality of the spirit, and outlive the world in which they were uttered. Though temporal they are not temporary. There is a breadth and grandeur of aim in them, which embraces the well-being of man both here and hereafter, and renders them interminably precious. "Books," says their author, "are not absolutely dead things,"—"they contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are,"—"the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up to a life beyond life."—"They preserve, as in a vial, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them." It is astonishing that these books should not in our time have been appreciated by the people, and it is greatly to be regretted, not merely for the sake of their author, but for the general interests of truth, and the cultivation of learning, eloquence, and taste amongst us, that they should be so little read. Had they been lost,—had his enemies succeeded in their diabolical project of mutilating, or of annihilating the chief of them,—had other priests than those "in the neighbourhood of Leeds," met in other places, over sacerdotal beer, to "sacrifice them to the flames,"* how we should have lamented over our irreparable loss! Having his poems, we should have learned that they sprung up out of the ashes of controversy;—we should then "imitate the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris!" We should have remembered the era in which he lived, and we should have felt our loss as deeply as we sympathized with his party,

* See Richard Baron's note, in this edition, to his preface to the Iconoclastes.

who with such strong hands and dauntless hearts, wrought out for us our political salvation. Possessing them, we might have said, that we should have known more of the greatest of men, and have been admitted into the presence-chamber of his every-day soul.— We should have had his opinions on the cardinal points of human and divine controversy, and have heard him, who in immortal accents dictated the "Paradise Lost," debate, and reason, and argue, as an orator, and a politician! Believing, with Coleridge, that poetry is the blossom and fragrancy of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions, language,—and that no man was ever yet a great poet, without being at the same time a profound philosopher—we should certainly, reasoning from verse to prose, *à priori*, have said, that such a mind as Milton's, so sober and yet so fiery, so full and yet so strong, so replete with wisdom and so stored with learning, with such a mastery in the execution of all its movements, must, if roused and excited, and roused and excited it would undoubtedly be by any theme or cause in which the rights of man or the honour of God were concerned, have been equally splendid in any undertaking; and that even in the very different forms of prose and verse, or controversy and poetry, his efforts would be distinguished by the identical attributes of power and beauty;—that the image and superscription upon each would be the same;—that with very little variation where it was possible, (for no one understood decorum better than Milton,) the very same terms in which a critic of his poetry would speak of that, especially of his didactic poetry, would be applicable to his prose; that probably the mannerism of the one would mark the other, and that there would be so striking a resemblance and analogy between them, that you might safely assert that the author of the one must be the author of the other. We should learn from one of his exquisite sonnets, that the utter loss of sight followed, and that he knew that it would follow, his exertions in composing a "Defence of the People of England" against Salmasius.

"overply'd
In liberty's defence, my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side"

How anxious should we have been to have examined and pored over that production, which the world had obtained from the magnanimous poet at such a price! If such had been our anticipations and regrets, what would be our rapture, to have rescued a fragment from the grasp of time, and have unrolled it?

That were indeed a bursting forth
Of genius from the dust!

In the teeth of these imaginary regrets, the fact is indisputable, that these works of John Milton (and in this respect they share the same fate with those of Jeremy Taylor and others of the same age, and of equal merit) are by the vast majority of his countrymen comparatively neglected—that tens of thousands of readers, and diligent ones too, in modern novelties, have never heard of Milton as aught else than as one of the powers of song. How is it that the world will do justice, (nominally at least,) to the minstrel, and not to the man,—thrill with his poetry, and neglect his prose? Is it sheer ignorance, or is it neglect? If the latter, there is not an equal instance of unworthy neglect on record. It is ultimately traceable to the elevated character of the writings themselves. John Milton was a teacher, and this world does not like to be taught. His "fit audience," in the world, will always be "few." The world's taste is but the handmaid and servant of a sterner and stronger power, whose empire lies in the passions of the depraved heart; which, while unrenewed, never can and never will cease to treat both the highest poetry and the divinest philosophy with mingled hatred and contempt.* The world will still slay the prophet, and then piously build his sepulchre. Whether they who profess to be the patrons

of Christian literature, have joined the world in this good work, is another and a wider question.

It may not be amiss to advert to some accidental circumstances which may account for, though they cannot justify, the very general indifference with which these and similar works have been treated. We shall not allude to the ponderous and expensive form in which they have hitherto appeared: an impediment however of no mean importance.

Now that the prejudices against the regicides, under which opprobrious term are included all who bore part against King Charles I. in what is yet termed the "Great Rebellion," are wearing away, they need not be classed among the obstacles referred to. The principles of civil and religious liberty, which Milton and his compatriots contended for, have become part and parcel of the law of the land. The people feel, that the British Constitution, by the Revolution of 1688, is based upon the fragment of the Rebellion, and that the doctrines of the one are settled by the other. Tyranny, absolute—Charles the 1st—tyranny, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is impossible. A few shadows and semblances of it may remain—but spectres are out of date—

> the sun is on the orient wave,
> Each fettered ghost slips to his several grave!

We have the happiness to live under a limited monarchy, with republican institutions—a mild aristocracy, a temperate but powerful democracy. But to whom are we indebted for these blessings? Extremes meet. When men are secure they are ungrateful; and when they enjoy those rights for which their ancestors fought, they forget the peril and toil of the achievement. We must also remember that multitudes in this country are too busy with the present, to bestow much attention on the past or future, whether near or less remote. This is the case with many, too many, who are not destitute of liberal curiosity, or incapable of relishing the pleasures of taste, and cherishing the liveliest emotions of gratitude to their benefactors. They cannot, while under the perpetual pressure of the inexorable daily duties or pleasures of life, be either affected or attracted by any thing else.—These are causes which have been, and will always be, in action, and unless jealously watched, will dwarf us into a nation of pigmy "toutos cosmites."

We shall find too, in the literary injustice with which these works have been treated, and in the influence which the parties chargeable with it, have exercised over the public mind, another extrinsic cause of the neglect that has been poured upon them. The critics of Milton have hitherto confined, with one or two exceptions, their labours to his poetry,—a quarry which they have not yet exhausted. And as they seldom have entered very deeply into the art itself, employing, as it must, in its evolution the language of real life, or prose, many, instead of being led by the one down to the other, are apt to conclude, that surpassing excellence in the higher department of literature is incompatible with success in the lower; overlooking or forgetting the well-known fact, that the best writers in prose have ever been the poets; that energy of thought or common sense is a characteristic of all genius; and that universality is the prerogative of the highest. Milton's moral and intellectual character has, for a long while, been tacitly placed under the guardianship of his most bitter antagonists. It unfortunately happens that the most popular of his biographers is his most malignant traducer. Dr. Johnson's treatment of Milton is, in every possible point of view, bad;

> "Unmanly, ignominious, infamous!"

The poetry is beyond the reach, though within the scope, of his "mighty malice;" and his meagre and contemptuous references in the life of their author, to his Prose Works, are as discreditable to his taste and insight as a philosopher, as his creed is disgraceful to him as

an English politician. With an eye for no beauty, an ear for no music, a heart for no ecstasies, a soul in no unison with the sympathies of humanity, Dr. Johnson was fitly doomed to be the giant drudge of the Della Cruscan school; a thunderer, and yet his own Cyclops, whose task it was to forge the bolts of destruction, and whose glory to hurl them. Who that (and what numbers!) have formed their estimate of these Prose Works from his account of them, would have any idea of their real merits? If his report be fair and true, well might we exclaim with Manoah in the Samson Agonistes,

> Oh! miserable change! Is this the man,
> That invincible Samson, far renowned,
> The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength
> Equivalent to angels walked their streets,
> None offering fight; who, single combatant,
> Duell'd their armies, ranked in proud array,
> Himself an army: now unequal match
> To save himself against a coward armed
> At one spear's length!

Johnson's life of Milton is a most disingenuous production. It is the trail of a serpent over all Milton's works. Nothing escaped the fang of detraction. Nothing in purity of manners and magnanimity of conduct, nothing in the sanctity of the bard, in the noble works, and yet nobler life, of the man, could shield his immeasurable superior from cowardly and almost savage malignity. He has treated his very ashes with indignity. He made himself merry with the mighty dead. He trampled, upon his memory and his grave. And who can deny that the traducer knew full well, that the heart of his countryman, then mouldering in the dust of death, had ever beaten high with the sublimest emotions of love to his country and to his God, and that the then powerless hand of our mightiest minstrel, could not be convicted of having ever penned a line which did not equally attest the purity of his motives and the splendour of his genius. But Johnson's misrepresentations and calumnies, and that heartless faction of which he was certainly an eminent representative, have had their day: and inconceivably injurious though they have been to the honour of John Milton, sure we are that the time is fast approaching, yea now is, when the man as well as the poet shall be redeemed from obloquy—not by any interpretation of his opinions however honest, or estimate of his character however correct, nor even by the panegyric of his admirers however eloquent (and some of surpassing merit have lately been pronounced); but the great achievement shall be won by himself, and by himself alone. With his own strong axe shall he hew down, not merely his adversaries, but their errors. Let him but be heard. The charges against him are in all hands; here, in this one volume, is to be found their triumphant, but neglected, refutation.

It is not generally known, that in the Dictionary Dr. Johnson takes a few examples of meanings of words from *two* only of these Prose Works, (the Tract on Education and the Areopagitica,) both of which do not occupy many pages of this edition, while the rest, teeming with illustrations equally interesting and appropriate, are not, we believe, *once* appealed to. In the Inaugural Discourse delivered by Henry Brougham, Esq. on being installed Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, is it not remarkable, that, when upon the very topic of eloquence, and that the eloquence of the English masters, and when urgently advising his young auditory to meditate on their beauties, there is not the slightest allusion to John Milton by name. "Addison," says Brougham, (this cannot be an enumeration of all the favourites?) "may have been pure and elegant; Dryden airy and nervous; Taylor witty and fanciful (!!); Hooker weighty and various;" but the young disciple hears not once mentioned the name of John Milton, whose writings are most

deeply imbued with the spirit of that literature, to promote the study of which was the main object of this very discourse. Milton's profound acquaintance with the Greek authors, was equalled only by his enthusiastic admiration of them. The following testimony, taken from the first letter to Leonard Philara, the Athenian, might surely have given additional weight to the authority of the Lord Rector. "To the writings of those illustrious men which your city has produced, in the perusal of which I have been occupied from my youth, it is with pleasure I confess that I am indebted for all my proficiency in literature." This is literary injustice. We cannot but regret that the illustrious individual we refer to, who has given an impulse to the mind of his age, favoured not his numerous disciples, and more numerous admirers, with a criticism upon the "Areopagitica" of the greatest "schoolmaster" the world ever produced!

Certain parties in the state, who cannot endure any appeal to the criteria of experience, have set up a cry, "The wisdom of our ancestors!" The formidable phrase holds principally in politics, (and in this point of view it is a dangerous one,) but like a parasitical weed it has begun to clasp round the literature of our forefathers, and should be rooted up. We are firm believers in the capabilities of moderns, and credit not the notion of necessary degeneracy; yet we must profess, that we hold in profoundest veneration that aggregate of communities which we call the past. The spirit of the vaunting cry we have referred to, would throw the world back into chaos. As far as individual minds are concerned, it would extinguish the divinest intellects that were ever enshrined in the form of man. Being the offspring of our fathers, we come into their stead. Why not avail ourselves of our advantages? Why not profit by our noblest inheritance? If we must suffer from the folly, why not make use of the wisdom, of our ancestors? Englishmen, above all nations, may exclaim, "What have we, that we have not received?" What a treasure of moral and political wealth is there not laid up for us in the archives of the past! Even novelty itself is the effect of antiquity. We come into no new world! We are cast into the ancient mould of things! Man springs from man, and age from age; therefore all the past bears upon the present, and we cannot understand thoroughly that which is, or is to be, without also knowing that which has been. Knowledge leans upon experience, and experience leans upon the past! But it is not our intention to renew the foolish fight which obtained last century, between the ancients and the moderns. There is another party in the state who are perhaps the parents of the noxious phrase we have referred to, and should have been first noticed. These take it for granted, that the wisdom of our ancestors is that which is most like their own; and no wonder that they have brought it into contempt. Such admirers of the wisdom of our ancestors, may not meet with it here. True wisdom knows nothing of the terms ancient or modern, and her spheres are not so inharmoniously adjusted as to produce confusion, or come into collision. But within her magic circles of the past, rise up the awful spirits, "whose words are oracles for mankind, whose love embraces all countries, and whose voice sounds through all ages!"

The literary character of the times may also be unfavourable to our undertaking.—This is an age of tracts, not of folios—fruitful in flowers, rather than in the forest-trees of literature, which perhaps it is the tendency of civilization to root up or to fell. The mind of the country is to be irrigated, some say regenerated, by a sort of periodical garden-engines. For this purpose the fountains of the great deep are "broken *up*," but not *into;* yet when we remember that there is now read a vast deal more than ever, we cannot despair of an attempt to popularize in this "multum in parvo" shape, the Prose Works of our great poet. Their intrinsic merits, their former celebrity, their author's fame, the daily agitation all along since their publication, of the very principles which he advocated, and which thousands yet deny, should have swept away the curse of the dust from these volumes long since, and, in "such a nation as this, not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit,"

should, in spite of popular ingratitude or fickleness, or the fire of the common hangman, or the cavils and scandals or cobwebs of party criticism, have opened their immortal pages, and caused them to be known and read of all men, who are capable of relishing works of art, or of comprehending or realizing truths, for the forgetfulness or rejection of any one of which, " whole nations sometimes fare the worse."

Principles, whether political or religious, are always important. As far as the former are concerned, we doubt not that our undertaking will be as successful as it is opportune. The spirit of the age is favourable to the truths which John Milton taught. The tracts on Ecclesiastical Policy possess as much interest now as when they were first published. This " schoolmaster" is abroad: and a whole people shall rejoice in his instructions, as they once took refuge in his defence. An oracular and prophetical voice, long silenced, is again heard, warning his enemies, and guiding and encouraging his friends and followers, never more to be abashed!

The life and character of John Milton are well known, and the great political events of his time, have of late received satisfactory and abundant illustration. Omitting, therefore, biographical and historical details, it shall be our object to present the reader with a brief and simple account of the contents of this volume. We shall observe in our examination the order of chronology. All the works, with the exception of the letters, and a few others, are controversial, and relate equally and entirely to civil and religious liberty. They embrace a period of about nineteen years,—the most eventful in our history. It will be interesting, to take up here that account of himself which an ungenerous adversary had wrung from him,—and to prefix to our review such parts of it, as may throw the light of his own opinion on his own performances.

In " The Second Defence of the People of England," translated from the Latin by Robert Fellows, A. M. Oxon. he is led in self-defence to " rescue his life from that species of obscurity, which is the associate of unprincipled depravity."

" This it will be necessary for me to do on more accounts than one: first, that so many good and learned men among the neighbouring nations, who read my works, may not be induced by this fellow's calumnies, to alter the favourable opinion which they have formed of me; but may be persuaded that I am not one who ever disgraced beauty of sentiment by deformity of conduct, or the maxims of a freeman by the actions of a slave; and that the whole tenour of my life has, by the grace of God, hitherto been unsullied by any enormity or crime. Next, that those illustrious worthies, who are the objects of my praise, may know that nothing could afflict me with more shame than to have any vices of mine diminish the force or lessen the value of my panegyric upon them; and lastly, that the people of England, whom fate, or duty, or their own virtues, have incited me to defend, may be convinced from the purity and integrity of my life, that my defence, if it do not redound to their honour, can never be considered as their disgrace. I will now mention who and whence I am. I was born at London, of an honest family; my father was distinguished by the undeviating integrity of his life; my mother by the esteem in which she was held, and the alms which she bestowed. My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that from twelve years of age I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed before midnight. This primarily led to my loss of sight. My eyes were naturally weak, and I was subject to frequent headaches; which, however, could not chill the ardour of my curiosity, or retard the progress of my improvement. My father had me daily instructed in the grammar school, and by other masters at home. He then, after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge. Here I passed seven years in the usual course of instruction and study, with the approbation of the good, and without any stain upon my character, till I took the degree of master of arts.

After this I did not, as this miscreant feigns, run away into Italy, but of my own accord retired to my father's house, whither I was accompanied by the regrets of most of the fellows of the college, who shewed me no common marks of friendship and esteem. On my father's estate, where he had determined to pass the remainder of his days, I enjoyed an interval of uninterrupted leisure, which I devoted entirely to the perusal of the Greek and Latin classics; though I occasionally visited the metropolis, either for the sake of purchasing books, or of learning something new in mathematics or in music, in which I, at that time, found a source of pleasure and amusement. In this manner I spent five years, till my mother's death, I then became anxious to visit foreign parts, and particularly Italy. My father gave me his permission, and I left home with one servant. On my departure, the celebrated Henry Wootton, who had long been King James's ambassador at Venice, gave me a signal proof of his regard, in an elegant letter which he wrote, breathing not only the warmest friendship, but containing some maxims of conduct which I found very useful in my travels. The noble Thomas Scudamore, King Charles's ambassador, to whom I carried letters of recommendation, received me most courteously at Paris. His lordship gave me a card of introduction to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the French court; whose acquaintance I anxiously desired, and to whose house I was accompanied by some of his lordship's friends. A few days after, when I set out for Italy, he gave me letters to the English merchants on my route, that they might shew me any civilities in their power. Taking ship at Nice, I arrived at Genoa, and afterwards visited Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. In the latter city, which I have always more particularly esteemed for the elegance of its dialect, its genius, and its taste, I stopped about two months; when I contracted an intimacy with many persons of rank and learning; and was a constant attendant at their literary parties; a practice which prevails there, and tends so much to the diffusion of knowledge and the preservation of friendship. No time will ever abolish the agreeable recollections which I cherish of Jacob Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Frescobaldo, Cultellero, Bonomatthai, Clementillo, Francisco, and many others. From Florence I went to Siena, thence to Rome, where, after I had spent about two months in viewing the antiquities of that renowned city, where I experienced the most friendly attentions from Lucas Holstein, and other learned and ingenious men, I continued my route to Naples. There I was introduced by a certain recluse, with whom I had travelled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the illustrious poet, inscribed his book on friendship. During my stay, he gave me singular proofs of his regard; he himself conducted me round the city and to the palace of the viceroy; and more than once paid me a visit at my lodgings. On my departure he gravely apologized for not having shewn me more civility, which he said he had been restrained from doing, because I had spoken with so little reserve on matters of religion. When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received, of the civil commotions in England, made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow citizens were fighting for liberty at home. While I was on my way back to Rome, some merchants informed me that the English jesuits had formed a plot against me if I returned to Rome, because I had spoken too freely on religion; for it was a rule which I laid down to myself in those places, never to be the first to begin any conversation on religion; but if any questions were put to me concerning my faith, to declare it without any reserve or fear. I nevertheless returned to Rome. I took no steps to conceal either my person or my character; and for about the space of two months, I again openly defended, as I had done before, the reformed religion in the very metropolis of popery. By the favour of God, I got safe back to Florence, where I was received with as much affection as if I had returned to my native country. There I stopped as many months as I had done before, except that I

made an excursion for a few days to Lucca; and crossing the Apennines, passed through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice. After I had spent a month in surveying the curiosities of this city, and had put on board a ship the books which I had collected in Italy, I proceeded through Verona and Milan, and along the Leman lake to Geneva. The mention of this city brings to my recollection the slandering More, and makes me again call the Deity to witness, that in all those places, in which vice meets with so little discouragement, and is practised with so little shame, I never once deviated from the paths of integrity and virtue, and perpetually reflected that, though my conduct might escape the notice of men, it could not elude the inspection of God. At Geneva I held daily conferences with John Deodati, the learned Professor of Theology. Then pursuing my former route through France, I returned to my native country, after an absence of one year and about three months; at the time when Charles, having broken the peace, was renewing what is called the episcopal war with the Scots; in which the royalists being routed in the first encounter, and the English being universally and justly disaffected, the necessity of his affairs at last obliged him to convene a parliament. As soon as I was able, I hired a spacious house in the city for myself and my books; where I again with rapture renewed my literary pursuits, and where I calmly awaited the issue of the contest, which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence, and to the courage of the people. The vigour of the parliament had begun to humble the pride of the bishops. As long as the liberty of speech was no longer subject to controul, all mouths began to be opened against the bishops; some complained of the vices of the individuals, others of those of the order. They said that it was unjust that they alone should differ from the model of other reformed churches; that the government of the church should be according to the pattern of other churches, and particularly the word of God. This awakened all my attention and my zeal—I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic; and as I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that if I ever wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the church, and to so many of my fellow Christians, in a crisis of so much danger; I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object. I accordingly wrote two books to a friend concerning the reformation of the church of England." The noble sacrifice was made—the bard became a patriot.

In the year 1641 appeared his first controversial production, the precise object of which is sufficiently set forth in the title—"Of Reformation in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it,– written to a Friend." Our author, it will be remembered, had already attacked prelacy, in his Lycidas; and his hatred of their yoke had not abated in the course of the four years which elapsed between that poem and this work. We shall touch with a light hand the topics of these two books,—which are hardly surpassed in interest and excellence by any of their successors. The exordium of the first of these, full of "deep and retired thoughts," sternly, and even ruggedly, but devoutly expressed, characterizing, with some abrupt intermixtures of style, but with great power, the origin and increase of ecclesiastical pravity, concludes with a passage which is in itself an achievement, and perhaps equal to any that ever fell from his pen, describing the outbreak of the Reformation.

"But to dwell no longer in characterizing the depravities of the church, and how they sprung, and how they took increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how the bright and blissful Reformation (by divine power) strook

through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears; and the sweet odour of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon."

Proceeding then to the question, he enumerates the hinderances to reformation "in our forefathers' days, among ourselves," in English protestants,—not in Providence, not in papistical machinations,—which had been in operation since the glorious event of the Reformation. These impediments he reduces to two,—our retaining of ceremonies, and confining the power of ordination to diocesan bishops, exclusively of church members. "Our ceremonies are senseless in themselves, and serve for nothing but either to facilitate our return to popery, or to hide the defects of better knowledge, and to set off the pomp of prelacy." Mingled with this dry deduction from our history, of the causes that "hindered the forwarding of true discipline"—(in which he runs over the times of Henry VIII., his character, and the conduct of the bishops, with the six "bloody articles," or as Selden calls them, the six-stringed whip,—the times of Edward VI., his infancy, the tumults that arose on repealing the six articles, the intrigues of the bishops, and the Northumberland plot,—the commission to frame ecclesiastical constitutions,—the times of Elizabeth, when Edward VI.'s constitutions were established,—showing the unwieldiness of these times, and the impossibility of effecting "exact reformation at one push")—the reader will meet with such declamation against the whole body and function of prelacy, as would be infallibly successful if pronounced before any modern auditory.

The hinderers of reformation in his *own* times are "distinguished" into three sorts:—1. Antiquitarians (not Antiquarians, he says, whose labours are useful and laudable). 2. Libertines. 3. Politicians. Under the first head, the Antiquitarians will find established the difference between our bishops and those of purer times, in their election by the hands of the whole church for 400 years after Christ, and that in dignity they were only equal to their co-presbyters. Whether antiquity favours modern episcopacy or not, it is shown, 1. That the best times were spreadingly infected; 2. That the best men of those times were foully tainted; and 3. That the best writings of those men were dangerously adulterated. This threefold corruption is proved at large, and most successfully. It seems that even so early as 1641, when in his 33rd year, he was not merely a puritan, but a dissenter from the principle of our establishment; for in anticipating an objection on the ground of drawing the proof of his propositions from the practice of ages before Constantine's time, and the alliance between the temporal and spiritual power, he says, "I am not of opinion to think the church a vine in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the elm of worldly strength and felicity, as if the heavenly city could not support itself without the props and buttresses of secular authority." His object, however, was reformation, not subversion, and therefore he did not carry this principle out. The character and conduct of Constantine are examined, and Dante, Petrarch, and Ariosto, are quoted, to show, that it may be concluded for a received opinion, even among men professing the Romish church, "that Constantine marred the church." The last topic in which he deals with the antiquitarian at his own weapon, respects the estimation which the ancients of the purer times had of antiquity; and he demonstrates with great learning, that they acknowledge the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures, and refer all decision of controversy, whether in doctrine or discipline, to them. Paragraphs of amazing energy and incomparable beauty will be found under this head, and we may well exclaim with the writer, "Now, sir, for the

love of holy reformation, what can be said more against these importunate clients of antiquity, than she herself, their patroness, hath said?" He exposes the drift of those who call for antiquity:—"they fear the plain field of the Scriptures; the chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest; they would imbosk: they feel themselves strook in the transparent streams of divine truth; they would plunge, and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themselves like whales, and spend their oil till they be dragged ashore: though wherefore should the ministers give them so much line for shifts and delays? wherefore should they not urge only the gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzle and pierce their misty eyeballs? maintaining it the honour of its absolute sufficiency and supremacy inviolable."

The Libertines, the second class of hinderers, as they would object to all discipline,—"the dear and tender discipline of a father, the sociable and loving reproof of a brother, the bosom admonition of a friend,"—he leaves them with the merry friar in Chaucer, and refers the *political* discourse of episcopacy to a second book, which we will proceed to examine.

It is throughout one strain of wisdom and eloquence. In it we shall find set forth the evils which compel subjects to chastise rulers. The springs of a series of past and approaching disasters to church and king, and people, are laid bare. The wisdom of the sage and the poet is upon him. If ever the noble language of Cowper, his warmest admirer, were applicable to humanity, it is to our author.—

> A terrible sagacity informs
> The poet's heart.

The introductory remarks upon the art of governing and ruling nations, and its general perversion in Christian commonwealths, will well repay the attention of our countrymen at the present time; and the principles throughout this book, by which he tries the third and last hinderers of reformation, namely, the Politicians, who assert that it stands not with "reasons of state," are not affected by the lapse of centuries, and though intended for the right reverend fathers in God, the bishops, will apply as well now as heretofore, both to them, and to every thing else that requires reform. "Alas, sir! a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle, both in his Ethics and Politics, from the principles of reason, lays down: by consequence, therefore, that which is good and agreeable to monarchy, will appear soonest to be so, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every Christian; and that which can be justly proved hurtful and offensive to every true Christian, will be evinced to be alike hurtful to monarchy: for God forbid that we should separate and distinguish the end and good of a monarch from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from Christianity. How then this third and last sort that hinder reformation, will justify that it stands not with reason of state, I much muse; for certain I am, the Bible is shut against them, as certain that neither Plato nor Aristotle is for their turns."

The schools of Loyola, with his Jesuits, are then summoned into the field; and out of them, the "Politicians" allege, 1. That the church-government must be conformable to the civil polity; next, That no form of church-government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of bishops. The first objection is annihilated in a single paragraph, which it would be well for the peace of the country, for our statesmen, who have ever so much at heart the honour of the church, to take note of. The second falls to pieces naturally, the first being confuted. Yet "to give them, "says our author," play, front and rear, it shall be my task to prove, that episcopacy, with that authority which it challenges in England, is not only not agreeable,

but tending to the destruction of monarchy." He accordingly deduces the history of it down from its original, and amply shows what Prynne calls "the antipathie of the English lordly prelacie, both to regal monarchy and civil unity." The title of one of poor Prynne's works, published in the same year as this of Milton's, runs out into an indictment.—In addition to what we have above, he entitles his work, "An historical collection of several execrable treasons, conspiracies, rebellions, seditions, state-schisms, contumacies, anti-monarchical practices, and oppressions, of our English, British, French, Scottish, and Irish lordly prelates, against our kingdoms, laws, liberties; and of the several warres, and civil dissensions, occasioned by them in or against our realm, in former and latter ages. Together with the judgment of our own ancient writers, and most judicious authors, touching the pretended divine jurisdiction, the calling, lordliness, temporalities, wealth, secular employments, trayterous practices, unprofitablenesse, and mischievousnesse of lordly prelates, both to king, state, church; with an answer to the chief objections made for the divinity or continuance of their lordly function." The cry of "no bishop, no king," which we still hear, was a "fetch" from the Jesuits. "They feeling the axe of God's reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of papacy, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend and safest refuge, to soothe him up in his dream of a fifth monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepid papalty, have invented this superpolitic aphorism, as one terms it, one pope and one king." It is plain, that this worthy motto "no bishop, no king," "is of the same batch, and infanted out of the same fears."—"But" (the following passage does not discover a republican leaning) "what greater debasement can there be to royal dignity, whose towering and stedfast height rests upon the unmoveable foundations of justice and heroic virtue, than to chain it in a dependance of subsisting or ruining, to the painted battlements and gaudy rottenness of prelaty, which want but one puff of the king's to blow them down like a pasteboard house built of court-cards?" After the gentle digression, which he calls a tale, (and it is one of the "curiosities of literature,") he returns to this important subject, and argues it out in terrible earnest. The throne of a king being established, as Solomon says, in justice, he maintains that "the fall of prelacy, whose actions are so far distant from justice, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal canopy"—and three reasons are adduced from the many secondary and accessory causes, that support monarchy, and all other states, "to wit, the love of the subject, the multitude and valour of the people, and store of treasure," to show that the standing of this order is dangerous to regal safety. The whole nation, as the innumerable and grievous complaints of every shire cried out, was a willing witness under each of these heads, and our author thunders into the ears of prelates and king, what all the people were panting to have uttered. Each topic becomes a formidable redoubt of argument and declamation, and each paragraph is worthy of attention. Every page, as we approach the close of the work, thickens with interest, and is crowded with all the burning rays of the most impassioned oratory. The apostrophe to England is at once affecting and sublime. He runs over the remainder of his task with such extreme rapidity, sentence after sentence, pealing like thunder, smiting like lightning, driving like a whirlwind, against the proud tops of the lordly hierarchy, that we must fain give up the task we had undertaken into the hands of the reader. The reference to the drift of the "bishop's war" (as one of their own order called it) with Scotland, is tremendous,—"to make a national war of a surplice-brabble, a tippet-scuffle, and engage the untainted honour of English knighthood, to unfurl the streaming red-cross, or to rear the horrid standard of those fatal guly dragons, for so unworthy a purpose as to force upon their fellow-subjects that which themselves are weary of, the skeleton of a mass book."—And the exhortation to England and Scotland to pursue their begun contest for liberty together, is an admonitory conclusion worthy of this magnificent page. On the high and holy ground of discipline he calls for immediate reformation, and after placing this point in a variety of lights, and surrounding it with a vast assemblage of argument, and

answering the objections of the bit by bit reformers of those days, the piece closes in a peroration in the form of a prayer, piously laying the sad condition of England before the greatest of beings, than which there is not a more sublime patriotic ode in any language. We insert the prayer, not merely to save the trouble of reference, but to excite the curiosity of those who are unacquainted with these works, when it is not gratified by drawing at once, as in this instance, upon our author. We omit the anathema, with which the petition concludes,—it is a curse which Walter Scott could have extended to three volumes.

"Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! and thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tripersonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church, leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broken into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken monarchy, that now lies labouring under her throes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreadful calamities.

"O thou, that, after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations, and the succeeding sword of intestine war, soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless revolution of our swift and thick-coming sorrows; when we were quite breathless, of thy free grace didst motion peace, and terms of covenant with us; and having first well-nigh freed us from antichristian thraldom, didst build up this Britannic empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter-islands about her; stay us in this felicity, let not the obstinacy of our half-obedience and will-worship bring forth that viper of sedition, that for these fourscore years has been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her cast her abortive spawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing kingdom: that we may still remember in our solemn thanksgivings, how for us, the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was scattered with the proud shipwrecks of the Spanish armada, and the very maw of hell ransacked, and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

"O how much more glorious will those former deliverances appear, when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest miseries past, but have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyself, tie us everlastingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne.

"And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad intelligencing tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas: but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them embattle themselves, and be broken; let them embattle, and be broken, for thou art with us.

"Then amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness,

and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day, when thou, the eternal and shortly-expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of this world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they, undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever."

To this and other attacks from puritan pens, bishop Hall, and, about the same time, archbishop Usher, replied; the former in "An humble Remonstrance to the high court of Parliament," and the latter in the "Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy." Milton's answers to these very learned and able works were produced in the same year.

To continue our extracts from the Second Defence:—"Afterwards," (that is, after the first pamphlet,) "when two bishops of superior distinction vindicated their privileges against some principal ministers, I thought that on those topics, to the consideration of which I was led solely by my love of truth, and my reverence for Christianity, I should not probably write worse than those, who were contending only for their own emoluments and usurpations. I therefore answered the one in two books, of which the first is inscribed, Concerning Prelatical Episcopacy, and the other Concerning the Mode of Ecclesiastical Government; and I replied to the other in some Animadversions, and soon after in an Apology."

It is not too much to say that Milton was a match for the learned Usher at his own weapons, and his superior in other respects. The first of the replies, so far from justifying Dr. Johnson's snarl, is a model in style, of simplicity and moderation, and in argument, of logic and sound learning. The archbishop's forte lay in his erudition, and here he was one of the strongest men of his time; but his discomfiture is complete, when his adversary carries the controversy before a higher tribunal than that of antiquity. The insufficiency, inconveniency, and impiety of quoting the fathers and excluding the apostles,—the method adopted by the episcopalians (as formerly by the papists) to establish any parts of Christianity,—is plainly, strongly, and fully shown. "Whatsoever," says our author, "either time or the heedless hand of blind chance, has drawn down to this present in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked and unchosen, those are the fathers." And so he chides the good prelate for divulging useless treatises, stuffed with the specious names of Ignatius and Polycarpus, with fragments of old martyrologies, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers. The piece is highly worthy of perusal, as an exposure of the claims of tradition. It is a complete dispersion of antiquity's "cloud, or rather petty fog, of witnesses."

The other performance, entitled "The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelaty," and principally intended against the same archbishop's account of the original of episcopacy, is in every point of view a valuable and powerful production. It is comprised in two Books. In the Preface, (frequently the most interesting portion of his works,) after stating the importance of the subject of church-government, and after referring to the question, or rather uproar, concerning it, he expresses a hope that England will belong neither to see-patriarchal, nor to see-prelatical, but to that ministerial order of presbyters and deacons, which the apostles instituted. There are seven chapters in this Book, of which we shall give the titles, merely premising that there is more in each than meets the eye; but they are so compactly and logically arranged, that any attempt to present the reader with an outline of them, without injuring their cumulative force, would be impossible. In chap. I. it is main-

tained, That church government is prescribed in the gospel, and that to say otherwise is unsound. In ch. II. That church government is set down in Holy Scripture, and that to say otherwise is untrue. In ch. III. That it is dangerous and unworthy of the gospel to hold that church government is to be patterned by the law, as bishop Andrews and the primate of Armagh maintain. In ch. IV. That it is impossible to make the priesthood of Aaron a pattern whereon to ground episcopacy. In ch. V. we have a reply to the arguments of bishop Andrews and the primate. In ch. VI. That prelaty was not set up for prevention of schism, as is pretended; or if it were, it performs not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary. In ch. VII. That those many sects and schisms by some supposed to be among us, and that the rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a hinderance, but a hastening, of reformation. In proof of our assertion, that there is more in each chapter than the title would appear to warrant us to expect, take these few sentences from the first section, on the importance of "discipline." "What need I instance? He that hath read with judgment, of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the moments and turnings of human occasions, are moved to and fro as upon the axle of discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortal things weaker men have attributed to fortune, I durst with more confidence (the honour of Divine Providence ever saved) ascribe either to the vigour or the slackness of discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life, civil or sacred, that can be above discipline; but she is that which with her musical cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. And certainly discipline is not only the removal of disorder; but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of virtue, whereby she is not only seen in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walks, but also makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven. The state also of the blessed in paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without discipline, whose golden surveying reed marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of New Jerusalem. Yet is it not to be conceived, that those eternal effluences of sanctity and love in the glorified saints should by this means be confined and cloyed with repetition of that which is prescribed, but that our happiness may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical equation be, as it were, an invariable planet of joy and felicity; how much less can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble, though not less beloved church here below, to the perpetual stumble of conjecture and disturbance in this our dark voyage, without the card and compass of discipline!"

There are numerous passages, rising like this, naturally, out of the subject, not thrown in for the sake of ornament, in each of these seven chapters of the 1st Book, every whit equal to this, and of every sort and variety of eloquence. Milton's flights into the regions of imagery are never taken either for the sake of display, or to escape from the pressure of an argument. He is never in the air when he should be on the ground. He resorts to the wings of rhetoric, from the firm summit of a vast pile of argumentation, and though for awhile he may be lost in the solar blaze, he soon comes down with "fell swoop" to his quarry. The 2nd Book consists of a preface, three chapters, and a conclusion. Awe-stricken yet are we in perusing the preface to this 2nd Book. More or less than man he must be who can read it without emotion. It is throughout magnificent,—a glimpse into the heart and soul of Milton. He opens his bosom—he discourses with his conscience in our presence. He discloses his convictions of duty, and discovers his confidence of rectitude. He divulges his lofty hopes, springing out of his patriotism and his piety. Here we have that remarkable

"covenant with the knowing reader," to attempt ere long some poetical work, which his countrymen would not "let die." The noble promise is a pledge for the greatest performance. His aspirations amount to positive faith: Paradise Lost is seen at the end of the radiant vista. This exordium is too long to extract entire: any fragmentary anticipation of it would spoil the whole. The electrical shock which follows invariably the voice of true eloquence, and proves incontestably its power and presence, admonishes us to point, in this instance, the reader's attention to the exordium at once, and in silence. It is "a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies."

In the 1st chapter of the 2nd book, the author maintains that prelaty opposes the reason and end of the gospel in three ways, and first in her outward form. "Who is there that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness? Who is there that counts it first to be last, something to be nothing, and reckons himself of great command in that he is a servant? Yet God, when he meant to subdue the world and hell at once, part of that to salvation, and this wholly to perdition, made choice of no other weapons or auxiliaries than these, whether to save or to destroy. It had been a small mastery for him to have drawn out his legions into array, and flanked them with his thunder; therefore he sent foolishness to confute wisdom, weakness to bind strength, despisedness to vanquish pride."

In the 2nd chapter it is maintained, that the ceremonious doctrine of prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the gospel.

In the 3rd chapter, the thesis is, That prelatical jurisdiction opposeth the reason and end of the gospel and state. The political reasons against this obnoxious form of church-government will probably be most interesting to the majority of his readers. There is an evident leaning to independency in all of the preceding works.

Bishop Hall, or his son, or nephew, more witty than wise, having published "a Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," Milton's next work was "Animadversions" upon it. The preface apologizes for that harshness of style which he felt justified in adopting. This he does to satisfy tender consciences, who might shrink from the employment of such a weapon as satire in such a cause. The point is enlarged upon in the preface to the next work. In "uncasing the grand imposture," he copes with his adversary, sentence by sentence, and thus vindicates truth by taking the sophist short "at the first bound." It is one of the pleasantest of the theological tracts; nor is it, although a tragi-comic dialogue between unequal competitors, less subtle or profound than any of its predecessors. We may refer to the answer to the Remonstrant's assertion in the 4th section, as one of the most splendid passages ever penned. The topic itself was a hackneyed one, even in those days, but they who are acquainted with these writings, know full well, that however unpromising a subject may appear to be, it is best to see what is made of it, lest by overlooking it we miss some of the finest things in the language. We give the conclusion of the beautiful prayer, or rather prayer-ode, with which the section closes. "Come therefore, O thou that hast the seven stars in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen priests according to their orders and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duly to press and pour out the consecrated oil into thy holy and ever-burning lamps. Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the land to this effect, and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy throne. Every one can say, that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and hast not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the heavens, and hadst left to do marvellously among the sons of these last ages. O perfect and accomplish thy glorious act! for men may leave their works unfinished, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection: shouldst thou bring us thus far on from Egypt to destroy us in this wilderness, though we deserve; yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants. When thou hast settled peace in the church, and righteous judgment in thy kingdom, then shall

all thy saints address their voices of joy and triumph to thee, standing on the shore of that Red sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain ungarnished present as a thank-offering to thee, which could not be deferred, in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a harp, and sing thee an elaborate song to generations. In that day it shall no more be said as in scorn, this or that was never held so till this present age, when men have better learnt that the times and seasons pass along under thy feet, to go and come at thy bidding; and as thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages, since thou tookest the flesh; so thou canst vouchsafe unto us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit as thou pleasest: for who shall prejudice thy all-governing will? seeing the power of thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth! put on the visible robes of thy imperial majesty, take up that unlimited sceptre which thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed."

The next section, containing the law case, is perhaps next also in excellence. The sermons are always better than the texts; and when it is recollected that this is the third work on the same subject in one year, its perusal may well excite our wonder.

Next year his last work on the puritan side of the controversy came out, "An Apology for Smectymnuus," in reply to bishop Hall or his son's "Modest Confutation against a scandalous and seditious Libel." The bishop's personalities may have quickened as they certainly sharpened the movements of his pen, and hastened this publication, in which he justifies at large the style and manner of his prior work; and after making his reader merry at the expense of his modest opponent's title, proceeds to vindicate his own character, and furnish us with an eloquent and interesting account of himself, his education, studies, and pursuits. We refer those who, though on our author's side, dislike his "honest way of writing," to the first section in this tract for a most interesting digression on style. He well knew what he was about when he poured his overwhelming sarcasms on his assailants. It was as much out of his power to alter or soften the style in which he wrote, and for which he has been insolently abused, as to "dissolve the ground work of nature, which God created in him." A regard to truth, the relief of his "burden," the full reflection of his very soul, whatever might be the state of its emotions on his friends or his foes, rendered it impossible for him to divest himself of it. We will quote a passage from the section we refer to.

"In times of opposition, when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reformed, this cool unpassioned mildness of positive wisdom is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of carnal and false doctors, then (that I may have leave to soar awhile as the poets use) Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond, ascends his fiery chariot drawn with two blazing meteors, figured like beasts, but of a higher breed than any the zodiac yields, resembling two of those four which Ezekiel and St. John saw; the one visaged like a lion, to express power, high authority, and indignation; the other of countenance like a man, to cast derision and scorn upon perverse and fraudulent seducers: with these the invincible warrior, Zeal, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates, and such as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels."

The most splendid part of the performance, is the eulogy on the Long Parliament; but he is always instructive, and most so when he leaves his merryman of the text, and strikes out into incidental or collateral topics. He is very severe upon the clergy, not only because their principles were in his opinion dangerous, and their practice disgraceful, but his usage

at their hands was barbarous.—What can be more so than this *serious* saying of old or young Hall,—"You that love Christ, and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity." This is the language of a bishop, or of his son, but is it that of a Christian? 'Milton's spirit was a perfect contrast to Hall's. "In his whole life he never spake against a man even that his skin should be grazed." Hall's murderous advice is certainly of a piece with that pious prayer which is recorded in his Memoranda of his own Life, concerning the subtle and wily atheist, that had so grievously perplexed and gravelled him at Sir Robert Drury's, till *he prayed the Lord to remove him*, and his prayers were heard; for shortly after the atheist went to London, and there perished of the plague in great misery. But what can be expected from a man who in one of his epistles dares to assert that "*separation from the church of England is worse than whoredom or drunkenness?*" The formularies of the church as by law established, are examined in the 11th section, and severely exposed. Being taxed by his adversary with a want of acquaintance with the councils and fathers of the church, we have in the 12th section a remarkable account of his reading in, and of his opinion of, them, which concludes by advising his readers not to be deceived "by men that would overawe your ears with big names and huge tomes, that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cram a margin with citations. Do but winnow their chaff from their wheat, ye shall see their great heap shrink and wax thin past belief." We have a remarkable testimony to the character of the nonconformists. "We hear not of any, which are called nonconformists, that have been accused of scandalous living; but are known to be pious, or at least *sober*, men." After answering a few more impertinent points, his adversary having said that he had met with "such a volley of expressions, as he would never desire to have them better clothed." —"For me, readers," says the ingenuous apologist, "I cannot say that I am utterly untrained in those rules which best rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongue; yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of truth: and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words (by what I can express) like so many nimble and airy servitors trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly in their own places." The remainder of this discourse is devoted to the further castigation of his adversary, recommends the total removal of prelaty, the due distribution of church property, and predicts that when their coffers are emptied their voices will be dumb. This is the last time he drew his pen for the presbyterians,—or rather, not so much for presbyterianism, as for liberty; and in her behalf we shall soon find that he had to wage war against his former allies, whose recreant steps led them at last to fight against her under the prelatical banner. The bishops fell, and Milton went on, and took no more notice of them, except in conjunction with the puritan apostates, whose perilous battle he fought, and whose victory was soon abused.

He thus refers to these works in his narrative,—"On this occasion it was supposed that I brought a timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents; and from that time I was actively employed in refuting any answers that appeared. When the bishops could no longer resist the multitude of their assailants, I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects; *to the promotion of real and substantial liberty;* which is rather to be sought from within than from without; and whose existence depends not so much on the terror of the sword, as on sobriety of conduct, and integrity of life. When therefore I perceived that there were three species of liberty, which are essential to the happiness of social life; religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active concerning the third, I de-

termined to turn my attention to the second, or the domestic species. As this seemed to involve three material questions, the condition of the conjugal tie, the education of children, and the free publication of thought, I made them objects of distinct consideration."

We now come to his Four Treatises on the subject of Marriage and Divorce. The circumstances of his marriage are well known. Its imprudence is astonishing, but it is less so to find that his wife's wanton outrage should have been the occasion of these extraordinary productions. It is true they originated in his own misfortune, yet in such times there must have been numbers in the same predicament with himself; and his honest pleadings on behalf of domestic liberty, were perhaps as seasonable, as they are, whatever we may think of his principles, undoubtedly eloquent; and their effect was far from inconsiderable. He evidently regarded them as not the least of his labours on behalf of liberty.

"I explained my sentiments, not only on the solemnization of the marriage, but the dissolution, if circumstances rendered it necessary; and I drew my arguments from the divine law, which Christ did not abolish, or publish another more grievous than that of Moses. I stated my own opinions, and those of others, concerning the exclusive exception of fornication, which our illustrious Selden has since, in his Hebrew Wife, more copiously discussed: for he in vain makes a vaunt of liberty in the senate or in the forum who languishes under the vilest servitude to an inferior at home. On this subject therefore I published some books, which were more particularly necessary at that time, when man and wife were often the most inveterate foes, when the man often staid to take care of his children at home, while the mother of the family was seen in the camp of the enemy, threatening death and destruction to her husband."

This was his case,—his wife's friends were royalists, and she deserted him only one month after marriage, on the plea of revisiting them. He determined to repudiate her, and to justify his resolution, published in the year 1644 his "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, restored to the good of both sexes," and dedicated it to the parliament and the Assembly of Divines, in order that, as they were busy about the general reformation of the kingdom, they might also take this matter into consideration. "If the wisdom, the justice, the purity of God, be to be cleansed from the foulest imputations, which are not to be avoided, if charity be not to be degraded, and trodden down under a civil ordinance, if matrimony be not to be advanced like that exalted perdition, 'above all that is called God,' or goodness, nay, against them both, then I dare affirm, there will be found in the contents of this book that which may concern us all." He declares his object to be to prove, first, That other reasons of divorce besides adultery were, by the law of Moses, and are yet to be, allowed by the christian magistrate, as a piece of justice, and that the words of Christ are not hereby contraried: next, That to prohibit absolutely any divorce whatever, except those which Moses excepted, is against the reason of law. The grand position is this: That indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature, unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace; is a greater reason of divorce than adultery, or natural frigidity, provided there be a mutual consent for separation. He makes out a strong *primâ facie* case; but in so nice and difficult an argument, conducted so learnedly, by so splendid a casuist, and in the due and orderly method of division and subdivision so punctiliously observed in his time, analysis would be both ridiculous and useless. It will be read, were it merely for the sake of quickening and sharpening the mind by its prodigious subtlety and acuteness, as an intellectual exercise; but it will be found much easier to deny his conclusions than to refute his arguments. Never was a greater mass of learning brought to bear upon a point, a mere point, of dispute. The context of the Scriptures, the letter and the spirit, and the scope of every passage touching the topic in hand, the laws of the first Christian emperors, the opinions of reformers, are adduced, for the purpose of

demonstrating that by the laws of God, and by the inferences drawn from them by the most enlightened men, the power of divorce ought not to be rigidly restricted to those causes which render the nuptial state unfruitful, or taint it with a spurious offspring. Regarding mutual support and comfort as the principal objects of this union, he contends that whatever defrauds it of these ends, vitiates the contract, and must necessarily justify the dissolution. "What therefore God hath joined, let no man put asunder."—"But here the Christian prudence lies, to consider what God hath joined. Shall we say that God hath joined error, fraud, unfitness, wrath, contention, perpetual loneliness, perpetual discord? Whatever lust, or wine, or witchery, threat or enticement, avarice or ambition, have joined together, faithful with unfaithful, Christian with anti-christian, hate with hate, or hate with love, shall we say this is God's joining?"

This book kindled the fury of the presbyterians; and the bigots, unmindful of his services in the common cause, attempted to fix the most serious charges on his character, and bring him under the censure of parliament. He was actually summoned before the house of lords, but was honourably dismissed. This was not the way to put John Milton down. The parliament preachers rated at him, and his opponents grew more clamorous. He therefore published the "Tetrachordon, or Exposition of the four chief places in Scripture which treat of Nullities in Marriage," and dedicated it to parliament; confirming by explanation of Scripture, by testimony of ancient fathers, of civil law in the primitive church, of famousest protestant divines, and lastly, by an intended act of the parliament and church of England in the last year of Edward IV. the doctrines of his former book.

The clamour with which this and the preceding work were received by his quondam associates, led to the following sonnets.

A book was writ of late call'd Tetrachordon,
And woven close, both matter, form, and style;
The subject new: it walked the town awhile,
Numb'ring good intellects; now seldom por'd on.
Cries the stall reader, Bless us! what a word on
A title page is this! and some in file
Stand spelling false, while one might walk to Mile-
End Green. Why is it harder, sirs, than Gordon,
Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp?
Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp;
Thy age, like our's, O soul of Sir John Cheek,
Hated not learning worse than toad or asp,
When thou taught'st Cambridge, and King Edward, Greek.

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs,
By the known rules of ancient liberty;
When straight a barbarous noise environs me,
Of owls, and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs:
As when those hinds that were transformed to frogs
Rail'd at Latona's twin-born progeny,
Which after held the sun and moon in fee.
But this is got by casting pearls to hogs,
That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free.
Licence they mean, when they cry liberty;
For who loves that must first be wise and good:
But from that mark how far they rove we see,
For all this waste of wealth, and loss of blood.

The next piece he published on this subject was "The Judgment of the famous Martin Bucer touching Divorce." Bucer exactly agrees with Milton, though the latter had not seen his book till after the publication of his own. Paulus Fagius, Peter Martyr, Erasmus, and

Grotius, are shown to have adopted the same opinion. Perhaps Bucer's doctrines respecting this question, may have been not a little influenced in writing to Edward VI. by the conduct of that monarch's father. In the postscript to this pamphlet, the author quits for ever the camp of the presbyterian party,

> "whom mutual league,
> United thoughts and councils, equal hope
> And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
> Joined with him once!"

His fourth and last work relating to divorce, was his "Colasterion," a reply to a nameless answer to his first work on this doctrine, "wherein the trivial author of that answer is discovered, the licenser conferred with, and the opinion, which they traduce, defended." The dull but malicious adversary was taken under the special patronage of Caryl, the licenser, author of the Commentary on Job, for which he is sharply rebuked here, and perhaps more than once referred to in the Areopagitica. In a letter to Leo of Aizema, dated Westminster, Feb. 5, 1654, Milton alludes to this controversy, and, as elsewhere, regrets that he did not publish in Latin.

These treatises are equal to any which he ever wrote. Every page is strewed with felicities, and the *mens divinior* shines out with a lustre unsurpassed by himself on happier, though not more interesting, themes. "There are many things," saith Sir Thomas Brown, "wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play and expatiate with security, and far without the circle of an heresie."

"I then discussed the principles of education in a summary manner, but sufficiently copious for those who attend seriously to the subject; than which nothing can be more necessary to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown."

His tractate "on Education" was published in 1644, the year when he entered into the heart-rending controversy concerning divorce, and it was dedicated to the remarkable individual at whose request it was written. Notwithstanding the sneers of Johnson, and other ushers and schoolmasters, at this noble scheme, we do hope that the country will, at no distant period, realize it. The plan is not for private individuals to attempt to carry into effect; but an enlightened government, with the vast collegiate resources of England at its disposal, might, without injuring existing establishments, place an academical institute on this ideal platform in every county. We may derive pleasure and instruction, from looking at this beautiful and benevolent production, as the history of the great author's own mind, as well as a chart for the guidance of others, and in this point of view it throws light on his character, and enlarges our estimate of his attainments.

In November, 1644, he published the most beautiful of his treatises, the "Areopagitica; a Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing—to the Parliament of England."

It is well known that the art of printing, soon after its introduction into England, was regulated by the king's proclamations, prohibitions, charters of privilege, and of licence, and finally by the decrees of the star chamber; which limited the number of printers, and of presses, and prohibited new publications unless previously approved by proper licensers. On the demolition of this odious jurisdiction by the ever-to-be-remembered long parliament, this system had been suspended. The presbyterian party, however, determined to revive the "imprimatur" of the star chamber, and it was against one of the orders made for this purpose, that Milton directed this famous argument, modelled after the classical examples of the Greek rhetors. It is thoroughly Grecian—the motto is taken from his favourite Euripides, and happily translated by himself. Having been frequently reprinted separately

in England, and through the French of Mirabeau's tract, "Sur la liberté de la Presse imité de l'Anglais, de Milton," obtained a modern continental celebrity, it is comparatively a popular pamphlet. James Thomson, author of "The Seasons," published an 8vo edition of it in 1738, when the freedom of the press was considered in danger; and in this poet's "Liberty," "the art of printing" is celebrated with elaborate praise. The separate edition of this transcendent pamphlet under the auspicious editorship of Holt White, Esq., is the most correct and valuable which has yet appeared. John Milton was the first man who asserted the liberty of unlicensed printing. The subject called forth all his powers, and he appears to have written every word under the impression, that every word would be weighed and read, not only by the statesmen whom he addressed, but by those of succeeding ages. Its importance, and the most illustrious tribunal before which he pleaded, never daunted him, but while he approached the august assemblage with the mien and countenance of a freeman, his discourse is at once rhetorical and deliberative, blending the fire of the orator with the wisdom of the sage. The "quid decet" is most admirably observed. He was pleading before no rabble—the greatest geniuses for government which the world ever saw, were the arbiters of his eloquence:—men who had been triumphant in battle, and were mighty in council. The vehemence, the disdain, the terrible wrath of controversy, disappear, and in their stead we have such an exquisite union and interpenetration of the sublime and the pathetic, of the passionate and the rationative, of persuasion and argument, of subdued ecstasy and sober energy, of religion, and philosophy, and policy, all involved in a copious stream of such a wonderful language, as never before, and certainly never since, poured from the lips of ancient or of modern oratory. With the exception of the historical digressions, it is perhaps faultless, and they will be excused, when it is remembered that he stood alone,—and, as Bacon said of Luther, he was obliged in his solitude to make a party of antiquity against his own time.

In the outset of the Areopagitica, he expresses the "joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish to promote their country's liberty," to approach them—he tells them that "when complaints are fully heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained,"—that in permitting him to address them, it was evident that they are "in good part arrived to this complete point," and attributes praise to God, and next to "their faithful guidance and undaunted wisdom,"—he craves leave to refer to his eulogium on their first acts as a proof that he estimates their merits, and that the present occasion demonstrates his fidelity, as the former did "his loyalest affection and his hope."—He appears before them to tell them "that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the commonwealth, if one of their published orders were called in,"—that it would prove that they are more pleased with "public advice" than other statists with "public flattery,"—"that men will then see the difference between the magnanimity of a triennial parliament, and that jealous haughtiness of prelates and cabin councillors, that usurped of late, whereas they shall observe them in the midst of their victories and successes, more quietly brooking written exceptions against a voted order, than other courts," "the least signified dislike of any sudden proclamation." He is thus imboldened "to presume upon the meek demeanour of their civil and gentle greatness,"—and by the consideration that in ancient days men who professed the study of wisdom and eloquence, though private, were heard gladly, "if they had ought in public to admonish the state," he would be "thought not so inferior to any of those who had this privilege, as the parliament was superior to the most of them who received their counsel;"—"and how far you excel them, be assured, lords and commons, there can no greater testimony appear than when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reason from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your predecessors." But analysis is impossible. The topics which he urges embrace the

whole controversy, and are exhausted. The collateral excursions from the main positions of his argument, are, as usual, profoundly instructive, and incomparably beautiful. Toleration of all opinions is the grand centre to which all the lines of illustration and of exposition point, and in which they all harmoniously meet. The bare question of licensing is apparently a dry one—but his digressions embrace a most comprehensive circuit. The Areopagitica is a fine illustration of that wonderful aggressive vigour, by which the author's possession of the most inconsiderable position becomes a key to the most splendid conquest—the pass of triumph—the *punctum saliens*, whence,

> in mighty quadrate join'd
> Of union irresistible, move on
> In silence his bright legions.

It is John Milton's masterpiece.

This was his last work under the division of civil liberty, and he thus writes of it: "Lastly, I wrote my Areopagitica, on the model of a set speech, in order to relieve the press from the restraints with which it was encumbered; that the power of determining what was true, and what was false, what ought to be published, and what to be suppressed, might no longer be intrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition."

It was not till the year 1694, that the press was properly free. The office of licenser was abolished during the usurpation of Cromwell.

"On the last species, or civil liberty I said nothing; because I saw that sufficient attention was paid to it by the magistrates; nor did I write any thing on the prerogative of the crown, till the king, voted an enemy by the parliament, and vanquished in the field, was summoned before the tribunal which condemned him to lose his head. But when at length some presbyterian ministers, who had formerly been the most bitter enemies of Charles, became jealous of the growth of the independents, and of their ascendency in the parliament, most tumultuously clamoured against the sentence, and did all in their power to prevent the execution, though they were not angry, so much on account of the act itself, as because it was not the act of their party; and when they dared to affirm, that the doctrine of the protestants, and of all the reformed churches, was abhorrent to such an atrocious proceeding against kings, I thought that it became me to oppose such a glaring falsehood, and accordingly, without any immediate or personal application to Charles, I shewed, in an abstract consideration of the question, what might lawfully be done against tyrants; and in support of what I advanced, produced the opinions of the most celebrated divines; while I vehemently inveighed against the egregious ignorance or effrontery of men, who professed better things, and from whom better things might have been expected."

This first purely political work of Milton's made its appearance some few weeks after the execution of Charles; and was written, as he further informs us, "rather to reconcile the minds of men to the event, than to discuss the legitimacy of that particular sentence, which concerned the magistracy, and which was already executed."

Charles's criminality is admitted on all hands, and the only questions relate either to the expediency of the sentence, or the competency of the tribunal which pronounced it. Whatever may be thought of the former question, (and we are of opinion, that the step they took in carrying, against public opinion, even that just sentence, which described the king as "a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy," into execution, was eventually as fatal to themselves as the royal rebel,) we must remember that the deed was done, and could not be undone, and that therefore the real question was the last one, and this work of Milton's is confined to it. Guilt being proved against the first person in the state, who is

to punish it? This is an abstract question, but upon its determination depends our opinion of the regicide. The following is Milton's proposition, "That it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king, and after due conviction, to depose and put him to death; if the ordinary magistrate have neglected, or denied to do it."—We think that it is successfully maintained. "If such a one there be, by whose commission whole massacres have been committed on his faithful subjects, his provinces offered to pawn or alienation, as the hire of those whom he had solicited to come in and destroy whole cities and countries; be he king, or tyrant, or emperor, the sword of justice is above him; in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion, and so great a deluge of innocent blood. For if all human power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evil-doers without exception, be of God; then that power, whether ordinary, or if that fail, extraordinary, so executing that intent of God, is lawful, and not to be resisted." In proof, we have "set down, from first beginning, the original of kings; how and wherefore exalted to that dignity above their brethren; and from thence shall prove, that turning to tyranny they may be as lawfully deposed and punished, as they were at first elected: this I shall do by authorities and reasons, not learnt in corners among schisms and heresies, as our doubling divines are ready to calumniate, but fetched out of the midst of choicest and most authentic learning, and no prohibited authors; nor many heathen, but mosaical, Christian, orthodoxal, and, which must needs be more convincing to our adversaries, presbyterial." Bishop Horsley, having, as we shall see, brought a serious charge against Milton, which the appendix to this work rebuts, we point particular attention to the authorities which Milton has there produced.

Milton's next work was "Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels, on the Letter of Ormond to Colonel Jones, and the Representation of the Scots Presbytery at Belfast."

It is well known that Charles's league with the papists precipitated his ruin. The Irish rebels were (even in their horrid massacre of the protestants) called "the Queen's army." Thirteen days after these Articles of Peace were concluded by his representative in Ireland, the king lost his head. Ireland was now the theatre of the royalist party, and with its rabble of papists, and the little presbytery of Belfast, and the remnant of its cavaliers, presented as motley a spectacle of selfish union for selfish ends as was ever seen. The independent army, and the genius of Cromwell, however, kept them in awe. The lively lieutenant of the martyr, after all his loving "Articles of Agreement" with the murderers of protestants, and the novel friendship that had sprung up between him and the presbyterians, called in bribery to effect what force could not do, and accordingly wrote to Colonel Jones, as Whitelocke says, promising him great rewards to come to his obedience to the king. Ormond's letter is a very sprightly production, and though it had no effect on the veteran to whom he sent it, Milton seems to have been not a little nettled with it. Jones's reply is very characteristic of his party, and of the times. The articles first come under examination, and are soon despatched. Then this letter of Ormond's is spoiled of some of its sprightliness, and of all its haughtiness; and lastly, our author comes "to deal with another sort of adversaries, in show far different, in substance somewhat the same." His remonstrance with the presbyterians is very powerful, and the style of the whole pamphlet is lucid and masculine, and remarkable for great terseness and compression.

"Such were the fruits of my private studies, which I gratuitously presented to the church and to the state; and for which I was recompensed by nothing but impunity; though the actions themselves procured me peace of conscience and the approbation of the good; while I exercised that freedom of discussion which I loved. Others without labour or desert got possession of honours and emoluments, but no one never knew me, either soliciting any thing myself, or through the medium of my friends; ever beheld me in a supplicating posture, at

the doors of the senate or the levees of the great. I usually kept myself secluded at home, where my own property, part of which had been withheld during the civil commotions, and part of which had been absorbed in the oppressive contributions which I had to sustain, afforded me a scanty subsistence. When I was released from these engagements, and thought that I was about to enjoy an interval of uninterrupted ease, I turned my thoughts to a History of my Country, from the earliest times to the present period."

Of this great undertaking, only six Books, four now, and two afterwards, were completed. They were published in 1670. The four first, referred to in the preceding extract, conduct the narrative to the union of the heptarchy under Edgar, and the remaining two, written subsequently to the Second Defence, bring it down to the battle of Hastings.

In the 1st Book, taking it for granted, that of British affairs, from the first peopling of the island, till the coming of Julius Cæsar, nothing certain either of tradition, history, or ancient fame, hath hitherto been left us, " Nevertheless, seeing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true, as what we read in poets of the flood, and giants little believed, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not feigned; I have therefore determined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously." And our author is as good as his word; he ransacks Geoffrey Monmouth and his assertors, and thus concludes, " By this time, like one who had set out in his way by night, and travelled through a region of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true colours and shapes." " We can hardly miss from one hand or other, to be sufficiently informed as of things past so long ago." The curious reader will compare this Book with the " Chronicles of Briton Kings " in Spencer's Faery Queene, (book ii. cant. x.) The versions in both are equally close. Milton was particularly fond of British fable. It is well known that he intended to make Prince Arthur the hero of his epic. It yet remains for modern minstrel " to recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings." Spencer's " continued allegory or darke conceit," leaves the field still open. Blackmore promised what he could not, and Dryden what he would not, perform—and where even Southey has failed, who can succeed? The circumstance of Milton's entering so minutely into these tales and fables, shows the extent of his plan, and makes us the more regret that he never completed it.

In the 2nd Book the history is thus continued. " I am now to write of what befel the Britons from fifty and three years before the birth of our Saviour, when first the Romans came in, till the decay and ceasing of that empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years, and somewhat more, collected without much labour." Here he rises into a fine strain of generalization; and then, nothing daunted with the task, he culls our annals from various sources, and the book concludes with the fate of the Western empire. The arrogant Warburton gives the close of this book, " Henceforth we are to steer," &c. as an instance of the surprising grandeur of sentiment and expression into which he sometimes naturally, and without effort, rises. The beginnings and endings of all the books are beautifully written, collecting the rays of the past, and dispersing them, like a tropical sunset, over the future.

The exordium of the 3rd Book will take the reader by surprise, nor will we anticipate the splendid digression which he will meet with, beyond all comparison the most instructive and masterly in the whole range of English history.

The 4th Book is occupied with the transactions of this heptarchy up to its union under Egbert, and after a long and sufficiently minute recital of all their dissensions, he adorns the tale by pointing a solemn warning to his own times.

The 5th Book contains the history of civil affairs, and of ecclesiastical, so far as they are directly connected with them, including the Danish irruptions, from the Union to the death of Edgar, and with him of the Saxon glory. The proem and peroration of this book, were intended for the factions of his day, and should be read together.

The history of the decline and ruin of the Saxons, with the Conquest, complete this fragment, the whole of which seems to have been written in the solemn light of the concluding paragraph. His letter to Lord Henry de Bras, dated Westminster, July 15, 1657, informs us that Sallust was his favourite author and model in historical composition.

We here resume his own narrative: "I had already finished four books, (of the history,) when after the subversion of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic, I was surprised by an invitation from the council of state, who desired my services in the office for foreign affairs. A book appeared soon after, which was ascribed to the king, and contained the most invidious charges against the parliament. I was ordered to answer it; and opposed the Iconoclast to the Icon."

His reply was published by authority, in the year 1649. It does not appear from the orders of the council, (for extracts from which the public are indebted to Mr. Todd,) that Milton was ordered to prepare the answer to this extraordinary work of the king's. There is no entry of it, as there would have been had it been a state-task, and he paid for it. He was probably invited to answer it, upon his own terms and at his leisure. The wisdom of the new government was shown in their selection of such a servant; and his reply to the Icon is the most brilliant of his political writings in the mother tongue; and, at the crisis, must have produced a salutary reaction on the public mind. It was reprinted in 1650, and published in French by Du Gard in 1652. The hangman had the honour of burning it on the Restoration, and indeed if suffering constituted martyrdom, this work has as good a claim to the title as he who suffered under similar hands and obtained it. An answer, or what purported so to be, appeared in 1651, called εικων ακλαστος, the Image Unbroken; and another came out as late as 1692, entitled Vindicæ Carolinæ; both miserable performances, compared with that "song of songs," which it is said the accomplished monarch and his syren queen indited. The popularity of the Icon Basilike was certainly unexampled. It was the banner-cry of all who were opposed to the existing government. Forty-seven editions were circulated in England alone; and 48,500 copies are said to have been sold. We shall not enter into the vexed question, Who wrote Icon Basilike? It has been, and is, a regular controversy, and involves its hundred volumes. The question is set at rest, by the total absence of any allusion to it, by Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion. The silence of such a devotee, acquainted as he must have been with every particular relating to the work, presents an insurmountable obstacle to the imperial claim. Suspicions were entertained at the time that it was not the king's book. It has been since proved, almost beyond a possibility of doubt, that its author was Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter. We shall not enter into the evidence, but merely refer our readers to Laing's History of Scotland, or Symmons's admirable Life of Milton, for information and satisfaction. Milton intimated his suspicions of its authenticity, but it was evidently his policy, in the absence of all but internal evidence to corroborate his suspicions, to treat it as no forgery; he does not therefore uncase *this* grand imposture. Be the "great unknown" whom he might, the gauntlet is here taken up as if it were the king's; every allegation is examined, the reply and justification of the parliament and army are complete, and the ghostly visitant gibbers back again to the grave. Pressing closely on his antagonist, and tracing him step by step, the Iconoclast either exposes the fallacy of his reasonings, or the falsehood of his assertions, or the hollowness of his professions, or the convenient speciousness of his devotion. In argument and in style, compressed and energetic, perspicuous and neat, it discovers a quickness, which never misses an advantage, and a keenness of remark, which

carries an irresistible edge. The martyr stands before us, exposed in all the deformity of his duplicity and despotism, smitten, blasted, and withered in the pitiless encounter: and yet there is not a single paragraph of unseemly exultation, of wanton mockery or insult, over the fall of the monarch, throughout the secretary's vindication of the patriots. The tone of the mournful and majestic Preface is always preserved. As so much *history* the Iconoclast is invaluable. The royal road to a fatal block is pointed out; and the lesson is not more awful than plain! The following extracts are specimens of that satire, sportive, and yet grave withal, which wrings its victim in every page.

The monarch says, "They know my chiefest arms left me were prayers and tears." "O sacred reverence of God! respect and shame of men! whither were ye fled when these hypocrisies were uttered? Was the kingdom then at all that cost of blood to remove from him none but prayers and tears? What were those thousands of blaspheming cavaliers about him, whose mouths let fly oaths and curses by the volley? Were those the prayers? and those carouses, drank to the confusion of all things good or holy,—did those minister the tears? Were they prayers and tears, which were listed at York, mustered at Heworth Moor, and laid siege to Hull for the guard of his person? Were prayers and tears at so high a rate in Holland, that nothing could purchase them but the crown jewels? Yet they in Holland (such word was sent us) sold them for guns, carabines, mortar-pieces, cannons, and other deadly instruments of war; which, when they came to York, were all, no doubt by the merit of some great saint, suddenly transformed into prayers and tears; and being divided into regiments and brigades, were the only arms that mischieved us in all those battles and encounters. These were his chief arms, whatever we must call them; and yet such arms as they who fought for the commonwealth have, by the help of better prayers, vanquished and brought to nothing."

In chapter XI. the king says, "But the 'incommunicable jewel of his conscience' he will not give, 'but reserve to himself.' It seems that his conscience was none of the crown jewels; for those were in Holland, not incommunicable, to buy arms against his subjects. Being therefore but a private jewel, he could not have done a greater pleasure to the kingdom than by reserving it to himself. But he, contrary to what is here professed, would have his conscience not an incommunicable, but a universal conscience, the whole kingdom's conscience. Thus what he seems to fear lest we should ravish from him, is our chief complaint that he obtruded upon us; we never forced him to part with his conscience, but it was he that would have forced us to part with ours."

The eventful year of 1649 had not yet closed when Claude de Saumaise, latinè Claudius Salmasius, the most celebrated scholar of the age, published his "Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo ad Carolum Secundum," or a Royal Defence of Charles the 1st to Charles the 2nd. This insolent attack on the English government and people, produced at a critical juncture of affairs, by a man of unrivalled eminence in letters, and at the especial solicitation of the illustrious exile to whom it is dedicated, must have attracted attention, both at home and abroad, and required refutation. The achievements of a handful of heroes in England had roused the fears of despotism; and a willing ear was probably lent by the continental potentates to the present invocation of their interference on behalf of the then Pretender. The council of state thought it desirable to issue a reply to this libellous and dangerous manifesto, and their determination is recorded in the following laconic order of the 8 Jan. 1649-50: "That Mr. Milton do prepare something in answer to the Book of Salmasius, and when he hath done itt, bring itt to the council."

Milton was present at the discussion which led to this characteristic direction, and although warned that the loss of sight would be one certain consequence of obeying it, he magnanimously undertook, and in spite of constant interruptions arising from increasing ill health, nobly performed his honourable task. "I would not," says he in the Second De-

fence, "have listened to the voice even of Esculapius himself from the shrine of Epidauris, in preference to the suggestions of the heavenly monitor within my breast; my resolution [to undertake the reply to the defence of the royal cause] was unshaken, though the alternative was either the loss of my sight, or the desertion of my duty; and I called to mind those two destinies, which the oracle of Delphi announced to the son of Thetis.

> Two fates may lead me to the realms of night;
> If staying here, around Troy's walls I fight,
> To my dear home no more must I return;
> But lasting glory will adorn my urn.
> But if I withdraw from the martial strife,
> Short is my fame, but long will be my life.—Il. IX.

I considered that many had purchased a less good by a greater evil, the meed of glory by the loss of life; but that I might procure great good by a little suffering; that though I am blind, I might still discharge the most honourable duties, the performance of which, as it is something more durable than glory, ought to be an object of superior admiration and esteem; I resolved, therefore, to make the short interval of sight, which was left me to enjoy, as beneficial as possible to the public interest."—Early in the year 1651, out came "something in answer to the Book of Salmasius"—the immortal Defence of the People of England—the most costly-won and brilliant achievement in the annals of controversy.

It is allowed by all, that the triumph of Milton was decisive, and the humiliation of his adversary complete. Salmasius, like another Milo, but without his strength, attempted to rive the British oak, and his presumption was rewarded by a fate equally miserable and ridiculous. Great was the advantage, which, in all encounters, Milton had over his enemies, in the consistency of his moral and political character. "I again invoke the Almighty to witness, that I never, at any time, wrote any thing which I did not think agreeable to truth, to justice, and to piety. Nor was I ever prompted to such exertions by the influence of ambition, by the lust of lucre or of praise; it was only by the conviction of duty and the feeling of patriotism, a disinterested passion for the extension of civil and religious liberty." Salmasius was a mercenary parasite. He had formerly written with the greatest acrimony against the bishops of England: the "Royal Defence" is their unqualified and servile eulogy. Such was the effect of a hundred jacobins on this honorary professor in a protestant republic, that they spirited him up to offer, in this work, the grossest insult to his feeders and patrons, who were obliged to prohibit its sale within their dominions. Milton, it should be remembered, implored the Dutch to take off this prohibition. His infinite conceit of himself turned upon his real or imaginary ascendency in scholarship, and it so happened that here where he was most sensitive, he was most vulnerable. The blunders and barbarisms in the style, the contradictions and sophisms in the argument, of the Royal Defence, laid its author open to the most galling exposure; and where he should have been, and in points in which the world considered him, impregnable, he was often defenceless. His very authorities generally of themselves make against his cause, or if they do not, his own comments imitate their fugleman, and turn deserters. The laughter of Europe was excited when they saw a renowned, irrefragable, and most arrogant doctor, beaten, at his own weapons, by the island-champion of a "crew of fanatics." The giant dealer in words, when grappled with as a grammarian, is rolled over and over in the very dust on which alone, like Antæus with Hercules, could he for one moment cope with his antagonist: and he is satisfactorily despatched only after the manner of his classical prototype. It must not be imagined that this contest was merely a duel of words; or that the defender of our political faith, while necessarily keeping in view the character of Salmasius, lost sight of his principles. Pains have been taken to convey the impression that this controversy involved

no principle. Butler, the witty and the starved-to-death author of Hudibras, thus alludes to it.

> Some polemicks use to draw their swords,
> Against the language only and the words.
> As he who fought at barriers with Salmasius,
> Engaged with nothing but his style and phrases.
> Waved to assert the murder of a prince,
> The author of false Latin to convince;
> But laid the merits of the cause aside,
> By those that understood them to be tried;
> And counted breaking Priscian's head a thing
> More capital than to behead a king;
> For which he has been praised by all the learned,
> Of knaves concerned, and pedants unconcerned!

Funny—but untrue. *Sovereign* was the contempt which John Milton entertained for the "mere trappings," both of pedantry and royalty.

Salmasius was in fact little more than an ingenious emendator of broken sentences and worm-eaten words, and he probably sinned as much against his nature in assuming the character of a politician, as against his conscience in eulogizing bishops, and justifying a despot. He was one of those "grammarians" Sir Thomas Browne refers to, who "toure and plume themselves over a single line in Horace, and shew more pride in the construction of one ode, than the author in the composure of the whole booke." Of "divine philosophy" Salmasius possessed not the tithe of a particle. Of the world of men, with its highest and most complicated concerns, he was as ignorant as the monk that spent his life in illuminating a letter. The power to strike out of the mass of particulars great principles,—to hew from the rock the corner-stones of truth, and polish and complete the living edifice,—to stamp on the precious metal of original genius the signet that shall be sterling for ever,—was utterly withheld from his soul, and we shall look in vain through his book for any thing higher than its author. His production died into lumber an age ago—and his name, as a politician, is a dreadless symbol for *de jure divino* simplicity, even among the followers of Macchiavelli. In the first chapter of the Defence of the People of England, towards the end, his adversary thus speaks of him.

"Dare you affect the reputation of a learned man? I confess you are pretty well versed in phrase books, and lexicons, and glossaries; insomuch that you have spent your time in nothing else. But you do not make appear that you have read any good authors with so much judgment as to have benefited by them. Other copies, and various lections, and words omitted, and corruptions of texts, and the like, these you are full of; but no footstep of any solid learning appears in all you have writ. Or do you think yourself a wise man, that quarrel and contend about the meanest trifles that may be?"

Dr. Johnson acknowledges that Salmasius had "not much considered the rights of governments," (those of subjects, surely, the Doctor meant,) and yet endeavours to ridicule Milton for treating his antagonist, personally, rather as a verbiloquist and a pedant, than as a politician. A mere glance, however, at the fundamental doctrines asserted by Milton, will show the real scope and indestructible value of his work. Therein is maintained in opposition to Salmasius, who had asserted the irresponsibility of kings to their subjects, that all civil power emanates from the people; that the magistrates, as well as the people, should be, and are, alike subject to the laws, and the sanction of history, with her examples from all the most celebrated commonwealths, is produced; that the regal office itself is merely a trust committed to the king by the people on certain conditions, express or implied, that he is therefore accountable to them for that trust, and if he betray it, is liable to be cashiered, or even punished capitally, should such be the will of the community; hence that Charles the 1st, being guilty of misgovernment, and breach of trust, was lawfully

and justly put to death. These positions he illustrates and confirms by an appeal to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, to the most eminent writers, poets, historians, and law-givers of antiquity, to the laws of nature and nations, and lastly to our own municipal laws. Milton thus kept his eye on the cause, and not merely was the royal advocate silenced, but the claims of legitimacy quashed for ever.

The performance of Salmasius is its own antidote. An elaborate defence of despotism in the abstract, it is that of Charles the 1st in particular; and the entire argument proceeds upon the assumption that that unfortunate monarch had actually been what *de jure divino* it is there contended he had a right to be—A TYRANT. The advocate of Charles being thus the advocate of pure tyranny, his bulky production, instead of being, as it imports, a defence of the oppressor, and a lasting monument to his honour, becomes a pillar of infamy—at once the trophy and the beacon of the people's cause.

The work of our illustrious countryman is so strictly and critically a reply to the "Royal Defence," reviewing and refuting, *κατα ποδα*, sentence by sentence, every important assertion or principle advanced by the adversary, that neither outline nor extract, synthesis nor analysis, can convey an idea of the depth of its philosophic spirit, the splendour of its erudition, or the varied beauties of its vigorous logic and sober rhetoric. No translation (yet the one subjoined is, in many points, excellent) can adequately reflect the immortal original. The delicious mannerism of Milton evaporates in transfusion. Walsingham has hit the sense, but to hit off the style is, we fear, impossible. In extracting the perfume, the lustre of the flower, often more charming than its precious fragrance, is gone. After all, in the best translation there must be the *real* difference between similarity and identity, and the formal, between the same warrior in a Roman panoply and a saxon gear. Milton is yet unexcelled in English, and few will question his pre-eminence in Latin composition. The language of Cicero is upon his tongue, and, "winged with red lightning and impetuous rage," never did the great Roman orator wield its thunders more easily or more effectively. We almost as deeply regret that Milton did not give to his countrymen a version "in the mother tongue" (which was his prime favourite) of that which he presented to Europe in the Latin, as we admire his unbounded mastery over the universal language. This regret extends as well to all his most important subsequent writings. The Viscount St. Albans conceived that the Latin volume of his Essays, "being in the universal language, might last as long as books last,"—there is no danger of the Latin surviving the English,—but who does not wish that Milton had taken a hint from Bacon in this particular—it would have tended, inconceivably, to raise and perpetuate his political fame, and thus he would have postponed yet further the fate of both tongues.

The continent "rang" with the praise of the work; and we doubt not that it will again ring with it. Little known prior to this great effort except at home, where he was disliked and feared by two most numerous factions, Milton's triumph was most felt and confessed abroad, where Salmasius had long held supreme sway, and Europe was the scene of its celebration. Congratulations poured in upon him from all quarters. Learned foreigners by letter complimented, most of the ambassadors visited or felicitated him. The French government assisted its sale, by ordering it to be burnt, both at Paris and Thoulouse, by the common hangman. His own most exquisite account of his contest with the advocate of legitimacy will be found in the Second Defence. He seems to have been always anxious to obtain and to preserve the good opinion of foreign scholars. When he was called upon to enter upon the last-mentioned work, and defend again, before the same tribunal, the very defenders of the great cause of which he was the champion, he can hardly refrain in his relation from assuming "a more lofty and swelling tone than the simplicity of an exordium may seem to justify; and much," continues he, "as I may be surpassed in the powers of eloquence, and copiousness of diction, by the illustrious orators of antiquity; yet the sub-

ject of which I treat was never surpassed in any age, in dignity or in interest. It has excited such general and such ardent expectation, that I imagine myself not in the forum or on the rostra, surrounded only by the people of Athens or of Rome; but about to address in this, as I did in my former Defence, the whole collective body of people, cities, states, and councils of the wise and eminent, through the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe." Jam videor mihi, ingressus iter, transmarinos tractus et porrectas latè regiones, sublimis perlustrare; vultus innumeros atque ignotos, animi sensus mecum conjunctissimos. Hinc Germanorum virile et infestum servituti robur, inde Francorum viridi dignique nomine liberales impetus, hinc Hispanorum consulta virtus, Italorum inde sedata suique compos magnanimitas ob oculos versatur. Quicquid uspiam liberorum pectorum, quicquid ingenui, quicquid magnanimi aut prudens latet aut se palâm profitetur, alii tacitè favere, alii apertè suffragari, accurrere alii et plausu accipere, alii tandem vero victi, deditítios se tradere. Videor jam mihi, tantis circumseptus copiis, ab Herculeis usque columnis ad extremos Liberi patris terminos, libertatem diu pulsam atque exulem, longo intervallo domum ubique gentium reducere: et, quod Triptolemus olim fertur, sed longè nobiliorem Cereali illa frugem ex civitate mea gentibus importare; restitutum nempe civilem liberumque vitæ cultum, per urbes, per regna, perque nationes disseminare.—" I seem to survey, as from a towering height, the far extended tracts of sea and land, and innumerable crowds of spectators, betraying in their looks the liveliest interest, and sensations the most congenial with my own. Here I behold the stout and manly prowess of the German, disdaining servitude; there the generous and lively impetuosity of the French; on this side the calm and stately valour of the Spaniard; on that the composed and wary magnanimity of the Italian. Of all the lovers of liberty and virtue, the magnanimous and the wise, in whatever quarter they may be found, some secretly favour, others openly approve; some greet me with congratulations and applause; others, who had long been proof against conviction, at last yield themselves captive to the force of truth. Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine, that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian ocean, I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost; and that the people of this island are transporting to other countries a plant of more beneficial qualities, and more noble growth, than that which Triptolemus is reported to have carried from region to region; that they are disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities, kingdoms, and nations. Nor shall I approach unknown, *nor perhaps unloved*, if it be told that I am the same person, who engaged in single combat that fierce advocate of despotism, till then reputed invincible in the opinion of many, and in his own conceit, who insolently challenged us and our armies to the combat; but whom, while I repelled his virulence, I silenced with his own weapons; and over whom, if I may trust to the opinion of impartial judges, I gained a complete and glorious victory."

Toland, and succeeding biographers, have asserted that Milton was rewarded by the council with a present of £1000. The Second Defence, published three years after the first, denies that its author was ever the richer by one half-penny for these and similar works, and the council book shews that the gratitude of his task-masters, to their shame be it recorded, expended itself in commendation.

"1651. June 18. Ordered, that thanks be given to Mr. Milton on the behalf of the commonwealth, for his good services done in writing an answer to the booke of Salmasius, written against the proceedings of the commonwealth of England." But all this, says Mr. Todd, in his account of the life and writings of Milton, is crossed over, and nearly three lines following are obliterated, in which, Mr. Lemon says, a grant of money was made to Milton. After the cancelled passage, the regular entry thus follows: "The councill taking notice of the many good services performed by Mr. John Milton, their secretary for foreign Languages, to this state and commonwealth, particularlie for his Booke in vindication of the

Parliament and People of England against the calumnies and invectives of Salmasius, have thought fit to declare their resentment and good acceptance of the same; and that the thanks of the councill be returned to Mr. Mylton, and their sense represented in that behalf."

The Defence of the People of England does not contain any abstract principle which was not acted upon in the Revolution of 1688, and is not now formally embodied in the British Constitution, and approved of by the vast majority of those who enjoy its protection. The Earl of Bridgewater, who had performed the part of the first brother in the Masque of Comus, is said to have written on the title-page of the Defensio, "Liber ignè, author furcâ, dignissimi." So thought the friends of liberty in France, and would doubtless have carried the latter part of the sentence as they did the former into execution. It may be unhesitatingly asserted that there is no governmental or political maxim or opinion therein delivered or maintained to which a good king would not willingly subscribe. "If I write," says Milton in the Second Defence, "against tyrants, what is that to kings, whom I am far from associating with tyrants? As much as an honest man differs from a rogue, so much I contend that a king differs from a tyrant. Whence it is clear that a tyrant is so far from being a king, that he is always in direct opposition to a king. And he who peruses the records of history, will find that more kings have been subverted by tyrants, than by subjects. He, therefore, that would authorize the destruction of tyrants, does not authorize the destruction of kings, but of the most inveterate enemies of kings."

Far distant be the day when an English king shall require the assistance of another Salmasius!

The superabundant malice of Bishop Horsley, and the industry of Mr. Todd, have only been able to make a joint nibble at the Defensio. These luminaries of the church of England, differing in magnitude not density, have endeavoured to throw the shade of a foul slander over the Miltonic orb in this controversy. As Mr. Todd adds nothing of weight to the Bishop's paragraph, we shall content ourselves with the episcopal charge. "When Salmasius" (says Bishop Horsley in the Appendix to his Sermon before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793, p. 38) "upbraided the Cromwell faction with the tenets of the Brownists, the chosen advocate of that execrable faction (Milton) replied, that if they were Brownists, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Zuinglius, and all the most celebrated theologians of the orthodox, must be included in the same reproach. *A grosser falsehood* as far as Luther, Calvin, and many others, are concerned, never fell from the *unprincipled* pen of a party writer. However sedition might be a part of the puritanick creed, the general faith of the Reformers rejects the infamous alliance."

A serious charge is here brought, but is it attempted to be sustained? The independents were a *religious* sect, and so named from the form of their church-government. With this form it is evident that their theological doctrines had no necessary connexion—nor were their political tenets necessarily either of the royal or rebel faction. How, therefore, the Bishop can, after Salmasius, class sedition as a part of the creed of a sect, which, as such, disclaims the alliance between the church and state—how a religious community, as such, can adopt so destructive a principle into their very articles of faith, will ever remain an incomprehensible marvel. As independents they could not profess the principle of sedition, nor could the religious reformers as such—therefore from the charge of sedition (which is a political offence) they are both equally clear. If in what the independents did believe, the reformers, as far as it was possible, believed also, the inference must be that the charge brought against the commonwealthsmen (of sedition) includes the reformers. The ultimate principle on which the reformers rested their opposition to the pope of Rome, was that which justified the independents (and other sectaries) in their religious opposition to the English pope, or the head of the English church; so that inasmuch as there can be *re-*

ligious sedition, the sectaries might (if they chose) shelter themselves under the example of the greatest protestant reformers. The independents could not as such act in political opposition to the king of England;—herein they acted as Englishmen upon the common ground of liberty, on which alone the protestant reformers as against their popish rulers could be justified, and on which alone the members of the church of England could be justified in expelling Pope James the 2nd from the English throne.

Now for the fact—as to what was really the opinion of the reformers on the right of subjects to rebel against tyrants. The Bishop we have seen denies that the reformers acknowledged this right. What says Milton? "We have put to death neither a good, nor a just, nor a merciful, nor a devout, nor a godly, nor a peaceable king, as you style him; but an enemy that has been so to us almost ten years to an end; nor one that was a father, but a destroyer of his country. *You* confess that such things have been practised; for yourself have not the impudence to deny it: but not by protestants upon a protestant king. But there being so few protestant kings, it is no great wonder, if it never happened that one of them has been put to death. But that it is lawful to depose a tyrant, and punish him according to his deserts; nay, that this is the opinion of many protestant divines, and of such as have been most instrumental in the late reformation, do you deny it if you dare." This is in the 1st chapter—the concluding paragraph of the 5th of the Defensio is the passage on which the Bishop animadverts. In the 1st chapter the opinion is reiterated.

"You confess that 'some protestants whom you do not name, have asserted it lawful to depose a tyrant;' but though you do not think fit to name them, I will, because you say 'they are far worse than the Jesuits themselves;' they are no other than Luther, and Zuinglius, and Calvin, and Bucer, and Pareus, and many others."

Again in the 3rd chapter towards the end: "But would you know the reason why he (Salmasius) dares not come so low as to the present times? Why he does as it were hide himself, and disappear, when he comes towards our own times? The reason is, because he knows full well, that as many eminent divines as there are of the reformed churches, so many adversaries he would have to encounter. Let him take up the cudgels if he thinks fit; he will quickly find himself run down with innumerable authorities, out of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, Martyr, Pareus, and the rest. I could oppose you with testimonies out of divines, that have flourished even in Leyden."

Reformation whether opposed to reigning government or to a reigning superstition is equally liable to the charge of "*sedition*." Milton at the end of this chapter says, "I cannot but smile at this man's preposterous whimsies; in ecclesiastics he is Helvidius, Thraseas, a perfect tyrannicide. In politics no man more a lackey and slave to tyrants than he. If his doctrine hold, not we only that have deposed our king, but the protestants in general, who against the minds of their princes have rejected the pope, are all rebels alike."

These passages assert that it was the opinion of protestant divines, that tyrants whether in civil or ecclesiastical affairs might be resisted. Milton refers to them as undeniably favourable to the proceedings of the commonwealth. Not merely does he assert this coincidence of the opinion of the reformers with the conduct of his party in these and other places, in the Defensio, and also in the Second Defence, but it will be remembered that in the appendix to "the Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," quotations from Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, Pareus, Gilby, Christopher Goodman, are expressly given to this effect. Safely therefore may we set off against the Bishop's the Appendix of John Milton. Civil and religious liberty are in fact convertible terms—there is neither where there is not both.

Salmasius threw a handful of dust on his conqueror before he died. He terminated his days at the Spa in Germany, in 1652, shortly after he had finished a most virulent reply to Milton, which however was not published until the year of the Restoration, when it was

produced with a dedication to Charles the 2nd, and entitled, "Claudii Salmasii ad Joannem Miltonum Responsio, opus posthumum; Dijon, Sept. 1660." Answer of Claudius Salmasius to John Milton; a posthumous work, &c. The learned Dr. Birch says, that the virulence which it displays is unexampled. He treats his antagonist as an ordinary schoolmaster; "qui ludimagister in Scholâ triviali Londinensi fuit;" and charges him with divorcing his wife after a year's marriage, for reasons best known to himself, and defending the lawfulness of divorce for any causes whatsoever. He styles him, impura bellua, quæ nihil hominis sibi reliqui fecit præter lippiantes oculos. He charges him with some false quantities in his juvenile Latin poems; and throughout the whole book gives him the title of Bellua, fanaticus latro, homunculus, lippulus, cæculus, homo perditissimus, nebulo, impurus, scelestus audax et nefarius alastor, infandus impostor, &c. &c. And declares that he would have him tortured with burning pitch or scalding oil till he expired: "pro cæteris autem suis factis dictisque dignum dicam videri, qui pice ardenti, vel oleo fervente, perfundaris, usque dum animam effles nocentem et carnifici jam pridem debitam." So much for the "great" Salmasius.

The First Defence is the last of Milton's *writings*—the last work which he wrote with his own hand. Before the end of the year in which he completed it, he was quite blind. All his future works therefore, whether prose or verse, must have been dictated. This is pure eloquence, and true bardic rapture,—the utterance—the hallowed fire, for which "to touch and purify his lips," he so devoutly prayed. The visitation of blindness must have been to a mind like his, so admirably framed to enjoy the wonders and beauties of the visible universe, a severe and afflictive dispensation—a hard sentence of exclusion from the palace of the magnificent creation. But his spirit had already conversed with the domain of materialisms; the light, though faded from his eyes, was yet "pleasant" to his soul; and the capacious vision of memory was perhaps more splendid than the actual revelation of visual sense. He had taken a spiritual possession of suns and systems, and turned them all into thoughts. Time itself became to him a part of the past, and the present was to him the portion of a privileged eternity. He was thus brought into perpetual contact or rather converse with the invisible. One veil of flesh was removed. His complete external dependence upon the kindnesses and sympathies of his fellow-creatures, must have taught him the lesson we have all to learn, of total dependence and reliance upon the Creator. Faith, now a necessary portion of his animal life, became more intensely identified with his spiritual nature. His mind was not benighted, nor even darkened. The lustre of these heavens and the luxuriance of this earth he was not destined to see any more —but he knew that the time of his departure was at hand—and that his eyes should soon be opened, in "supereminence of beatific vision," upon the "new heavens, and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness!"

Adversity, says Lord Bacon, does best discover virtue. Milton bore his affliction with exemplary patience and fortitude. His episcopalian enemies boasted that they saw in it a retribution for the transgressions of his pen. In the Second Defence, written three years after this calamity had befallen him, he explains, in a passage already quoted, the motives by which he was governed in the measures which he took, and under the losses which he sustained—and thus replies to such miserable antagonists:

"Let then the calumniators of the divine goodness cease to revile, or to make me the object of their superstitious imagination. Let them consider that my situation, such as it is, is neither an object of my shame or my regret; that my resolutions are too firm to be shaken, that I am not depressed by any sense of the divine displeasure; that on the other hand, in the most momentous periods, I have had full experience of the divine favour and protection, and that, in the solace and the strength, which have been infused into me from above, I have been enabled to do the will of God; that I may oftener think on what he

has bestowed, than on what he has withheld; that in short I am unwilling to exchange my consciousness of rectitude with that of any other person; and that I feel the recollection a treasured store of tranquillity and delight. But if the choice were necessary, I would, Sir, prefer my blindness to yours: yours is a cloud spread over the mind, which darkens both the light of reason and of conscience; mine keeps from my view only the coloured surfaces of things, while it leaves me at liberty to contemplate the beauty and stability of virtue and of truth. How many things are there besides, which I would not willingly see; how many which I must see against my will; and how few which I feel any anxiety to see! There is, as the apostle has remarked, a way to strength through weakness. Let me then be the most feeble creature alive, as long as that feebleness serves to invigorate the energies of my rational and immortal spirit; as long as in that obscurity, in which I am enveloped, the light of the divine presence more clearly shines: then, in proportion as I am weak, I shall be invincibly strong; and in proportion as I am blind, I shall more clearly see. O! that I may thus be perfected by feebleness, and irradiated by obscurity! And indeed," (let these few sentences sink deep in our minds, and then we shall form a proper estimate of his posthumous detractors,) "in my blindness, I enjoy in no inconsiderable degree the favour of the Deity; who regards me with more tenderness and compassion in proportion as I am able to behold nothing but himself. Alas! for him who insults me, who maligns and merits public execration! For the divine law not only shields me from injury; but almost renders me too sacred to attack; not indeed so much from the privation of my sight, as from the overshadowing of those heavenly wings, which seem to have occasioned this obscurity; and which, when occasioned, he is wont to illuminate with an interior light, more precious and more pure. To this I ascribe the more tender assiduities of my friends, their soothing attentions, their kind visits, their reverential observances; among whom there are some with whom I may interchange the Pyladean and Thesean dialogue of inseparable friends. This extraordinary kindness which I experience, cannot be any fortuitous combination; and friends, such as mine, do not suppose that all the virtues of a man are contained in his eyes. Nor do the persons of principal distinction in the commonwealth, suffer me to be bereaved of comfort, when they see me bereaved of sight, amid the exertions which I made, the zeal which I shewed, and the dangers which I ran for the liberty which I love. But, soberly reflecting on the casualties of human life, they shew me favour and indulgence as to a soldier who has served his time; and kindly concede to me an exemption from care and toil. They do not strip me of the badges of honour which I have once worn; they do not deprive me of the places of public trust to which I have been appointed; they do not abridge my salary or emoluments; which, though I may not do so much to deserve as I did formerly, they are too considerate and too kind to take away; and in short they honour me as much, as the Athenians did those, whom they determined to support at the public expense in the Prytaneum. Thus, while both God and man unite in solacing me under the weight of my affliction, let no one lament my loss of sight in so honourable a cause. And let me not indulge in unavailing grief; or want the courage either to despise the revilers of my blindness, or the forbearance easily to pardon the offence." What say the revilers, not of his blindness, but of his memory, to this magnanimous effusion?

Time was yet his tabernacle—he yet a sojourner—and though he neither shunned nor courted publicity, he continued diligently to discharge all the common duties of life. Well might Wordsworth sing:

Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea,
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free:
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

Yet a while longer his harp was left in the hands of the guardian Muse. The strings were now occasionally, and never more harmoniously, touched by him. These sonnets show that his right hand had lost none of its cunning, and may be introduced here.

ON HIS BLINDNESS

When I consider how my light is spent
  Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
  And that one talent which is death to hide,
Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
  My true account, lest he, returning, chide;
  Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?
I fondly ask: but Patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
  Either man's work, or his own gifts; who best
  Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
  And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
  They also serve who only stand and wait.

TO CYRIAC SKINNER.

Cyriac, this three-years-day these eyes, tho' clear,
  To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
  Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot,
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
  Or man or woman. Yet I argue not
  Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
  The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
In Liberty's defence, my noble task,
  Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me thro' the world's vain mask,
  Content, tho' blind, had I no better guide.

The first reply to the Defensio Populi appeared in 1651, and was ascribed to Bishop Bramhall, and by some to Jane, an obscure lawyer of Gray's Inn. Mr. Todd has made the important discovery that its real author was one John Rowland. The anonymous pamphlet was entitled, "Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Anglo) Defensionem destructivam regis et populi." Philips, Milton's nephew, answered this barbarous production, in a piece which appeared in 1652, under the title of "Johannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano infantissimam:" An Answer to a most puerile Apology for the King and People of England, by some anonymous Lurker, by John Philips, an Englishman. Milton was reserving himself for the rumoured retort of Salmasius. His nephew, when he undertook this reply to a work so far beneath his own notice, had not attained his majority; and as, from internal evidence, there can be little doubt that it was written under his superintendence, it has been always classed among his Prose Works. Its style, energy, latinity, withering sarcasm, are worthy of its real parentage. It bears the name, but the Philippic was beyond the unassisted powers of the minor. With little that is new in argument, (for what could Rowland do after Salmasius?) we have the same arguments often newly, powerfully, and even splendidly stated. In personal abuse it surpasses all his other pieces—and directed as it is entirely against an imaginary foe, it is far more ingenious than excusable. The work replied to is excessively offensive

in this particular. The Preface to the Responsio states the motives which might have induced Milton to shun, and Philips to undertake, an answer to so contemptible an adversary.

"Such being the character of the man, (the anonymous Lurker,) he was by Milton him self deservedly neglected and despised: since it was thought by all, unbecoming the dignity and choice eloquence of that polished and learned author, to stoop to clear away the ordure, (aderuenda sterquilinia,) to refute the furious gabbling of a miscreant of such uncurbed insolence, and egregious folly (rabidamque loquacitatem tam effrænis atque stulti blateronis refutandam). Lest, however, this empty blusterer should vaunt himself among his own runaways, and imagine that he has written something great, or even that is worth a scanty dinner; led also by devotion to my country, and by the love of liberty so lately revived amongst us; bound likewise by many obligations to the man whom he persecutes, and who will ever be held in reverence by me—I could not refrain, though unsolicited, from undertaking to repress the petulance of this senseless fellow. And as the Roman recruits of old were accustomed first to exercise themselves with swords and spears against a wooden man, so I, laying aside the rudiments of a wit as yet scarcely bearded, have the confidence that it may be no difficult matter to sharpen my style against this block: for with an adversary so insipid and ordinary, any one, at the least with a small portion of ability, and a scantling only of erudition, may safely engage without premeditation." (Burnett's Translation.)

After this, what becomes of a late remark, "that the nameless opponent was exhibited as a man of the most distinguished talents." How dull soever, or how beaten soever, may be both the adversary or the tract of argument, the wit vouchsafed by Milton to his nephew in this pamphlet, is never weary, and the stores of his learning appear inexhaustible. The triumph is never more decisive than when battle is given on the field of former victory.

Milton took no notice of Sir Robert Filmer's "Animadversions" on the First Defence; and Hobbes's "Leviathan," the hugest metaphysical monster ever chased through the waters of controversy, he left to perish unscathed in the maelstroom of public abhorrence. These, and scores of other works, were doomed to be dealt with by other hands. But in the same year, 1652, in which they were published, an Answer to the Defence appeared, which, as it abounded in the most atrocious calumnies, and the most unfeeling insolence, the Ἡρωων κλεος, was compelled to reassert his country's honour, and to maintain his own. The ignoble libeller, a real compound of the monkey and tiger, was a Frenchman of the name of Du Moulin. His ribald work was written in Latin, printed at the Hague, and entitled, "Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos:" The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides. This piece of service was ultimately rewarded with a prebendal stall at Canterbury. Such was the scandalous and scurrilous tendency of this work, that its author was afraid to publish it in this country. For this purpose, therefore, he sent it to Salmasius, and this omnivorous pedagogue having gorged its nauseous flattery of himself, (the author even wrote him a grand thanksgiving ode, entitled, "Magno Salmasio pro Defensione Regia Ode Eucharistica,") placed the MS. in the hands of his protegè, one Morus or More, a migratory Scotchman, then settled in France, and a celebrated protestant preacher of the day, to conduct through the press. More entered heartily into the honourable task, wrote the dedication to the exiled Charles, under the name of Adrian Ulac, (Latinè, Vlaccus,) the printer, and became so mixed up with the work, as to be generally considered as its author. He was the victim of the conspiracy against our countrymen—and for a very brief reputation, (of which he certainly made the most while it lasted,) his life was embittered, and his memory covered with infamy.

A considerable period elapsed between the aggression and the castigation. The friends of Salmasius reported that he was busy at the anvil of fabrication, and Milton was determined

to reserve himself for the more potent adversary. The death of the greater champion, however, making the work which More had published of somewhat more importance, Milton was compelled to engage with the inferior author, and in 1654 he produced, in reply, his famous Second Defence—"Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra infamem Libellum anonymum, cui litulus, Regii Clamor, &c." The Second Defence of the People of England against the anonymous Libel, entitled, &c. The translation by Robert Fellowes, A. M. Oxon, is a successful performance—though it is not sufficiently close and idiomatic to entitle it to the character of a perfect one. The phraseology is perhaps just as over sonorous, as Walsingham's in the First Defence is flippant and skippish. We certainly want a new version of both. To exaggerate the merits of the original would be impossible. Considering the contemptible character of the opponent's work, the exhaustion of the general subject, and the melancholy catastrophe which had befallen our author, we might almost have augured its inferiority to the reply to Salmasius. It is more sober, but not one jot less powerful, than the First Defence. It is certainly much more entertaining. Its prodigious vehemence is tempered with consummate elegance; and abounding equally in wise and noble sentiments, simply and energetically expressed, it not unfrequently reminds the reader of the Philippics of the mighty Athenian. Being, with all its successors, the production of a blind man, it may be judged of by the rules of the oratorical art, of which its author was so passionately fond, and his successful cultivation of which, in all its branches, is demonstrated by this, as well as by each of his other works. It was in personal defence against unmerited calumnies, more than in mere political altercation, that the orators of antiquity most successfully distinguished themselves. Milton had now not merely his beloved country for a client, with all the warriors and statesmen who had redeemed her from bondage, but he himself was charged with immoralities and heinous crimes, before the tribunal of the civilized world. The cause of liberty, and the character of her chosen advocate, rise triumphantly from the encounter, and vengeance recoils upon the enemies of the one, and the adversary of the other, with all the majesty which insulted justice could inflict in all the weight of overwhelming eloquence. There is a terrible moral in all this exposure of sacerdotal depravity in More: and, doubtless, many a heart has beaten, and many a face has blushed, under the influence of various emotions, while that indignant page has been read, in which Milton has tracked this clerical debauchee through the paths and into the haunts of depravity; and then thrown the glare of retributive daylight into their recesses. The justifiable personalities of this, and of the next works, have all the coherence of personification about them. More becomes a formal dramatic character—the type and representative of a species always numerous in religio-political establishments. The Morus of 1654 is the exact portraiture of one half of those who have been, and in this nineteenth century are, candidates for office in a church which shall be nameless,—a corporeal spirituality under which the land and religion yet groan: —and the mitred successors of the lowly apostles who are so busily occupied within its hallowed enclosure, not being invested with the power of discerning spirits, can never prevent such men from obtaining their holy orders for admission into that spiritual and temporal vineyard. While the eye of the bishop cannot detect hypocrisy, the palm of his hand possesses the touch of indelibility, and the wand of discipline is broken against the silver crozier.

The character of our defender was unassailable and unsullied. His heart was as pure as his intellect, and harmoniously did all their powers and passions unite to make up the perfect homogeneousness of this exalted specimen of humanity. All his works illustrate this wonderful permeability, so to speak, of his whole nature—this fine but thorough articulation of his mental and moral energies—this sublime and perpetual reciprocity and sympathy between all the stores and functions of his soul. The kingdom of his spirit was not divided

against itself, and with the strictest internal independence, the league of all the provinces, for resistance or conquest, was unbroken, federal, and complete.

The Second Defence has furnished life-writers with more materials than all his other works put together; and it has been well gleaned. We have availed ourselves of it, as far as we could, for explanatory, not biographical, purposes; and we would urge all who are not acquainted with it as a whole, and those who may have imbibed prejudices against the author or his party, to peruse, and pause, and ponder over it as the most ingenuous and interesting of memorials, furnished by one of the greatest and best of men;—the rock and the quarry, at once furnishing the materials to form, and the munition to protect, the edifice of his beautiful character. We pass by the exordium, wherein he recounts in the most impassioned style and with fervent gratitude, his own and the labours of others on behalf of liberty, and in which with prophetic exultation he throws her sacred fires into the heart of the benighted continent; we pass by the eulogium on the Queen of Sweden, in the lustre of which her crown becomes a bauble; we pass by the not less magnanimous than magnificent panegyrick upon Cromwell, in which with consummate art the glowing recital of his achievements is made subservient to the most noble and solemn advice, and the glory of the past gathered up in suspense until the revelation of the future; we pass by the concluding appeal to his countrymen, which the hearts of the illustrious Protector, and his Ironsides, must have felt, had they been harder than the mail which covered them: we pass by these topics, and others which complete the crown, and constitute the political charm, of the work:—for Milton himself is before us! and invective and eulogy, the revolutionary storm and the portentous calm, warriors and their prowess, priests and their craft, vanish with the whole motley drama: the man—the patriot—the bard—the Christian—Milton is before us!

The Second Defence will ever be considered as the most satisfactory refutation of those calumnies and reproaches, which have been so industriously heaped upon its writer, and the men with whom he acted. No one who knows any thing of the character of Milton, would presume to accuse him of profligacy of principle, either in serving the council, or Cromwell. They with whom he condescended to co-operate, did their utmost to place the government on a safe, liberal, and lasting basis; and though the issue of their endeavours was unfortunate, few, now-a-days, will question their abilities in the council and in the field, in peace and in war; or their sincere devotion to the glory and welfare of their country.

The influence of the Second Defence upon public opinion was wonderful. Morus denied the authorship, and published his "Fides Publica;" to which Milton replied in that most tremendous of all castigations—"Authoris pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum, Ecclesiasten:" The Author's Defence of himself against Alexander More, Ecclesiastic. It is almost a merciless retaliation on poor More; and perhaps the severest, acutest, wittiest specimen of retort or reply on record. Milton's detestation of vice is only equal to the dreadless majesty with which he exposes it. The Latin language, with all its mechanical stubbornness, is perfectly ductile to his will—it melts to his touch, and moulds itself into a fiery essence to do his bidding, and express, like an "airy servitor," the least or the greatest emotions. He was an incomparable reviewer. Nothing escapes him—and he avoids nothing;—he always rushes into the midst of the combat, and he comes out of the hottest melée unscathed, and even unbreathed. More was compelled to another struggle; his answer was again briefly refuted by Milton in a piece entitled, "Authoris ad Alexandri Mori Supplementum Responsio:" The Author's Answer to the Supplement of Alexander More: and so ended the controversy; and like the last of every thing, its end is affecting. These political writings, so distinguished by every grace and glory of rhetorick, carried the celebrity of their author's name and cause to the very bounds of classic Europe. The fights are over—the victories won—one adversary after another silenced—the Salmasian controversy concluded: that volcano, with its noisy craters, is extinct—the lava is as cold as the Arctic

snows—and we have seen a mighty genius acting upon the sky-ward eruption, like the law of gravitation; and the higher the burning fragments of rage and vituperation may have been thrown, the more hideous falls on the earth-born head that ruin of which we have witnessed the recoil.

The death of Cromwell took place on the 3rd of September, 1659: on that day, it is observable, he was born; on that day he fought the three great battles of Marston-Moor, Worcester, and Dunbar; and on that day he died, in the peaceable possession of the sovereign power. The uncorruptible patriotism of Milton led him to retain office under this usurper—the greatest man that ever sat on an English throne. Hope that he would be able to reconstruct the commonwealth, fear that in case of his desertion the hateful dynasty would be restored, and a desire to maintain the honour of his country abroad, may have been the considerations which led our author, with all his republican predilections, to render the Protector his assistance and support. Grievously, however, must he have been disappointed; not more perhaps by some things which Cromwell did, than by what he left undone;—but the conduct of the four factions hardly left him any leisure from curbing their insolence, and defeating their machinations. Milton was not the only distinguished servant of Cromwell—Hale served him as chief justice; Howe and Owen officiated as his chaplains; and Blake refused not to wield the truncheon of the navy under him.

Milton's two next works are valuable additions to our ample stores of what may be termed the literature of ecclesiastical liberty. Devoted to the consideration of two opposite evils, by which the church has always been afflicted or corrupted, two potent words, FORCE and HIRE, comprise the scope of both of these sound and able pamphlets. The first treatise relates to the exercise of force against conscience; the last to the equally dangerous exercise of political power or patronage in favour of any religious system. By the former, "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes; shewing, that it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion;" and by the latter, "Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church; wherein is also discoursed of Tythes, Church-fees, and Church-revenues; and whether any Maintenance of Ministers can be settled by Law;" we may consider the great political principle of absolute non-interference by the magistrate for or against Christianity (except on grounds of purely civil emergency, or expediency, or necessity) to be triumphantly settled and fundamentally established. They were both published, with an interval of a few months, in the year 1659. One was addressed to the parliament convened by Richard Cromwell; the other, the doctrines of which yet remain to be realized, was inscribed to the Long Parliament: both the pieces, though their author retained his Latin secretaryship, were private and unofficial. "I write not otherwise appointed or induced than by an inward persuasion of Christian duty, which I may usefully discharge to the common Lord and Master of us all." This was an important declaration. Milton was an avowed, and, on the subject of church-government, a thorough, independent. He was then addressing the presbyterians, who were as averse to toleration as ever were the episcopalians. The only real quarrel which these men had with Cromwell was, that he would not establish them; that he would not lend them his mighty arm to put down all other sectaries, and set up their Scotch inquisition, enforce their synodical censures, and place them in paramount possession of all the benefices and emoluments of the English, Scotch, and Irish hierarchies. This party, with the royalists, and the army, were now on the eve of making good the great usurper's prophecy, that, after his death, they would bring all things into confusion. The independents were not strong enough to cut through this "ill-united and unwieldy brigade;" and the mere multitude were incapable of estimating the dangers of a restoration, or the blessings of a commonwealth. Our politic author determined to avail himself of the last moments of expiring liberty, which he had "used these eighteen years on all occasions to assert the just rights and freedoms both of church and state;" and

in the pamphlets before us, he strikes a two-handed blow at that system of "force" and "hire," of intolerance and patronage, in matters of religion, out of which have arisen nearly all the convulsions of modern Europe. Both the works are written with beautiful simplicity and earnestness. The divine right and the political expediency of tithes are examined and refuted at great length, and with amazing learning and ingenuity. The pith and marrow of the argument, the strength and nerve of the language, will be found to contain all that is necessary, and all that might have been expected. Let it be remembered that he interrupted his four great works—his Poem, his History, his Latin Thesaurus, and his Theological Treatise—to write these two manuals. We particularly invite the immediate attention of our countrymen to the last of the two tracts. "In matters of religion," says our author, "he is learnedest who is plainest. The brevity I use, not exceeding a small manual, will not therefore I suppose be thought the less considerable, unless with them perhaps who think that great books only can determine great matters." Truth must triumph. We enjoy toleration, as it is insultingly styled; but we are yet to witness the utter subversion of intolerance, by the severance of the church from the state. Richard Cromwell soon abdicated his brief authority. For near two years after Cromwell's death, the government of England underwent various shapes, and every month almost produced a new scheme. The current of popular opinion ran strongly towards monarchy. The protestations of Monk, indeed, and the existence of the Long Parliament, in which there were few royalists and near fifty or sixty republicans, might support the faint hopes of the commonwealth-men. But Milton, as we find from his "Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth," dated Oct. 20, 1659, expresses his indignation at the outrages of the army, and his gloomy apprehensions for the future. Soon after, he addressed a letter to General Monk, entitled, "The present Means and brief Delineation of a free Commonwealth." Both these letters are very short, and hardly occupy two pages of this edition. A few months afterwards, he addressed General Monk again, in a more masterly production, "The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof, compared with the Inconveniences and Dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation." The motto to this performance, hinting probably at the advice which he had publicly given to the Protector,

"et nos
Consilium Syllæ dedimus, demus populo nunc,"

is as happy as his present counsel was opportune. With many evident inconsistencies, which will be easily excused, when we consider his own and the peril of his party, there is much to commend and more to admire. It is full of splendid writing and powerful anti-monarchical appeal. It was replied to both sportively and seriously, but not answered.

The last of Milton's controversial productions was, "Brief Notes upon a late Sermon, titled, The Fear of God and the King; preached, and since published, by Matthew Griffith, D. D. and Chaplain to the late King. Wherein many notorious wrestings of Scripture, and other Falsities, are observed." On the very eve of the Restoration he avows his republicanism. The insolent L'Estrange wrote a reply, entitled, "No Blind Guides."

A volume might be devoted to the critical examination of his letters, both private and official, on account both of their political and literary excellence. They are all written in Latin. There are thirty-one private ones—forty-three are written in the name of the parliament—seventy-eight in the name of the Protector Oliver—eleven in the name of the Protector Richard—and in the name of the "Parliament Restored," two only were written. The private letters will very much interest the reader. Those to his Athenian friend are noble and affecting, and in a biographical point of view, exceedingly valuable. It is to be regretted that so few epistles of so extensive a correspondent should have been handed down to posterity. It is probable that most of his correspondents were foreigners. The official letters are much more numerous. Milton was an universal genius, and it would

be difficult to predicate his failure in any undertaking in which learning or sagacity, wisdom or common sense, could insure success. It is a maxim in the mouth of the many, degrading to all who are above the level of mediocrity, and therefore reiterated by, those whom the decree of nature has placed below it, that, with the ordinary or extraordinary business of life, the man of science or genius, the philosopher or scholar, cannot meddle without making himself as ridiculous, as his interference must be prejudicial to the interests intrusted to him. This radical blunder has been acted upon in all ages; nor need we wonder at the remark of a certain chancellor to his son: "See, with what little wit the world is governed!" Not so thought Oliver Cromwell. His selection of servants in all the departments of government, was very honourable to himself, and the mainspring of his success in war and peace, in foreign and domestic policy. Had Milton left nothing else in prose but these letters, we should have considered them as proofs of his great capacity for business. No mechanical drudge could have written them. With all his ardour of temperament he had an amazing share of "sound round-about common sense"—warmed by pervading genius into a nobler power. We need not point out the historical value of these exquisite models of negociation and composition. The foreign policy of the commonwealth cannot be well understood without an acquaintance with them.

The juvenile Latin productions of Milton may be mentioned here—to recommend them merely, for to examine them minutely would be impossible. They are remarkable for felicity and correctness; for masculine energy, and ripeness of thought, and occasional splendour of expression; and as they show by what laborious industry and indefatigable perseverance our countryman realized the utmost excellence which these writings promised, they should be pointed out to the attention of every youth. In fact, selections from his Latin works, for the use of the higher schools, should immediately be made: they would not interfere with the more ancient classics, which they rival, but would necessarily stimulate to their imitation; and, mingled with a few judicious extracts from his English prose, to be translated into Latin or Greek, or to be used as exercises in recitation, the effect upon youths of a proper age, under a teacher worthy of being intrusted with some such plan, would be incredibly beneficial.

Milton's Latin Grammar, (1661,) and his Logic, (1672,) prove his deep interest in all that related to education. The former has been superseded, but the latter (with the interesting life prefixed to it) will always be regarded as a sound and useful system for discovering truth.

We conclude our task. No political actor ever performed a more distinguished part on a more elevated stage, than John Milton; nor, assuredly, did one ever retire from it so suddenly. Another and far different part of the great drama came on. A Stuart monarch was seated on the throne, and we hear no more of our politician. He was spared by Providence, not by royal clemency. What a change from the blaze of public life to the refuge of obscurity! It was an outward change only—made certainly more distressing by public ingratitude and private neglect, by the helplessness of blindness and poverty, and the increasing miseries of "crude old age." But, supported by celestial manna, and invigorated by the illumining Spirit, "the joy and solace of created things," his intellectual strength was more than equal to his day. "The troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes," on which he had been embarked, and on which he had been wrecked, was now exchanged for the final haven of "a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts;"—and soon he sent forth his immortal poems—the "Paradise Lost"—and "Paradise Regained!" It is sufficient to mention them! His beautiful "Treatise of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best means that may be used to prevent the growth of Popery," had not been long published, when he died, in the year 1674, and in the six and sixtieth of his age.

We have only glanced at the contents of this volume. Of itself it is more than sufficient to enable us to form a correct estimate of the literary, political, and religious character of John Milton. Taken in connexion with his poetical works, it will be impossible to produce an author entitled to superior veneration and renown. Equally resplendent in the annals of liberty and of song, the name of the author of these writings is a sufficient guarantee for their interest to the scholar, their value to the politician, and their utility to every patriotic Christian. They are now cast into a proper shape for circulation, and wherever carried, they will administer not less to the delight and profit, than to the intellectual and moral wants and necessities, of the age. In them will be found nothing dangerous or anarchical—dishonourable or polluting. The monarch will not here find any thing to derogate from his just authority. His nobles will here learn true magnanimity—his people be built up in love to their country and to himself, and in "willing homage to the prerogative of the Eternal Throne." The man of taste will be refreshed—the protestant will rejoice in the paramount allegiance of the poet to the great principles of the Reformation. The least will find that he may be useful—the greatest, that he may be worthless;—the most ignorant will here find an "eye-brightening electuary of knowledge and foresight"—the most learned, that his superior condescended to be most plain. These are the authorized works of a man, who never quailed before a tyrant, or bowed before a mob; but, after exerting the greatest abilities in the greatest of causes, in fortitude, and meekness, and patience possessed his spirit, and became, in adversity and prosperity, an exemplar for a nation of "heroes, of sages, and of worthies."

England is invested with supremacy in literature. She is not indebted for her imperial precedency to many of her sons. Great as is the number of her gigantic minds, two men she has reared and ripened, Milton and Shakspeare, whose achievements alone have raised her to a towering pre-eminence among the nations. Neither the ancients nor the moderns can match these Englishmen. Make the selection from any age, from the bright eras of the past, from the Greek or Roman constellations, to the later luminaries, and theirs will be found to be the brightest names that old Time wears in his gorgeous belt. To them an Englishman points, and by them settles the supremacy of his country. Without them we might claim equality with other kingdoms; with them we are entitled to superiority. When you think of England, you think of Shakspeare—you think of Milton—they are England. Other nations have heroes, and philosophers, and critics, and scholars, and divines, equal to our own, but they have not Shakspeare and Milton:—we have, and surpass them. Nature gave them to England, and no reverse of fortune can rob us of them. Their works are landmarks, pillars of truth, on these the high places of the earth—and they will be identified with our soil, when our institutions may have been swept from it, and when our political supremacy may have passed away. But, with their works in our hands, and with our Bible, read, and believed, and revered, and upheld, in cottage and in palace, we need not fear the loss of our heritage—the luxury that enfeebles—the vice that enslaves—the wealth that corrupts—the anarchy that overwhelms:—intelligence and piety, wisdom, and religion, and power, will be cherished and perpetuated for generations;—and with those who love these things, and bear the ark of British freedom, we leave, for their guidance and delight, this Book.

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THE PROSE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON.

OF REFORMATION IN ENGLAND,

AND

THE CAUSES THAT HITHERTO HAVE HINDERED IT.

IN TWO BOOKS.

WRITTEN TO A FRIEND.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1641.]

SIR,

AMIDST those deep and retired thoughts, which, with every man christianly instructed, ought to be most frequent of God, and of his miraculous ways and works amongst men, and of our religion and works, to be performed to him; after the story of our Saviour Christ, suffering to the lowest bent of weakness in the flesh, and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of glory in the spirit, which drew up his body also; till we in both be united to him in the revelation of his kingdom, I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side, and joy on the other, than to consider first the foul and sudden corruption, and then, after many a tedious age, the long deferred, but much more wonderful and happy reformation of the church in these latter days. Sad it is to think how that doctrine of the gospel, planted by teachers divinely inspired, and by them winnowed and sifted from the chaff of overdated ceremonies, and refined to such a spiritual height and temper of purity, and knowledge of the Creator, that the body, with all the circumstances of time and place, were purified by the affections of the regenerate soul, and nothing left impure but sin; faith needing not the weak and fallible office of the senses, to be either the ushers or interpreters of heavenly mysteries, save where our Lord himself in his sacraments ordained; that such a doctrine should, through the grossness and blindness of her professors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag so downwards, as to backslide into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new-vomited paganism of sensual idolatry, attributing purity or impurity to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the spirit to the outward and customary eye-service of the body, as if they could make God earthly and fleshly, because they could not make themselves heavenly and spiritual; they began to draw down all the divine intercourse betwixt God and the soul, yea, the very shape of God himself, into an exterior and bodily form, urgently pretending a necessity and obligement of joining the body in a formal reverence, and worship circumscribed; they hallowed it, they fumed it, they sprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold, and gewgaws fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the flamins vestry: then was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies and his lurries, till the soul by this means of overbodying herself, given up justly to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downward: and finding the ease she had from her visible and sensuous colleague the body, in performance of religious duties, her pinions now broken, and flagging, shifted off from herself the labour of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road, and drudging trade of outward conformity. And here out of question from her perverse conceiting of God and holy things, she had fallen to believe no God at all, had not custom and the worm of conscience nipped her incredulity:

hence to all the duties of evangelical grace, instead of the adoptive and cheerful boldness which our new alliance with God requires, came servile and thrallike fear: for in very deed, the superstitious man by his good will is an atheist; but being scared from thence by the pangs and gripes of a boiling conscience, all in a pudder shuffles up to himself such a God and such a worship as is most agreeable to remedy his fear; which fear of his, as also is his hope, fixed only upon the flesh, renders likewise the whole faculty of his apprehension carnal; and all the inward acts of worship, issuing from the native strength of the soul, run out lavishly to the upper skin, and there harden into a crust of formality. Hence men came to scan the Scriptures by the letter, and in the covenant of our redemption, magnified the external signs more than the quickening power of the Spirit; and yet looking on them through their own guiltiness with a servile fear, and finding as little comfort, or rather terrour from them again, they knew not how to hide their slavish approach to God's behests, by them not understood, nor worthily received, but by cloaking their servile crouching to all religious presentments, sometimes lawful, sometimes idolatrous, under the name of humility, and terming the piebald frippery and ostentation of ceremonies, decency.

Then was baptism, changed into a kind of exorcism and water, sanctified by Christ's institute, thought little enough to wash off the original spot, without the scratch or cross impression of a priest's forefinger: and that feast of free grace and adoption to which Christ invited his disciples to sit as brethren, and coheirs of the happy covenant, which at that table was to be sealed to them, even that feast of love and heavenly-admitted fellowship, the seal of filial grace, became the subject of horror, and glouting adoration, pageanted about like a dreadful idol; which sometimes deceives well-meaning men, and beguiles them of their reward, by their voluntary humility; which indeed is fleshly pride, preferring a foolish sacrifice, and the rudiments of the world, as Saint Paul to the Colossians explaineth, before a savoury obedience to Christ's example. Such was Peter's unseasonable humility, as then his knowledge was small, when Christ came to wash his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs strain courtesy with his master, and falling troublesomely upon the lowly, all-wise, and unexaminable intention of Christ, in what he went with resolution to do, so provoked by his interruption the meek Lord, that he threatened to exclude him from his heavenly portion, unless he could be content to be less arrogant and stiff-necked in his humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the depravities of the church, and how they sprung, and how they took increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how the bright and blissful reformation (by divine power) struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears; and the sweet odour of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.

The pleasing pursuit of these thoughts hath ofttimes led me into a serious question and debatement with myself, how it should come to pass that England (having had this grace and honour from God, to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of saving light to all christendom) should now be last, and most unsettled in the enjoyment of that peace, whereof she taught the way to others; although indeed our Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns; yet methinks the precedency which God gave this island, to be first restorer of buried truth, should have been followed with more happy success, and sooner attained perfection; in which as yet we are amongst the last: for, albeit in purity of doctrine we agree with our brethren; yet in discipline, which is the execution and applying of doctrine home, and laying the salve to the very orifice of the wound, yea, tenting and searching to the core, without which pulpit preaching is but shooting at rovers; in this we are no better than a schism from all the reformation, and a sore scandal to them: for while we hold ordination to belong only to bishops, as our prelates do, we must of necessity hold also their ministers to be no ministers, and shortly after their church to be no church. Not to speak of those senseless ceremonies which we only retain, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to Rome, and serving merely, either as a mist to cover nakedness where true grace is extinguished, or as an interlude to set out the pomp of prelatism. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore, and the pains, to inquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief causes have been, that have still hindered our uniform consent to the rest of the churches abroad, at this time especially when the kingdom is in a good propensity thereto, and all men in prayers, in hopes, or in disputes, either for or against it.

Yet I will not insist on that which may seem to be the cause on God's part; as his judgment on our sins, the trial of his own, the unmasking of hypocrites: nor shall I stay to speak of the continual eagerness and extreme diligence of the pope and papists to stop the furtherance of reformation, which know they have no hold or hope of England their lost darling, longer than the government of bishops bolsters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be seen by the book of Santa Clara, the popish priest, in

defence of bishops, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own prelates, out of an ominous fear, had writ on the same argument; as if they had joined their forces, like good confederates, to support one falling Babel.

But I shall chiefly endeavour to declare those causes that hinder the forwarding of true discipline, which are among ourselves. Orderly proceeding will divide our inquiry into our forefathers' days, and into our times. Henry VIII was the first that rent this kingdom from the pope's subjection totally; but his quarrel being more about supremacy, than other faultiness in religion that he regarded, it is no marvel if he stuck where he did. The next default was in the bishops, who though they had renounced the pope, they still hugged the popedom, and shared the authority among themselves, by their six bloody articles, persecuting the protestants no slacker than the pope would have done. And doubtless, whenever the pope shall fall, if his ruin be not like the sudden downcome of a tower, the bishops, when they see him tottering, will leave him, and fall to scrambling, catch who may, he a patriarchdom, and another what comes next hand; as the French cardinal of late and the see of Canterbury hath plainly affected.

In Edward the Sixth's days, why a complete reformation was not effected, to any considerate man may appear. First, he no sooner entered into his kingdom, but into a war with Scotland; from whence the protector returning with victory, had but newly put his hand to repeal the six articles, and throw the images out of churches, but rebellions on all sides, stirred up by obdurate papists, and other tumults, with a plain war in Norfolk, holding tack against two of the king's generals, made them of force content themselves with what they had already done. Hereupon followed ambitious contentions among the peers, which ceased not but with the protector's death, who was the most zealous in this point: and then Northumberland was he that could do most in England, who little minding religion, (as his apostasy well showed at his death,) bent all his wit how to bring the right of the crown into his own line. And for the bishops, they were so far from any such worthy attempts, as that they suffered themselves to be the common stales, to countenance with their prostituted gravities every politic fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the potent statists pleased to employ them. Never do we read that they made use of their authority and high place of access, to bring the jarring nobility to christian peace, or to withstand their disloyal projects: but if a toleration for mass were to be begged of the king for his sister Mary, lest Charles the Fifth should be angry; who but the grave prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, must be sent to extort it from the young king? But out of the mouth of that godly and royal child, Christ himself returned such an awful repulse to those halting and timeserving prelates, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without shame and tears.

Nor was this the first time that they discovered to be followers of this world; for when the protector's brother, Lord Sudley, the admiral, through private malice and malengine was to lose his life, no man could be found fitter than bishop Latimer (like another Dr. Shaw) to divulge in his sermon the forged accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the people, who else it was thought would take ill the innocent man's death, unless the reverend bishop could warrant them there was no foul play. What could be more impious than to debar the children of the king from their right to the crown? To comply with the ambitious usurpation of a traitor, and to make void the last will of Henry VIII, to which the breakers had sworn observance? Yet bishop Cranmer, one of the executors, and the other bishops, none refusing, (lest they should resist the duke of Northumberland,) could find in their consciences to set their hands to the disenabling and defeating not only of Princess Mary the papist, but of Elizabeth the protestant, and (by the bishops' judgment) the lawful issue of King Henry.

Who then can think (though these prelates had sought a further reformation) that the least wry face of a politician would not have hushed them? But it will be said, these men were martyrs: what then? though every true Christian will be a martyr when he is called to it, not presently does it follow, that every one suffering for religion is, without exception. Saint Paul writes, that "a man may give his body to be burnt, (meaning for religion,) and yet not have charity:" he is not therefore above all possibility of erring, because he burns for some points of truth.

Witness the* Arians and Pelagians, which were slain by the heathen for Christ's sake, yet we take both these for no true friends of Christ. If the martyrs (saith Cyprian in his 30th epistle) decree one thing, and the gospel another, either the martyrs must lose their crown by not observing the gospel for which they are martyrs, or the majesty of the gospel must be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopped by the novelty of any other decree.

And here withal I invoke the Immortal Deity, revealer and judge of secrets, that wherever I have in this book plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemishes of fathers, martyrs, or christian emperors, or have otherwise inveighed against errour and superstition with vehement expressions; I have done it neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vain glory, but of mere necessity to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteem, that she is like to find small credit with us for what she can say, unless she can bring a ticket from Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; or prove herself a retainer to Constantine, and wear his badge. More tolerable it were for the church of God, that all these names were utterly abolished like the brazen serpent, than that men's fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated.

* It appears from this and other passages, that the author in his younger years was orthodox, as it is called: but he afterwards altered his sentiments; as is plain from his tract on "True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration," which was the last work he published.

Now to proceed, whatsoever the bishops were, it seems they themselves were unsatisfied in matters of religion as they then stood, by that commission granted to eight bishops, eight other divines, eight civilians, eight common lawyers, to frame ecclesiastical constitutions; which no wonder if it came to nothing, for (as Hayward relates) both their professions and their ends were different. Lastly, we all know by example, that exact reformation is not perfected at the first push, and those unwieldy times of Edward VI may hold some plea by this excuse. Now let any reasonable man judge whether that king's reign be a fit time from whence to pattern out the constitution of a church discipline, much less that it should yield occasion from whence to foster and establish the continuance of imperfection, with the commendatory subscriptions of confessors and martyrs, to entitle and engage a glorious name to a gross corruption. It was not episcopacy that wrought in them the heavenly fortitude of martyrdom, as little is it that martyrdom can make good episcopacy; but it was episcopacy that led the good and holy men, through the temptation of the enemy, and the snare of this present world, to many blameworthy and opprobrious actions. And it is still episcopacy that before all our eyes worsens and slugs the most learned and seeming religious of our ministers, who no sooner advanced to it, but like a seething pot set to cool, sensibly exhale and reak out the greatest part of that zeal, and those gifts which were formerly in them, settling in a skinny congealment of ease and sloth at the top: and if they keep their learning by some potent sway of nature, it is a rare chance; but their devotion most commonly comes to that queazy temper of lukewarmness, that gives a vomit to God himself.

But what do we suffer misshapen and enormous prelatism, as we do, thus to blanch and varnish her deformities with the fair colours, as before of martyrdom, so now of episcopacy? They are not bishops, God and all good men know they are not, that have filled this land with late confusion and violence; but a tyrannical crew and corporation of impostors, that have blinded and abused the world so long under that name. He that, enabled with gifts from God, and the lawful and primitive choice of the church assembled in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his parochial flock, has his coequal and compresbyterial power to ordain ministers and deacons by public prayer, and vote of Christ's congregation in like sort as he himself was ordained, and is a true apostolic bishop. But when he steps up into the chair of pontifical pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary house for a misgoverned and haughty palace, spiritual dignity for carnal precedence, and secular high office and employment for the high negotiations of his heavenly embassage, then he degrades, then he unbishops himself; he that makes him bishop, makes him no bishop. No marvel therefore if St. Martin complained to Sulpitius Severus, that since he was bishop he felt inwardly a sensible decay of those virtues and graces that God had given him in great measure before; although the same Sulpitius write that he was nothing tainted or altered in his habit, diet, or personal demeanour from that simple plainness to which he first betook himself. It was not therefore that thing alone which God took displeasure at in the bishops of those times, but rather an universal rottenness and gangrene in the whole function.

From hence then I pass to Queen Elizabeth, the next protestant prince, in whose days why religion attained not a perfect reducement in the beginning of her reign, I suppose the hindering causes will be found to be common with some formerly alleged for King Edward VI; the greenness of the times, the weak estate which Queen Mary left the realm in, the great places and offices executed by papists, the judges, the lawyers, the justices of peace for the most part popish, the bishops firm to Rome; from whence was to be expected the furious flashing of excommunications, and absolving the people from their obedience. Next, her private counsellors, whoever they were, persuaded her (as Camden writes) that the altering of ecclesiastical policy would move sedition. Then was the liturgy given to a number of moderate divines and Sir Thomas Smith a statesman, to be purged and physicked: and surely they were moderate divines indeed, neither hot nor cold; and Grindal the best of them, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, lost favour in the court, and I think was discharged the government of his see, for favouring the ministers, though Camden seem willing to find another cause: therefore about her second year, in a parliament, of men and minds some scarce well grounded, others belching the sour crudities of yesterday's popery, those constitutions of Edward VI, which as you heard before no way satisfied the men that made them, are now established for best, and not to be mended. From that time followed nothing but imprisonments, troubles, disgraces on all those that found fault with the decrees of the convocation, and straight were they branded with the name of puritans. As for the queen herself, she was made believe that by putting down bishops her prerogative would be infringed, of which shall be spoken anon as the course of method brings it in: and why the prelates laboured it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their bellies. They had found a good tabernacle, they sate under a spreading vine, their lot was fallen in a fair inheritance. And these perhaps were the chief impeachments of a more sound rectifying the church in the queen's time.

From this period I count to begin our times, which because they concern us more nearly, and our own eyes and ears can give us the ampler scope to judge, will require a more exact search; and to effect this the speedier, I shall distinguish such as I esteem to be the hinderers of reformation into three sorts, Antiquitarians (for so I had rather call them than antiquaries, whose labours are useful and laudable). 2. Libertines. 3. Politicians.

To the votarists of antiquity I shall think to have fully answered, if I shall be able to prove out of antiquity, First, that if they will conform our bishops to

the purer times, they must mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curtailed bishops of them; and we know they hate to be docked and clipped, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that those purer times were corrupt, and their books corrupted soon after. Thirdly, that the best of those that then wrote disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the Scriptures.

First therefore, if those that overaffect antiquity will follow the square thereof, their bishops must be elected by the hands of the whole church. The ancientest of the extant fathers, Ignatius, writing to the Philadelphians, saith, "that it belongs to them as to the church of God to choose a bishop." Let no man cavil, but take the church of God as meaning the whole consistence of orders and members, as St. Paul's epistles express, and this likewise being read over: besides this, it is there to be marked, that those Philadelphians are exhorted to choose a bishop of Antioch. Whence it seems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of diocese in those times, which is confirmed even by a fast friend of episcopacy, Camden, who cannot but love bishops as well as old coins, and his much lamented monasteries, for antiquity's sake. He writes in his description of Scotland, "That over all the world bishops had no certain diocese till pope Dionysius about the year 268 did cut them out; and that the bishops of Scotland executed their function in what place soever they came indifferently, and without distinction, till King Malcolm the Third, about the year 1070." Whence may be guessed what their function was: was it to go about circled with a band of rooking officials, with cloakbags full of citations, and processes to be served by a corporality of griffonlike promoters and apparitors? Did he go about to pitch down his court, as an empiric does his bank, to inveigle in all the money of the country? No, certainly, it would not have been permitted him to exercise any such function indifferently wherever he came. And verily some such matter it was as want of a fat diocese that kept our Britain bishops so poor in the primitive times, that being called to the council of Ariminum in the year 359, they had not wherewithal to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed and lodged upon the emperor's cost; which must needs be no accidental but usual poverty in them: for the author, Sulpitius Severus, in his 2d book of Church-History, praises them, and avouches it praiseworthy in a bishop to be so poor as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of bishops, that it could not lawfully be without the consent of the people is so express in Cyprian, and so often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to translate a good part of the volume; therefore touching the chief passages, I refer the rest to whom so list peruse the author himself: in the 24th epistle, "If a bishop," saith he, "be once made and allowed by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and the people, no other can be made." In the 55th, "When a bishop is made by the suffrage of all the people in peace." In the 68th mark but what he says; "The people chiefly hath power either of choosing worthy ones, or refusing unworthy:" this he there proves by authorities out of the Old and New Testament, and with solid reasons: these were his antiquities.

This voice of the people, to be had ever in episcopal elections, was so well known before Cyprian's time, even to those that were without the church, that the emperor Alexander Severus desired to have his governors of provinces chosen in the same manner, as Lampridius can tell; so little thought it he offensive to monarchy. And if single authorities persuade not, hearken what the whole general council of Nicæa, the first and famousest of all the rest, determines, writing a synodical epistle to the African churches, to warn them of Arianism; it exhorts them to choose orthodox bishops in the place of the dead, so they be worthy, and the people choose them; whereby they seem to make the people's assent so necessary, that merit, without their free choice, were not sufficient to make a bishop. What would ye say now, grave fathers, if you should wake and see unworthy bishops, or rather no bishops, but Egyptian taskmasters of ceremonies thrust purposely upon the groaning church, to the affliction and vexation of God's people? It was not of old that a conspiracy of bishops could frustrate and fob off the right of the people; for we may read how St. Martin, soon after Constantine, was made bishop of Turin in France, by the people's consent from all places thereabout, maugre all the opposition that the bishops could make. Thus went matters of the church almost 400 years after Christ, and very probably far lower: for Nicephorus Phocas the Greek emperor, whose reign fell near the 1000 year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is said by Cedrenus to have done nothing more grievous and displeasing to the people, than to have enacted that no bishop should be chosen without his will; so long did this right remain to the people in the midst of other palpable corruptions. Now for episcopal dignity, what it was, see out of Ignatius, who in his epistle to those of Trallis, confesseth, "That the presbyters are his fellow-counsellors and fellow-benchers." And Cyprian in many places, as in the 6th, 41st, 52d epistles, speaking of presbyters, calls them his compresbyters, as if he deemed himself no other, whenas by the same place it appears he was a bishop; he calls them brethren, but that will be thought his meekness: yea, but the presbyters and deacons writing to him think they do him honour enough, when they phrase him no higher than brother Cyprian, and dear Cyprian in the 26th epistle. For their authority it is evident not to have been single, but depending on the counsel of the presbyters as from Ignatius was erewhile alleged; and the same Cyprian acknowledges as much in the 6th epistle, and adds thereto, that he had determined, from his entrance into the office of bishop, to do nothing without the consent of his people, and so in the 31st epistle, for it were tedious to course through all his writings, which are so full of the like assertions, insomuch that even in the womb and centre of apostasy, Rome itself, there yet remains a glimpse of this truth; for the pope himself, as a learned English writer notes well, performeth all ecclesiastical jurisdic-

tion as in consistory among his cardinals, which were originally but the parish priests of Rome. Thus then did the spirit of unity and meekness inspire and animate every joint and sinew of the mystical body; but now the gravest and worthiest minister, a true bishop of his fold, shall be reviled and ruffled by an insulting and only canon-wise prelate, as if he were some slight paltry companion: and the people of God, redeemed and washed with Christ's blood, and dignified with so many glorious titles of saints and sons in the gospel, are now no better reputed than impure ethnics and lay dogs; stones, and pillars, and crucifixes, have now the honour and the alms due to Christ's living members; the table of communion, now become a table of separation, stands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the quire, fortified with bulwark and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the laics, whilst the obscene and surfeited priest scruples not to paw and mammoc the sacramental bread, as familiarly as his tavern biscuit. And thus the people, vilified and rejected by them, give over the earnest study of virtue and godliness, as a thing of greater purity than they need, and the search of divine knowledge as a mystery too high for their capacities, and only for churchmen to meddle with; which is what the prelates desire, that when they have brought us back to popish blindness, we might commit to their dispose the whole managing of our salvation, for they think it was never fair world with them since that time. But he that will mould a modern bishop into a primitive, must yield him to be elected by the popular voice, undiocesed, unrevenued, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchless temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer and preaching, continual watchings and labours in his ministry; which what a rich booty it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping-mouth of a prelate, what a relish it would give to his canary-sucking and swan-eating palate, let old bishop Mountain judge for me.

How little therefore those ancient times make for modern bishops, hath been plainly discoursed; but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not to stand to their arbitrement, shall now appear by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times foully tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These positions are to be made good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, Ignatius in his early days testifies to the churches of Asia, that even then heresies were sprung up, and rise every where, as Eusebius relates in his 3d book, 35th chap. after the Greek number. And Hegesippus, a grave church writer of prime antiquity, affirms in the same book of Eusebius, c. 32: "That while the apostles were on earth, the depravers of doctrine did but lurk; but they once gone, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities". Yea, those that are reckoned for orthodox, began to make sad and shameful rents in the church about the trivial celebration of feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter-day; which controversy grew so hot, that Victor the bishop of Rome excommunicated all the churches of Asia for no other cause, and was worthily thereof reproved by Irenæus. For can any sound theologer think, that these great fathers understood what was gospel, or what was excommunication? Doubtless that which led the good men into fraud and errour was, that they attended more to the near tradition of what they heard the apostles sometimes did, than to what they had left written, not considering that many things which they did were by the apostles themselves professed to be done only for the present, and of mere indulgence to some scrupulous converts of the circumcision, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the 1st cap. of Eusebius 8th book. What a universal tetter of impurity had envenomed every part, order, and degree of the church, to omit the lay herd, which will be little regarded, "those that seem to be our pastors," saith he, "overturning the law of God's worship, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increasing in hatred and bitterness, outrageously sought to uphold lordship, and command as it were a tyranny." Stay but a little, magnanimous bishops, suppress your aspiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but Constantine to reign, and then tyranny herself shall give up all her citadels into your hands, and count ye thenceforward her trustiest agents. Such were these that must be called the ancientest and most virgin times between Christ and Constantine. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings: who is ignorant of the foul errours, the ridiculous wresting of Scripture, the heresies, the vanities thick sown through the volumes of Justin Martyr, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian, and others of eldest time? Who would think him fit to write an apology for christian faith to the Roman senate, that would tell them "how of the angels," which he must needs mean those in Genesis called the sons of God, "mixing with women were begotten the devils," as good Justin Martyr in his Apology told them? But more indignation would it move to any Christian that shall read Tertullian, terming St. Paul a novice, and raw in grace, for reproving St. Peter at Antioch, worthy to be blamed if we believe the epistle to the Galatians: perhaps from this hint the blasphemous Jesuits presumed in Italy to give their judgment of St. Paul, as of a hotheaded person, as Sandys in his relations tells us.

Now besides all this, who knows not how many superstitious works are ingraffed into the legitimate writings of the fathers? And of those books that pass for authentic, who knows what hath been tampered withal, what hath been razed out, what hath been inserted? Besides the late legerdemain of the papists, that which Sulpitius writes concerning Origen's books, gives us cause vehemently to suspect, there hath been packing of old. In the third chap. of his 1st Dialogue we may read what wrangling the bishops and monks had about the reading or not reading of Origen; some objecting that he was corrupted by heretics, others answering that all such books had been so dealt with. How then shall I trust these times to lead me, that

testify so ill of leading themselves? Certainly of their defects their own witness may be best received, but of the rectitude and sincerity of their life and doctrine, to judge rightly, we must judge by that which was to be their rule.

But it will be objected, that this was an unsettled state of the church, wanting the temporal magistrate to suppress the licence of false brethren, and the extravagancy of still new opinions; a time not imitable for church government, where the temporal and spiritual power did not close in one belief, as under Constantine. I am not of opinion to think the church a vine in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the elm of worldly strength and felicity, as if the heavenly city could not support itself without the props and buttresses of secular authority. They extol Constantine because he extolled them; as our homebred monks in their histories blanch the kings their benefactors, and brand those that went about to be their correctors. If he had curbed the growing pride, avarice, and luxury of the clergy, then every page of his story should have swelled with his faults, and that which Zozimus the heathen writes of him should have come in to boot: we should have heard then in every declamation how he slew his nephew Commodus, a worthy man, his noble and eldest son Crispus, his wife Fausta, besides numbers of his friends; then his cruel exactions, his unsoundness in religion, favouring the Arians that had been condemned in a council, of which himself sat as it were president; his hard measure and banishment of the faithful and invincible Athanasius; his living unbaptized almost to his dying day; these blurs are too apparent in his life. But since he must needs be the loadstar of reformation, as some men clatter, it will be good to see further his knowledge of religion what it was, and by that we may likewise guess at the sincerity of his times in those that were not heretical, it being likely that he would converse with the famousest prelates (for so he had made them) that were to be found for learning.

Of his Arianism we heard, and for the rest a pretty scantling of his knowledge may be taken by his deferring to be baptized so many years, a thing not usual, and repugnant to the tenour of Scripture; Philip knowing nothing that should hinder the eunuch to be baptized after profession of his belief. Next, by the excessive devotion, that I may not say superstition, both of him and his mother Helena, to find out the cross on which Christ suffered, that had long lain under the rubbish of old ruins; (a thing which the disciples and kindred of our Saviour might with more ease have done, if they had thought it a pious duty;) some of the nails whereof he put into his helmet, to bear off blows in battle, others he fastened among the studs of his bridle, to fulfil (as he thought, or his court bishops persuaded him) the prophecy of Zechariah; "And it shall be that which is in the bridle shall be holy to the Lord." Part of the cross, in which he thought such virtue to reside, as would prove a kind of Palladium to save the city wherever it remained, he caused to be laid up in a pillar of porphyry by his statue. How he or his teachers could trifle thus with half an eye open upon St. Paul's principles, I know not how to imagine.

How should then the dim taper of this emperor's age, that had such need of snuffing, extend any beam to our times, wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, than by those luminaries that God hath set up to shine to us far nearer hand. And what reformation he wrought for his own time, it will not be amiss to consider; he appointed certain times for fasts and feasts, built stately churches, gave large immunities to the clergy, great riches and promotions to bishops, gave and ministered occasion to bring in a deluge of ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the heathen by a resemblance of their rites, or to set a gloss upon the simplicity and plainness of Christianity; which, to the gorgeous solemnities of paganism, and the sense of the world's children, seemed but a homely and yeomanly religion; for the beauty of inward sanctity was not within their prospect.

So that in this manner the prelates, both then and ever since, coming from a mean and plebeian life on a sudden to be lords of stately palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and princely attendance, thought the plain and homespun verity of Christ's gospel unfit any longer to hold their lordships' acquaintance, unless the poor threadbare matron were put into better clothes: her chaste and modest vail, surrounded with celestial beams, they overlaid with wanton tresses, and in a staring tire bespeckled her with all the gaudy allurements of a whore.

Thus flourished the church with Constantine's wealth, and thereafter were the effects that followed; his son Constantius proved a flat Arian, and his nephew Julian an apostate, and there his race ended: the church that before by insensible degrees welked and impaired, now with large steps went down hill decaying: at this time Antichrist began first to put forth his horn, and that saying was common, that former times had wooden chalices and golden priests; but they, golden chalices and wooden priests. "Formerly," saith Sulpitius, "martyrdom by glorious death was sought more greedily than now bishoprics by vile ambition are hunted after," speaking of these times: and in another place, "they gape after possessions, they tend lands and livings, they cower over their gold, they buy and sell: and if there be any that neither possess nor traffic, that which is worse, they set still, and expect gifts, and prostitute every endowment of grace, every holy thing, to sale." And in the end of his history thus he concludes: "All things went to wrack by the faction, wilfulness, and avarice of the bishops; and by this means God's people, and every good man, was had in scorn and derision;" which St. Martin found truly to be said by his friend Sulpitius; for, being held in admiration of all men, he had only the bishops his enemies, found God less favourable to him after he was bishop than before, and for his last sixteen years would come at no bishop's meeting. Thus you see, sir, what Constantine's doings in the church brought forth, either in his own or in his son's reign.

Now, lest it should be thought that something else might ail this author thus to hamper the bishops of those days, I will bring you the opinion of three the famousest men for wit and learning that Italy at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a received opinion, even among men professing the Romish faith, that Constantine marred all in the church. Dante, in his 19th Canto of Inferno, hath thus, as I will render it you in English blank verse:

> Ah Constantine! of how much ill was cause
> Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
> That the first wealthy pope receiv'd of thee!

So, in his 20th Canto of Paradise, he makes the like complaint, and Petrarch seconds him in the same mind in his 108th sonnet, which is wiped out by the inquisitor in some editions; speaking of the Roman Antichrist as merely bred up by Constantine.

> Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
> 'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou lift thy horn,
> Impudent whore, where hast thou plac'd thy hope?
> In thy adulterers, or thy ill-got wealth?
> Another Constantine comes not in haste.

Ariosto of Ferrara, after both these in time, but equal in fame, following the scope of his poem in a difficult knot how to restore Orlando his chief hero to his lost senses, brings Astolfo the English knight up into the moon, where St. John, as he feigns, met him. Cant. 34.

> And to be short, at last his guide him brings
> Into a goodly valley, where he sees
> A mighty mass of things strangely confus'd,
> Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd.

And amongst these so abused things, listen what he met withal, under the conduct of the Evangelist.

> Then past he to a flowery mountain green,
> Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously:
> This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
> That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.

And this was a truth well known in England before this poet was born, as our Chaucer's Ploughman shall tell you by and by upon another occasion. By all these circumstances laid together, I do not see how it can be disputed what good this emperor Constantine wrought to the church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, set open a door to more mischief in christendom. There is just cause therefore, that when the prelates cry out, Let the church be reformed according to Constantine, it should sound to a judicious ear no otherwise, than if they should say, Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawless; for if any under him were not so, thanks to those ancient remains of integrity, which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his government.

Thus finally it appears, that those purer times were not such as they are cried up, and not to be followed without suspicion, doubt, and danger. The last point wherein the antiquary is to be dealt with at his own weapon, is, to make it manifest that the ancientest and best of the fathers have disclaimed all sufficiency in themselves that men should rely on, and sent all comers to the Scriptures, as allsufficient: that this is true, will not be unduly gathered, by shewing what esteem they had of antiquity themselves, and what validity they thought in it to prove doctrine or discipline. I must of necessity begin from the second rank of fathers, because till then antiquity could have no plea. Cyprian in his 63d Epistle: "If any," saith he, "of our ancestors, either ignorantly or out of simplicity, hath not observed that which the Lord taught us by example," speaking of the Lord's supper, "his simplicity God may pardon of his mercy; but we cannot be excused for following him, being instructed by the Lord." And have not we the same instructions; and will not this holy man, with all the whole consistory of saints and martyrs that lived of old, rise up and stop our mouths in judgment, when we shall go about to father our errours and opinions upon their authority? In the 73d Epist. he adds, "In vain do they oppose custom to us, if they be overcome by reason; as if custom were greater than truth, or that in spiritual things that were not to be followed, which is revealed for the better by the Holy Ghost." In the 74th, "Neither ought custom to hinder that truth should not prevail; for custom without truth is but agedness of errour."

Next Lactantius, he that was preferred to have the bringing up of Constantine's children, in his second book of Institutions, chap. 7 and 8, disputes against the vain trust in antiquity, as being the chiefest argument of the Heathen against the Christians: "They do not consider," saith he, "what religion is, but they are confident it is true, because the ancients delivered it; they count it a trespass to examine it." And in the eighth: "Not because they went before us in time, therefore in wisdom; which being given alike to all ages, cannot be prepossessed by the ancients: wherefore, seeing that to seek the truth is inbred to all, they bereave themselves of wisdom, the gift of God, who without judgment follow the ancients, and are led by others like brute beasts." St. Austin writes to Fortunatian, that "he counts it lawful, in the books of whomsoever, to reject that which he finds otherwise than true; and so he would have others deal by him." He neither accounted, as it seems, those fathers that went before, nor himself, nor others of his rank, for men of more than ordinary spirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceived: and ofttimes setting our servile humours aside, yea, God so ordering we may find truth with one man, as soon as in a council, as Cyprian agrees, 71st Epist. "Many things," saith he, "are better revealed to single persons." At Nicæ, in the first and best-reputed council of all the world, there had gone out a canon to divorce married priests, had not one old man, Paphnutius, stood up and reasoned against it.

Now remains it to shew clearly that the fathers refer all decision of controversy to the scriptures, as allsufficient to direct, to resolve, and to determine. Ignatius, taking his last leave of the Asian churches, as he went to martyrdom, exhorted them to adhere close to the written doctrine of the apostles, necessarily written

for posterity: so far was he from unwritten traditions, as may be read in the 30th chap. of Eusebius, 3d b. In the 74th Epist. of Cyprian against Stefan, bishop of Rome, imposing upon him a tradition; "Whence," quoth he, "is this tradition? Is it fetched from the authority of Christ in the gospel, or of the apostles in their epistles? for God testifies that those things are to be done which are written." And then thus, "What obstinacy, what presumption is this, to prefer human tradition before divine ordinance?" And in the same epist. "if we shall return to the head, and beginning of divine tradition, (which we all know he means the Bible,) human errour ceases; and the reason of heavenly mysteries unfolded, whatsoever was obscure becomes clear." And in the 14th distinct. of the same epist. directly against our modern fantasies of a still visible church, he teaches, "that succession of truth may fail; to renew which, we must have recourse to the fountains;" using this excellent similitude, "if a channel, or conduit-pipe which brought in water plentifully before, suddenly fail, do we not go to the fountain to know the cause, whether the spring affords no more, or whether the vein be stopped, or turned aside in the midcourse? Thus ought we to do, keeping God's precepts, that if in aught the truth shall be changed, we may repair to the gospel and to the apostles, that thence may arise the reason of our doings, from whence our order and beginning arose." In the 75th he inveighs bitterly against pope Stephanus, "for that he could boast his succession from Peter, and yet foist in traditions that were not apostolical." And in his book of the unity of the church, he compares those that, neglecting God's word, follow the doctrines of men, to Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. The very first page of Athanasius against the gentiles, avers the scriptures to be sufficient of themselves for the declaration of truth; and that if his friend Macarius read other religious writers, it was but φιλοκάλος come un vertuoso, (as the Italians say,) as a lover of elegance: and in his second tome, the 39th page, after he hath reckoned up the canonical books, "in these only," saith he, "is the doctrine of godliness taught; let no man add to these, or take from these." And in his Synopsis, having again set down all the writers of the Old and New Testament, "these," saith he, "be the anchors and props of our faith." Besides these, millions of other books have been written by great and wise men according to rule, and agreement with these, of which I will not now speak, as being of infinite number, and mere dependance on the canonical books. Basil, in his 2d tome, writing of true faith, tells his auditors, he is bound to teach them that which he hath learned out of the Bible: and in the same treatise he saith, "that seeing the commandments of the Lord are faithful, and sure for ever, it is a plain falling from the faith, and a high pride, either to make void any thing therein, or to introduce any thing not there to be found:" and he gives the reason, "for Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice, they will not follow another, but fly from him, because they know not his voice." But not to be endless in quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many opinions in the fathers which have no ground in Scripture; so much the less, may I say, should we follow them, for their own words shall condemn them, and acquit us that lean not on them; otherwise these their words will acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be replied, the Scriptures are difficult to be understood, and therefore require the explanation of the fathers. It is true, there be some books, and especially some places in those books, that remain clouded; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known is most easy; and that which is most difficult, so far expounds itself ever, as to tell us how little it imports our saving knowledge. Hence, to infer a general obscurity over all the text, is a mere suggestion of the devil to dissuade men from reading it, and casts an aspersion of dishonour both upon the mercy, truth, and wisdom of God. We count it no gentleness or fair dealing in a man of power amongst us, to require strict and punctual obedience, and yet give out all his commands ambiguous and obscure, we should think he had a plot upon us; certainly such commands were no commands, but snares. The very essence of truth is plainness and brightness, the darkness and crookedness is our own. The wisdom of God created understanding, fit and proportionable to truth, the object and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible. If our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glisterings, what is that to truth? If we will but purge with sovereign eyesalve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us, then we would believe the Scriptures protesting their own plainness and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the wise and learned, but the simple, the poor, the babes, foretelling an extraordinary effusion of God's Spirit upon every age and sex, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of searching, trying, examining all things, and by the spirit discerning that which is good; and as the Scriptures themselves pronounce their own plainness, so do the fathers testify of them.

I will not run into a paroxysm of citations again in this point, only instance Athanasius in his forementioned first page: "The knowledge of truth," saith he, "wants no human lore, as being evident in itself, and by the preaching of Christ now opens brighter than the sun." If these doctors, who had scarce half the light that we enjoy, who all, except two or three, were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous and suspectful translations of the apostate Aquila, the heretical Theodotian, the judaized Symmachus, the erroneous Origen; if these could yet find the Bible so easy, why should we doubt, that have all the helps of learning, and faithful industry, that man in this life can look for, and the assistance of God as near now to us as ever? But let the Scriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse than the fathers? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected style of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzled with the knotty Africanisms, the pampered metaphors, the intricate and involved sentences of the fathers, besides the

fantastic and declamatory, flashes the cross-jingling periods which cannot but disturb and come thwart a settled devotion, worse than the din of bells and rattles.

Now, sir, for the love of holy Reformation, what can be said more against these importunate clients of antiquity than she herself their patroness hath said? Whether, think ye, would she approve still to doat upon immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary and unmerciful volumes, choosing rather to err with the specious name of the fathers, or to take a sound truth at the hand of a plain upright man, that all his days have been diligently reading the holy Scriptures, and thereto imploring God's grace, while the admirers of antiquity have been beating their brains about their ambones, their dyptichs, and meniaias? Now, he that cannot tell of stations and indictions, nor has wasted his precious hours in the endless conferring of councils and conclaves that demolish one another, (although I know many of those that pretend to be great rabbies in these studies, have scarce saluted them from the strings, and the titlepage; or to give them more, have been but the ferrets and mouseburnts of an index:) yet what pastor or minister, how learned, religious, or discrete soever, does not now bring both his cheeks full blown with œcumenical and synodical, shall be counted a lank, shallow, insufficient man, yea a dunce, and not worthy to speak about reformation of church discipline. But I trust they for whom God hath reserved the honour of reforming this church, will easily perceive their adversaries' drift in thus calling for antiquity: they fear the plain field of the Scriptures; the chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest, they would imbosk: they feel themselves strook in the transparent streams of divine truth; they would plunge, and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themselves like whales, and spend their oil till they be dragged ashore: though wherefore should the ministers give them so much line for shifts and delays? wherefore should they not urge only the gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzle and pierce their misty eyeballs? maintaining it the honour of its absolute sufficiency and supremacy inviolable: for if the Scripture be for reformation, and antiquity to boot, it is but an advantage to the dozen, it is no winning cast: and though antiquity be against it, while the Scriptures be for it, the cause is as good as ought to be wished, antiquity itself sitting judge.

But to draw to an end; the second sort of those that may be justly numbered among the hinderers of reformation, are libertines; these suggest that the discipline sought would be intolerable: for one bishop now in a diocese, we should then have a pope in every parish. It will not be requisite to answer these men, but only to discover them; for reason they have none, but lust and licentiousness, and therefore answer can have none. It is not any discipline that they could live under, it is the corruption and remissness of discipline that they seek. Episcopacy duly executed, yea, the Turkish and Jewish rigour against whoring and drinking; the dear and tender discipline of a father, the sociable and loving reproof of a brother, the bosom admonition of a friend, is a presbytery, and a consistory to them. It is only the merry friar in Chaucer can disple* them.

> Full sweetly heard he confession,
> And pleasant was his absolution,
> He was an easy man to give penance.

And so I leave them; and refer the political discourse of episcopacy to a second book.

OF

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

THE SECOND BOOK.

SIR,

It is a work good and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended virtue to order well one house: but to govern a nation piously and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size, and divinest mettle. And certainly of no less a mind, nor of less excellence in another way, were they who by writing laid the solid and true foundations of this science, which being of greatest importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath been more cankered in her principles, more soiled, and slubbered with aphorising pedantry, than the art of policy; and that most, where a man would think should least be, in christian commonwealths. They teach not, that to govern well, is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity, (take heed of that,) and that which is our begin-

* A contraction of disciple.

ning, regeneration, and happiest end, likeness to God, which in one word we call godliness; and that this is the true flourishing of a land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance; to teach thus were mere pulpitry to them. This is the masterpiece of a modern politician, how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks; how rapine may serve itself with the fair and honourable pretences of public good; how the puny law may be brought under the wardship and control of lust and will: in which attempt if they fall short, then must a superficial colour of reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruise of honour. To make men governable in this manner, their precepts mainly tend to break a national spirit and courage, by countenancing open riot, luxury, and ignorance, till having thus disfigured and made men beneath men, as Juno in the fable of Io, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the commonwealth to be stung and vexed with the breese and goad of oppression, under the custody of some Argus with a hundred eyes of jealousy. To be plainer, sir, how to sodder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floating carcase of a crazy and diseased monarchy or state, betwixt wind and water, swimming still upon her own dead lees, that now is the deep design of a politician. Alas, sir! a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle, both in his Ethics and Politics, from the principles of reason lays down: by consequence, therefore, that which is good and agreeable to monarchy, will appear soonest to be so, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every Christian; and that which can be justly proved hurtful and offensive to every true Christian, will be evinced to be alike hurtful to monarchy: for God forbid that we should separate and distinguish the end and good of a monarch, from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from Christianity. How then this third and last sort that hinder reformation, will justify that it stands not with reason of state, I much muse; for certain I am, the Bible is shut against them, as certain that neither Plato nor Aristotle is for their turns. What they can bring us now from the schools of Loyola with his Jesuits, or their Malvezzi, that can cut Tacitus into slivers and steaks, we shall presently hear. They allege, 1. That the church government must be conformable to the civil polity; next, that no form of church-government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of bishops. Must church-government that is appointed in the gospel, and has chief respect to the soul, be conformable and pliant to civil, that is arbitrary, and chiefly conversant about the visible and external part of man? This is the very maxim that moulded the calves of Bethel and of Dan; this was the quintessence of Jeroboam's policy, he made religion conform to his politic interests; and this was the sin that watched over the Israelites till their final captivity. If this state principle come from the prelates, as they affect to be counted statists, let them look back to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, and see what he thought of the policy of England; being required by Lucius, the first christian king of this island, to give his counsel for the founding of religious laws, little thought he of this sage caution, but bids him betake himself to the Old and New Testament, and receive direction from them how to administer both church and commonwealth; that he was God's vicar, and therefore to rule by God's laws; that the edicts of Cæsar we may at all times disallow, but the statutes of God for no reason we may reject. Now certain, if church-government be taught in the gospel, as the bishops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late standing this position is, newly calculated for the altitude of bishop-elevation, and lettuce for their lips. But by what example can they shew, that the form of church-discipline must be minted and modelled out to secular pretences? The ancient republic of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil estate, if we survey the story from the giving of the law to the Herods; yet did one manner of priestly government serve without inconvenience to all these temporal mutations; it served the mild aristocracy of elective dukes, and heads of tribes joined with them; the dictatorship of the judges, the easy or hardhanded monarchies, the domestic or foreign tyrannies: lastly, the Roman senate from without, the Jewish senate at home, with the Galilean tetrarch; yet the Levites had some right to deal in civil affairs: but seeing the evangelical precept forbids churchmen to intermeddle with worldly employments, what interweavings or interworkings can knit the minister and the magistrate in their several functions, to the regard of any precise correspondency? Seeing that the churchman's office is only to teach men the christian faith, to exhort all, to encourage the good, to admonish the bad, privately the less offender, publicly the scandalous and stubborn; to censure and separate, from the communion of Christ's flock, the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with joy and fatherly compassion the penitent: all this must be done, and more than this is beyond any church-authority What is all this either here or there, to the temporal regiment of weal public, whether it be popular, princely, or monarchical? Where doth it entrench upon the temporal governor? where does it come in his walk? where doth it make inroad upon his jurisdiction? Indeed if the minister's part be rightly discharged, it renders him the people more conscionable, quiet, and easy to be governed; if otherwise, his life and doctrine will declare him. If, therefore, the constitution of the church be already set down by divine prescript, as all sides confess, then can she not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities and respects; and if the nature and limits of church-discipline be such, as are either helpful to all political estates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no necessity, nor indeed possibility, of linking the one with the other in a special conformation.

Now for their second conclusion, "That no form of

church-government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of bishops," although it fall to pieces of itself by that which hath been said; yet to give them play, front and rear, it shall be my task to prove that episcopacy, with that authority which it challenges in England, is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of monarchy. While the primitive pastors of the church of God laboured faithfully in their ministry, tending only their sheep, and not seeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations and debasements to their high calling; little needed the princes and potentates of the earth, which way soever the gospel was spread, to study ways out to make a coherence between the church's polity and theirs: therefore, when Pilate heard once our Saviour Christ professing that "his kingdom was not of this world," he thought the man could not stand much in Cæsar's light, nor much endamage the Roman empire; for if the life of Christ be hid to this world, much more is his sceptre unoperative, but in spiritual things. And thus lived, for two or three ages, the successors of the apostles. But when, through Constantine's lavish superstition, they forsook their first love, and set themselves up two gods instead, Mammon and their Belly; then taking advantage of the spiritual power which they had on men's consciences, they began to cast a longing eye to get the body also, and bodily things into their command: upon which their carnal desires, the spirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering and supporting their inward rottenness by a carnal and outward strength. For a while they rather privily sought opportunity, than hastily disclosed their project; but when Constantine was dead, and three or four emperors more, their drift became notorious and offensive to the whole world; for while Theodosius the younger reigned, thus writes Socrates the historian, in his 7th book, chap. 11. "Now began an ill name to stick upon the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, who beyond their priestly bounds now long ago had stepped into principality:" and this was scarce eighty years since their raising from the meanest worldly condition. Of courtesy now let any man tell me, if they draw to themselves a temporal strength and power out of Cæsar's dominion, is not Cæsar's empire thereby diminished? But this was a stolen bit, hitherto he was but a caterpillar secretly gnawing at monarchy; the next time you shall see him a wolf, a lion, lifting his paw against his raiser, as Petrarch expressed it, and finally an open enemy and subverter of the Greek empire. Philippicus and Leo, with divers other emperors after them, not without the advice of their patriarchs, and at length of a whole eastern council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, threw the images out of churches as being decreed idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occasion, the bishop of Rome not only seizes the city, and all the territory about, into his own hands, and makes himself lord thereof, which till then was governed by a Greek magistrate, but absolves all Italy of their tribute and obedience due to the emperor, because he obeyed God's commandment in abolishing idolatry.

Mark, sir, here, how the pope came by St. Peter's patrimony, as he feigns it; not the donation of Constantine, but idolatry and rebellion got it him. Ye need but read Sigonius, one of his own sect, to know the story at large. And now to shroud himself against a storm from the Greek continent, and provide a champion to bear him out in these practices, he takes upon him by papal sentence to unthrone Chilpericus the rightful king of France, and gives the kingdom to Pepin, for no other cause, but that he seemed to him the more active man. If he were a friend herein to monarchy, I know not; but to the monarch I need not ask what he was.

Having thus made Pepin his last friend, he calls him into Italy against Aistulphus the Lombard, that warred upon him for his late usurpation of Rome, as belonging to Ravenna which he had newly won. Pepin, not unobedient to the pope's call, passing into Italy, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole exarchate of Ravenna; which though it had been almost immediately before the hereditary possession of that monarchy, which was his chief patron and benefactor, yet he takes and keeps it to himself as lawful prize, and given to St. Peter. What a dangerous fallacy is this, when a spiritual man may snatch to himself any temporal dignity or dominion, under pretence of receiving it for the church's use? Thus he claims Naples, Sicily, England, and what not? To be short, under show of his zeal against the errours of the Greek church, he never ceased baiting and goring the successors of his best lord Constantine, what by his barking curses and excommunications, what by his hindering the western princes from aiding them against the Sarazens and Turks, unless when they humoured him; so that it may be truly affirmed, he was the subversion and fall of that monarchy, which was the hoisting of him. This, besides Petrarch, whom I have cited, our Chaucer also hath observed, and gives from hence a caution to England, to beware of her bishops in time, for that their ends and aims are no more friendly to monarchy, than the pope's.

This he begins in the Ploughman speaking, Part ii. Stanz. 28.

> The emperor yafe the pope sometime
> So high lordship him about,
> That at last the silly kime,
> The proud pope put him out;
> So of this realm is no doubt,
> But lords beware and them defend;
> For now these folks be wonders stout,
> The king and lords now this amend.

And in the next Stanza, which begins the third part of the tale, he argues that they ought not to be lords.

> Moses law forbode it tho
> That priests should no lordship welde,
> Christ's gospel biddeth also
> That they should no lordships held.
> Ne Christ's apostles were never so bold
> No such lordships to hem embrace,
> But smeren her sheep and keep her fold.

And so forward. Whether the bishops of England have deserved thus to be feared by men so wise as our Chaucer is esteemed; and how agreeable to our monarchy and monarchs their demeanour has been, he that is but meanly read in our chronicles needs not be instructed. Have they not been as the Canaanites, and Philistines, to this kingdom? what treasons, what revolts to the pope? what rebellions, and those the basest and most pretenceless, have they not been chief in? What could monarchy think, when Becket durst challenge the custody of Rochester-castle, and the Tower of London, as appertaining to his signory? To omit his other insolencies and affronts to regal majesty, until the lashes inflicted on the anointed body of the king, washed off the holy unction with his blood drawn by the polluted hands of bishops, abbots, and monks.

What good upholders of royalty were the bishops, when by their rebellious opposition against King John, Normandy was lost, he himself deposed, and this kingdom made over to the pope? When the bishop of Winchester durst tell the nobles, the pillars of the realm, that there were no peers in England, as in France, but that the king might do what he pleased. What could tyranny say more? It would be pretty now if I should insist upon the rendering up of Tournay by Woolsey's treason, the excommunications, cursings, and interdicts upon the whole land; for haply I shall be cut off short by a reply, that these were the faults of men and their popish errours, not of episcopacy, that hath now renounced the pope, and is a protestant. Yes, sure; as wise and famous men have suspected and feared the protestant episcopacy in England, as those that have feared the papal.

You know, sir, what was the judgment of Padre Paolo, the great Venetian antagonist of the pope, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his fear, that when the hierarchy of England shall light into the hands of busy and audacious men, or shall meet with princes tractable to the prelacy, then much mischief is like to ensue. And can it be nearer hand, than when bishops shall openly affirm that, no bishop no king? A trim paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the twin brother to it out of the Jesuits' cell: they feeling the axe of God's reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of papacy, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend, and safest refuge, to sooth him up in his dream of a fifth monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit papalty, have invented this superpolitic aphorism, as one terms it, one pope and one king.

Surely there is not any prince in christendom, who, hearing this rare sophistry, can choose but smile; and if we be not blind at home, we may as well perceive that this worthy motto, no bishop no king, is of the same batch, and infanted out of the same fears, a mere ague-cake coagulated of a certain fever they have, presaging their time to be but short: and now like those that are sinking, they catch round of that which is likeliest to hold them up; and would persuade regal power, that if they dive, he must after. But what greater debasement can there be to royal dignity, whose towering and stedfast height rests upon the unmovable foundations of justice, and heroic virtue, than to chain it in a dependance of subsisting, or ruining, to the painted battlements and gaudy rottenness of prelatry, which want but one puff of the king's to blow them down like a pasteboard house built of court-cards? Sir, the little ado which methinks I find in untacking these pleasant sophisms, puts me into the mood to tell you a tale ere I proceed further; and Menenius Agrippa speed us.

Upon a time the body summoned all the members to meet in the guild for the common good (as Æsop's chronicles aver many stranger accidents): the head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous wen little less than the head itself, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The members, amazed, began to ask one another what he was that took place next their chief? none could resolve. Whereat the wen, though unwieldy, with much ado gets up, and bespeaks the assembly to this purpose: that as in place he was second to the head, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of special near relation; and that if the head should fail, none were fitter than himself to step into his place: therefore he thought it for the honour of the body, that such dignities and rich endowments should be decreed him, as did adorn, and set out the noblest members. To this was answered, that it should be consulted. Then was a wise and learned philosopher sent for, that knew all the charters, laws, and tenures of the body. On him it is imposed by all, as chief committee to examine, and discuss the claim and petition of right put in by the wen; who soon perceiving the matter, and wondering at the boldness of such a swoln tumor, Wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a bottle of vicious and hardened excrements, contend with the lawful and freeborn members, whose certain number is set by ancient and unrepealable statute? head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it: what office bearest thou? what good canst thou shew by thee done to the commonweal? The wen not easily dashed, replies, that his office was his glory; for so oft as the soul would retire out of the head from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts to divine contemplation, with him she found the purest and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil and disturbance. Lourdan, quoth the philosopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth: know that all the faculties of the soul are confined of old to their several vessels and ventricles, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole body; and that thou containest no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathsome uncleanness, and art to the head a foul disfigurement and burden, when I have cut thee off, and opened thee, as by the help of these implements I will do, all men shall see.

But to return whence was digressed: seeing that the throne of a king, as the wise king Solomon often remembers us, "is established in justice," which is the universal justice that Aristotle so much praises, containing in it all other virtues, it may assure us that the

fall of prelacy, whose actions are so far distant from justice, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal canopy; but that their standing doth continually oppose and lay battery to regal safety, shall by that which follows easily appear. Amongst many secondary and accessary causes that support monarchy, these are not of least reckoning, though common to all other states; the love of the subjects, the multitude and valour of the people, and store of treasure. In all these things hath the kingdom been of late sore weakened, and chiefly by the prelates. First, let any man consider, that if any prince shall suffer under him a commission of authority to be exercised, till all the land groan and cry out, as against a whip of scorpions, whether this be not likely to lessen, and keel the affections of the subject. Next, what numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians, have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops? O sir, if we could but see the shape of our dear mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their conscience could not assent to things which the bishops thought indifferent? What more binding than conscience? What more free than indifferency? Cruel then must that indifferency needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience; merciless and inhuman that free choice and liberty that shall break asunder the bonds of religion! Let the astrologer be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to states: I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation (God turn the omen from us!) than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country. Now, whereas the only remedy and amends against the depopulation and thinness of a land within, is the borrowed strength of firm alliance from without, these priestly policies of theirs having thus exhausted our domestic forces, have gone the way also to leave us as naked of our firmest and faithfullest neighbours abroad, by disparaging and alienating from us all protestant princes and commonwealths; who are not ignorant that our prelates, and as many as they can infect, account them no better than a sort of sacrilegious and puritanical rebels, preferring the Spaniard our deadly enemy before them, and set all orthodox writers at nought in comparison of the Jesuits, who are indeed the only corrupters of youth and good learning: and I have heard many wise and learned men in Italy say as much. It cannot be that the strongest knot of confederacy should not daily slacken, when religion, which is the chief engagement of our league, shall be turned to their reproach. Hence it is that the prosperous and prudent states of the United Provinces, (whom we ought to love, if not for themselves, yet for our own good work in them, they having been in a manner planted and erected by us, and having been since to us the faithful watchmen and discoverers of many a popish and Austrian complotted treason, and with us the partners of many a bloody and victorious battle,) whom the similitude of manners and language, the commodity of traffick, which founded the old Burgundian league betwixt us, but chiefly religion, should bind to us immortally; even such friends as these, out of some principles instilled into us by the prelates, have been often dismissed with distasteful answers, and sometimes unfriendly actions: nor is it to be considered to the breach of confederate nations, whose mutual interests is of such high consequence, though their merchants bicker in the East Indies; neither is it safe, or wary, or indeed christianly, that the French king, of a different faith, should afford our nearest allies as good protection as we. Sir, I persuade myself, if our zeal to true religion, and the brotherly usage of our truest friends, were as notorious to the world, as our prelatical schism, and captivity to rochet apophthegms, we had ere this seen our old conquerors, and afterwards liegemen the Normans, together with the Britains our proper colony, and all the Gascoins that are the rightful dowry of our ancient kings, come with cap and knee, desiring the shadow of the English sceptre to defend them from the hot persecutions and taxes of the French. But when they come hither, and see a tympany of Spaniolized bishops swaggering in the foretop of the state, and meddling to turn and dandle the royal ball with unskilful and pedantic palms, no marvel though they think it as unsafe to commit religion and liberty to their arbitrating as to a synagogue of Jesuits.

But what do I stand reckoning upon advantages and gains lost by the misrule and turbulency of the prelates? What do I pick up so thriftily their scatterings and diminishings of the meaner subject, whilst they by their seditious practices have endangered to lose the king one third of his main stock? What have they not done to banish him from his own native country? But to speak of this as it ought, would ask a volume by itself.

Thus as they have unpeopled the kingdom by expulsion of so many thousands, as they have endeavoured to lay the skirts of it bare by disheartening and dishonouring our loyallest confederates abroad, so have they hamstrung the valour of the subject by seeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wise nation, that their liberty consists in manly and honest labours, in sobriety and rigorous honour to the marriage-bed, which in both sexes should be bred up from chaste hopes to loyal enjoyments; and when the people slacken, and fall to looseness and riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their necks for some wild tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt Cyrus to tame the Lydians, whom by arms he could not whilst they kept themselves from luxury; with one easy proclamation to set up stews, dancing, feasting, and dicing, he made them soon his slaves. I know not

what drift the prelates had, whose brokers they were to prepare, and supple us either for a foreign invasion or domestic oppression: but this I am sure, they took the ready way to despoil us both of manhood and grace at once, and that in the shamefullest and ungodliest manner, upon that day which God's law, and even our own reason hath consecrated, that we might have one day at least of seven set apart wherein to examine and increase our knowledge of God, to meditate and commune of our faith, our hope, our eternal city in heaven, and to quicken withal the study and exercise of charity; at such a time that men should be plucked from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the church, instigated, by public edict, and with earnest endeavour pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing, is a horror to think! Thus did the reprobate hireling priest Balaam seek to subdue the Israelites to Moab, if not by force, then by this devilish policy, to draw them from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-peor. Thus have they trespassed not only against the monarchy of England, but of heaven also, as others, I doubt not, can prosecute against them.

I proceed within my own bounds to shew you next what good agents they are about the revenues and riches of the kingdom, which declare of what moment they are to monarchy, or what avail. Two leeches they have that still suck, and suck the kingdom, their ceremonies and their courts. If any man will contend that ceremonies be lawful under the gospel, he may be answered other where. This doubtless, that they ought to be many and overcostly, no true protestant will affirm. Now I appeal to all wise men, what an excessive waste of treasure hath been within these few years in this land, not in the expedient, but in the idolatrous erection of temples beautified exquisitely to outvie the papists, the costly and dear-bought scandals and snares of images, pictures, rich copes, gorgeous altar-cloths: and by the courses they took, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madness, where a pious pretext is so ready at hand to cover their insatiate desires. What can we suppose this will come to? What other materials than these have built up the spiritual Babel to the height of her abominations? Believe it. sir, right truly it may be said, that Antichrist is Mammon's son. The sour leaven of human traditions, mixed in one putrefied mass with the poisonous dregs of hypocrisy in the hearts of prelates, that lie basking in the sunny warmth of wealth and promotion, is the serpent's egg that will hatch an Antichrist wheresoever, and engender the same monster as big, or little, as the lump is which breeds him. If the splendour of gold and silver begin to lord it once again in the church of England, we shall see Antichrist shortly wallow here, though his chief kennel be at Rome. If they had one thought upon God's glory, and the advancement of Christian faith, they would be a means that with these expenses, thus profusely thrown away in trash, rather churches and schools might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate maintenance distributed to every painful minister, that now scarce sustains his family with bread, while the prelates revel like Belshazzar with their full carouses in goblets, and vessels of gold snatched from God's temple; which (I hope) the worthy men of our land will consider. Now then for their courts. What a mass of money is drawn from the veins into the ulcers of the kingdom this way; their extortions, their open corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous harpies that swarm about their offices, declare sufficiently. And what though all this go not over sea? It were better it did: better a penurious kingdom, than where excessive wealth flows into the graceless and injurious hands of common spunges, to the impoverishing of good and loyal men, and that by such execrable, such irreligious courses.

If the sacred and dreadful works of holy discipline, censure, penance, excommunication, and absolution, where no prophane thing ought to have access, nothing to be assistant but sage and christianly admonition, brotherly love, flaming charity and zeal; and then according to the effects, paternal sorrow, or paternal joy, mild severity, melting compassion: if such divine ministeries as these, wherein the angel of the church represents the person of Christ Jesus, must lie prostitute to sordid fees, and not pass to and fro between our Saviour, that of free grace redeemed us, and the submissive penitent, without the truckage of perishing coin, and the butcherly execution of tormentors, rooks, and rakeshames sold to lucre; then have the Babylonish merchants of souls just excuse. Hitherto, sir, you have heard how the prelates have weakened and withdrawn the external accomplishments of kingly prosperity, the love of the people, their multitude, their valour, their wealth; mining and sapping the outworks and redoubts of monarchy. Now hear how they strike at the very heart and vitals.

We know that monarchy is made up of two parts, the liberty of the subject, and the supremacy of the king. I begin at the root. See what gentle and benign fathers they have been to our liberty! Their trade being, by the same alchymy that the pope uses, to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins; and justly fearing that the quicksighted protestant eye, cleared in great part from the mist of superstition, may at one time or other look with a good judgment into these their deceitful pedleries; to gain as many associates of guiltiness as they can, and to infect the temporal magistrate with the like lawless, though not sacrilegious extortion, see awhile what they do; they engage themselves to preach, and persuade an assertion for truth the most false, and to this monarchy the most pernicious and destructive that could be chosen. What more baneful to monarchy than a popular commotion, for the dissolution of monarchy slides aptest into a democracy; and what stirs the Englishmen, as our wisest writers have observed, sooner to rebellion, than violent and heavy hands upon their goods and purses? Yet these devout prelates, spight of our great charter, and the souls of our progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the Norman gripe with

their dearest blood and highest prowess, for these many years have not ceased in their pulpits wrenching and spraining the text, to set at naught and trample under foot all the most sacred and lifeblood laws, statutes, and acts of parliament, that are the holy covenant of union and marriage between the king and his realm, by proscribing and confiscating from us all the right we have to our own bodies, goods, and liberties. What is this but to blow a trumpet, and proclaim a firecross to an hereditary and perpetual civil war? Thus much against the subjects' liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spared supremacy, or are likely hereafter to submit to it, remains lastly to be considered.

The emulation that under the old law was in the king towards the priest, is now so come about in the gospel, that all the danger is to be feared from the priest to the king. Whilst the priest's office in the law was set out with an exterior lustre of pomp and glory, kings were ambitious to be priests; now priests, not perceiving the heavenly brightness and inward splendour of their more glorious evangelic ministry, with as great ambition affect to be kings, as in all their courses is easy to be observed. Their eyes ever eminent upon worldly matters, their desires ever thirsting after worldly employments, instead of diligent and fervent study in the Bible, they covet to be expert in canons and decretals, which may enable them to judge and interpose in temporal causes, however pretended ecclesiastical. Do they not hoard up pelf, seek to be potent in secular strength, in state affairs, in lands, lordships, and demains, to sway and carry all before them in high courts and privy councils, to bring into their grasp the high and principal offices of the kingdom? Have they not been told of late to check the common law, to slight and brave the indiminishable majesty of our highest court, the lawgiving and sacred parliament? Do they not plainly labour to exempt churchmen from the magistrate? Yea, so presumptuously as to question and menace officers that represent the king's person for using their authority against drunken priests? The cause of protecting murderous clergymen was the first heartburning that swelled up the audacious Becket to the pestilent and odious vexation of Henry the Second. Nay more, have not some of their devoted scholars begun, I need not say to nibble, but openly to argue against the king's supremacy? Is not the chief of them accused out of his own book, and his late canons, to affect a certain unquestionable patriarchate, independent, and unsubordinate to the crown? From whence having first brought us to a servile state of religion and manhood, and having predisposed his conditions with the pope, that lays claim to this land, or some Pepin of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aspire to the monarchy among us, as that the pope could find means so on the sudden both to bereave the emperor of the Roman territory with the favour of Italy, and by an unexpected friend out of France; while he was in danger to lose his newgot purchase, beyond hope to leap into the fair exarchate of Ravenna.

A good while the pope subtly acted the lamb, writing to the emperor, "my lord Tiberius, my lord Mauritius;" but no sooner did this his lord pluck at the images and idols, but he threw off his sheep's clothing, and started up a wolf, laying his paws upon the emperor's right, as forfeited to Peter. Why may not we as well, having been forewarned at home by our renowned Chaucer, and from abroad by the great and learned Padre Paolo, from the like beginnings, as we see they are, fear the like events? Certainly a wise and provident king ought to suspect a hierarchy in his realm, being ever attended, as it is, with two such greedy purveyors, ambition and usurpation; I say, he ought to suspect a hierarchy to be as dangerous and derogatory from his crown as a tetrarchy or a heptarchy. Yet now that the prelates had almost attained to what their insolent and unbridled minds had hurried them; to thrust the laity under the despotical rule of the monarch, that they themselves might confine the monarch to a kind of pupillage under their hierarchy, observe but how their own principles combat one another, and supplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for peace, and that a servile peace, by lessening our numbers, draining our estates, enfeebling our bodies, cowing our free spirits by those ways as you have heard, their impotent actions cannot sustain themselves the least moment, unless they would rouse us up to a war fit for Cain to be the leader of; an abhorred, a cursed, a fraternal war. England and Scotland, dearest brothers both in nature and in Christ, must be set to wade in one another's blood; and Ireland, our free denizen, upon the back of us both, as occasion should serve: a piece of service that the pope and all his factors have been compassing to do ever since the reformation.

But ever blessed be he, and ever glorified, that from his high watchtower in the heavens, discerning the crooked ways of perverse and cruel men, hath hitherto maimed and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great wizards with a delusion fit for fools and children: had God been so minded, he could have sent a spirit of mutiny amongst us, as he did between Abimelech and the Sechemites, to have made our funerals, and slain heaps more in number than the miserable surviving remnant; but he, when we least deserved, sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those his cherubims that fan his mercyseat. Nor shall the wisdom, the moderation, the christian piety, the constancy of our nobility and commons of England, be ever forgotten, whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant than of solid and deep reach, until their own fury had run itself out of breath, assailing by rash and heady approaches the impregnable situation of our liberty and safety, that laughed such weak enginery to scorn, such poor drifts to make a national war of a surplice brabble, a tippet scuffle, and engage the untainted honour of English knighthood to unfurl the streaming red cross, or to rear the horrid standard of those fatal guly dragons, for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their fellow-subjects that which themselves are weary of, the skeleton of a mass-book. Nor must the

patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland, striving against manifold provocations; nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto be unremembered, to the shameful conviction of all their detractors.

Go on both hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits; (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men?) but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state: then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief or outlandish cunning: yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye, for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtlety, which are but her two runagates: join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations.

Sir, you have now at length this question for the time, and as my memory would best serve me in such a copious and vast theme, fully handled, and you yourself may judge whether prelacy be the only church-government agreeable to monarchy. Seeing therefore the perilous and confused state into which we are fallen, and that to the certain knowledge of all men, through the irreligious pride and hateful tyranny of prelates, (as the innumerable and grievous complaints of every shire cry out,) if we will now resolve to settle affairs either according to pure religion or sound policy, we must first of all begin roundly to cashier and cut away from the public body the noisome and diseased tumour of prelacy, and come from schism to unity with our neighbour reformed sister-churches, which with the blessing of peace and pure doctrine have now long time flourished; and doubtless with all hearty joy and gratulation will meet and welcome our Christian union with them, as they have been all this while grieved at our strangeness, and little better than separation from them. And for the discipline propounded, seeing that it hath been inevitably proved that the natural and fundamental causes of political happiness in all governments are the same, and that this church-discipline is taught in the word of God, and, as we see, agrees according to wish with all such states as have received it; we may infallibly assure ourselves that it will as well agree with monarchy, though all the tribe of Aphorismers and Politicasters would persuade us there be secret and mysterious reasons against it. For upon the settling hereof mark what nourishing and cordial restorements to the state will follow, the ministers of the gospel attending only to the work of salvation, every one within his limited charge; besides the diffusive blessings of God upon all our actions, the king shall sit without an old disturber, a daily incroacher and intruder; shall rid his kingdom of a strong sequestered and collateral power; a confronting mitre, whose potent wealth and wakeful ambition he had just cause to hold in jealousy: not to repeat the other present evils which only their removal will remove, and because things simply pure are inconsistent in the mass of nature, nor are the elements or humours in a man's body exactly homogeneal; and hence the best-founded commonwealths and least barbarous have aimed at a certain mixture and temperament, partaking the several virtues of each other state, that each part drawing to itself may keep up a steady and even uprightness in common.

There is no civil government that hath been known, no not the Spartan, not the Roman, though both for this respect so much praised by the wise Polybius, more divinely and harmoniously tuned, more equally balanced as it were by the hand and scale of justice, than is the commonwealth of England; where, under a free and untutored monarch, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation and suffrage of the people, have in their power the supreme and final determination of highest affairs. Now if conformity of church-discipline to the civil be so desired, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, than when under the sovereign prince, Christ's vicegerent, using the sceptre of David, according to God's law, the godliest, the wisest, the learnedest ministers in their several charges have the instructing and disciplining of God's people, by whose full and free election they are consecrated to that holy and equal aristocracy. And why should not the piety and conscience of Englishmen, as members of the church, be trusted in the election of pastors to functions that nothing concern a monarch, as well as their worldly wisdoms are privileged as members of the state in suffraging their knights and burgesses to matters that concern him nearly? And if in weighing these several offices, their difference in time and quality be cast in, I know they will not turn the beam of equal judgment the moiety of a scruple. We therefore having already a kind of apostolical and ancient church election in our state, what a perverseness would it be in us of all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious and stately election in our church! And what a blindness to think that what is already evangelical, as it were by a happy chance in our polity, should be repugnant to that which is the same by divine command in the ministry! Thus then we see that our ecclesiastical and political choices may consent and sort as well together without any rupture in the state, as Christians and freeholders. But as for honour, that ought indeed to be different and distinct, as either office looks a several way; the minister whose calling and end is spiritual, ought to be honoured as a father and physician to the soul, (if he be found to be so,) with a sonlike and disciplelike reverence, which is indeed the dearest and most affectionate honour, most to be desired by a wise man, and such as will easily command a free and plentiful provision of outward necessaries, without his further care of this world.

The magistrate, whose charge is to see to our persons and estates, is to be honoured with a more elaborate and personal courtship, with large salaries and

stipends, that he himself may abound in those things whereof his legal justice and watchful care gives us the quiet enjoyment. And this distinction of honour will bring forth a seemly and graceful uniformity over all the kingdom.

Then shall the nobles possess all the dignities and offices of temporal honour to themselves, sole lords without the improper mixture of scholastic and pusillanimous upstarts; the parliament shall void her upper house of the same annoyances; the common and civil laws shall be both set free, the former from the control, the other from the mere vassalage and copyhold of the clergy.

And whereas temporal laws rather punish men when they have transgressed, than form them to be such as should transgress seldomest, we may conceive great hopes, through the showers of divine benediction watering the unmolested and watchful pains of the ministry, that the whole inheritance of God will grow up so straight and blameless, that the civil magistrate may with far less toil and difficulty, and far more ease and delight, steer the tall and goodly vessel of the commonwealth through all the gusts and tides of the world's mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that some objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, press me to the endeavour of an answer. We must not run, they say, into sudden extremes. This is a fallacious rule, unless understood only of the actions of virtue about things indifferent: for if it be found that those two extremes be vice and virtue, falsehood and truth, the greater extremity of virtue and superlative truth we run into, the more virtuous and the more wise we become; and he that, flying from degenerate and traditional corruption, fears to shoot himself too far into the meeting embraces of a divinely warranted reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the suddenness, it cannot be feared. Who should oppose it? The papists? they dare not. The protestants otherwise affected? they were mad. There is nothing will be removed but what to them is professedly indifferent. The long affection which the people have borne to it, what for itself, what for the odiousness of prelates, is evident: from the first year of Queen Elizabeth it hath still been more and more propounded, desired, and beseeched, yea sometimes favourably forwarded by the parliaments themselves. Yet if it were sudden and swift, provided still it be from worse to better, certainly we ought to hie us from evil like a torrent, and rid ourselves of corrupt discipline, as we would shake fire out of our bosoms.

Speedy and vehement were the reformations of all the good kings of Judah, though the people had been nuzzled in idolatry ever so long before; they feared not the bugbear danger, nor the lion in the way that the sluggish and timorous politician thinks he sees; no more did our brethren of the reformed churches abroad, they ventured (God being their guide) out of rigid popery, into that which we in mockery call precise puritanism, and yet we see no inconvenience befel them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing, to take as much of it as we think will serve our ends, and turn him back the rest upon his hands, lest in his anger he snatch all from us again. Next, they allege the antiquity of episcopacy through all ages. What it was in the apostles' time, that questionless it must be still; and therein I trust the ministers will be able to satisfy the parliament. But if episcopacy be taken for prelacy, all the ages they can deduce it through, will make it no more venerable than papacy.

Most certain it is (as all our stories bear witness) that ever since their coming to the see of Canterbury for near twelve hundred years, to speak of them in general, they have been in England to our souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides; to our purses and goods a wasteful band of robbers, a perpetual havock and rapine; to our state a continual hydra of mischief and molestation, the forge of discord and rebellion: this is the trophy of their antiquity, and boasted succession through so many ages. And for those prelate-martyrs they glory of, they are to be judged what they were by the gospel, and not the gospel to be tried by them.

And it is to be noted, that if they were for bishoprics and ceremonies, it was in their prosperity and fulness of bread; but in their persecution, which purified them, and near their death, which was their garland, they plainly disliked and condemned the ceremonies, and threw away those episcopal ornaments wherein they were installed as foolish and detestable; for so the words of Ridley at his degradement, and his letter to Hooper, expressly show. Neither doth the author of our church-history spare to record sadly the fall (for so he terms it) and infirmities of these martyrs, though we would deify them. And why should their martyrdom more countenance corrupt doctrine or discipline, than their subscriptions justify their treason to the royal blood of this realm, by diverting and entailing the right of the crown from the true heirs, to the houses of Northumberland and Suffolk? which had it took effect, this present king had in all likelihood never sat on this throne, and the happy union of this island had been frustrated.

Lastly, whereas they add that some the learnedest of the reformed abroad admire our episcopacy; it had been more for the strength of the argument to tell us, that some of the wisest statesmen admire it, for thereby we might guess them weary of the present discipline, as offensive to their state, which is the bug we fear: but being they are churchmen, we may rather suspect them for some prelatizing spirits that admire our bishoprics, not episcopacy.

The next objection vanishes of itself, propounding a doubt, whether a greater inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other discipline than from that of episcopacy. This seems an unseasonable foresight, and out of order, to defer and put off the most needful constitution of one right discipline, while we stand balancing the discommodities of two corrupt ones. First constitute that which is right, and of itself

it will discover and rectify that which swerves, and easily remedy the pretended fear of having a pope in every parish, unless we call the zealous and meek censure of the church a popedom, which whoso does, let him advise how he can reject the pastorly rod and sheephook of Christ, and those cords of love, and not fear to fall under the iron sceptre of his anger, that will dash him to pieces like a potsherd.

At another doubt of theirs I wonder, whether this discipline which we desire be such as can be put in practice within this kingdom; they say it cannot stand with the common law nor with the king's safety, the government of episcopacy is now so weaved into the common law. In God's name let it weave out again; let not human quillets keep back divine authority. It is not the common law, nor the civil, but piety and justice that are our foundresses; they stoop not, neither change colour for aristocracy, democracy, or monarchy, nor yet at all interrupt their just courses; but far above the taking notice of these inferior niceties, with perfect sympathy, wherever they meet, kiss each other. Lastly, they are fearful that the discipline which will succeed cannot stand with the king's safety. Wherefore? it is but episcopacy reduced to what it should be: were it not that the tyranny of prelates under the name of bishops had made our ears tender and startling, we might call every good minister a bishop, as every bishop, yea the apostles themselves, are called ministers, and the angels ministering spirits, and the ministers again angels. But wherein is this propounded government so shrewd? Because the government of assemblies will succeed. Did not the apostles govern the church by assemblies? How should it else be catholic? How should it have communion? We count it sacrilege to take from the rich prelates their lands and revenues, which is sacrilege in them to keep, using them as they do; and can we think it safe to defraud the living church of God of that right which God has given her in assemblies? O but the consequence! assemblies draw to them the supremacy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. No surely, they draw no supremacy, but that authority which Christ, and St. Paul in his name, confers upon them. The king may still retain the same supremacy in the assemblies, as in the parliament; here he can do nothing alone against the common law, and there neither alone, nor with consent, against the Scriptures. But is this all? No, this ecclesiastical supremacy draws to it the power to excommunicate kings; and then follows the worst that can be imagined. Do they hope to avoid this, by keeping prelates that have so often done it? Not to exemplify the malapert insolence of our own bishops in this kind towards our kings, I shall turn back to the primitive and pure times, which the objectors would have the rule of reformation to us.

Not an assembly, but one bishop alone, Saint Ambrose of Milan, held Theodosius the most christian emperor under excommunication above eight months together, drove him from the church in the presence of his nobles; which the good emperor bore with heroic humility, and never ceased by prayers and tears, till he was absolved; for which coming to the bishop with supplication into the salutatory, some outporch of the church, he was charged by him with tyrannical madness against God, for coming into holy ground. At last, upon conditions absolved, and after great humiliation approaching to the altar to offer, (as those thrice pure times then thought meet,) he had scarce withdrawn his hand, and stood awhile, when a bold archdeacon comes in the bishop's name, and chaces him from within the rails, telling him peremptorily, that the place wherein he stood was for none but the priests to enter, or to touch; and this is another piece of pure primitive divinity! Think ye, then, our bishops will forego the power of excommunication on whomsoever? No certainly, unless to compass sinister ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable prerogative of Christ's diadem, excommunication, serves for nothing with them, but to prog and pander for fees, or to display their pride, and sharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the law; and I remember not whether in some cases it bereave not men all right to their worldly goods and inheritances, besides the denial of christian burial. But in the evangelical and reformed use of this sacred censure, no such prostitution, no such iscariotical drifts are to be doubted, as that spiritual doom and sentence should invade worldly possession, which is the rightful lot and portion even of the wickedest men, as frankly bestowed upon them by the all-dispensing bounty as rain and sunshine. No, no, it seeks not to bereave or destroy the body; it seeks to save the soul by humbling the body, not by imprisonment, or pecuniary mulct, much less by stripes or bonds, or disinheritance, but by fatherly admonishment and christian rebuke, to cast it into godly sorrow, whose end is joy, and ingenuous bashfulness to sin: if that cannot be wrought, then as a tender mother takes her child and holds it over the pit with scaring words, that it may learn to fear where danger is; so doth excommunication as dearly and as freely, without money, use her wholesome and saving terrours: she is instant, she beseeches, by all the dear and sweet promises of salvation she entices and woos; by all the threatenings and thunders of the law, and rejected gospel, she charges, and adjures: this is all her armory, her munition, her artillery; then she awaits with long-sufferance, and yet ardent zeal. In brief, there is no act in all the errand of God's ministers to mankind, wherein passes more loverlike contestation between Christ and the soul of a regenerate man lapsing, than before, and in, and after the sentence of excommunication. As for the fogging proctorage of money, with such an eye as struck Gehazi with leprosy, and Simon Magus with a curse; so does she look, and so threaten her fiery whip against that banking den of thieves that dare thus baffle, and buy and sell the awful and majestic wrinkles of her brow. He that is rightly and apostolically sped with her invisible arrow, if he can be at peace in his soul, and not smell within him the brimstone of hell, may have fair leave to tell all his bags over undiminished of the least farthing, may

eat his dainties, drink his wine, use his delights, enjoy his lands and liberties, not the least skin raised, not the least hair misplaced, for all that excommunication has done: much more may a king enjoy his rights and prerogatives undeflowered, untouched, and be as absolute and complete a king, as all his royalties and revenues can make him. And therefore little did Theodosius fear a plot upon his empire, when he stood excommunicate by Saint Ambrose, though it were done either with much haughty pride, or ignorant zeal. But let us rather look upon the reformed churches beyond the seas, the Grizons, the Swisses, the Hollanders, the French, that have a supremacy to live under as well as we; where do the churches in all these places strive for supremacy? Where do they clash and justle supremacies with the civil magistrate? In France, a more severe monarchy than ours, the protestants under this church-government, carry the name of the best subjects the king has; and yet presbytery, if it must be so called, does there all that it desires to do: how easy were it, if there be such great suspicion, to give no more scope to it in England! But let us not, for fear of a scarecrow, or else through hatred to be reformed, stand hankering and politizing, when God with spread hands testifies to us, and points us out the way to our peace.

Let us not be so overcredulous, unless God hath blinded us, as to trust our dear souls into the hands of men that beg so devoutly for the pride and gluttony of their own backs and bellies, that sue and solicit so eagerly, not for the saving of souls, the consideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their bishoprics, deaneries, prebends, and canonries: how can these men not be corrupt, whose very cause is the bribe of their own pleading, whose mouths cannot open without the strong breath and loud stench of avarice, simony, and sacrilege, embezzling the treasury of the church on painted and gilded walls of temples, wherein God hath testified to have no delight, warming their palace kitchens, and from thence their unctuous and epicurean paunches, with the alms of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orphan, the widow? for with these the treasury of Christ ought to be, here must be his jewels bestowed, his rich cabinet must be emptied here; as the constant martyr Saint Lawrence taught the Roman prætor. Sir, would you know what the remonstrance of these men would have, what their petition implies? They intreat us that we would not be weary of those insupportable grievances that our shoulders have hitherto cracked under; they beseech us that we would think them fit to be our justices of peace, our lords, our highest officers of state, though they come furnished with no more experience than they learnt between the cook and the manciple, or more profoundly at the college audit, or the regent house, or to come to their deepest insight, at their patron's table; they would request us to endure still the rustling of their silken cassocs, and that we would burst our midriffs, rather than laugh to see them under sail in all their lawn and sarcenet, their shrouds and tackle, with a geometrical rhomboides upon their heads: they would bear us in hand that we must of duty still appear before them once a year in Jerusalem, like good circumcised males and females, to be taxed by the poll, to be sconced our headmoney, our twopences, in their chandlerly shop-book of Easter. They pray us that it would please us to let them still hale us, and worry us with their bandogs and pursuivants; and that it would please the parliament that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and flaying of us in their diabolical courts, to tear the flesh from our bones, and into our wide wounds instead of balm, to pour in the oil of tartar, vitriol, and mercury: surely a right reasonable, innocent, and soft-hearted petition. O the relenting bowels of the fathers! Can this be granted them, unless God have smitten us with frenzy from above, and with a dazzling giddiness at noonday? Should not those men rather be heard that come to plead against their own preferments, their worldly advantages, their own abundance; for honour and obedience to God's word, the conversion of souls, the christian peace of the land, and union of the reformed catholic church, the unappropriating and unmonopolizing the rewards of learning and industry, from the greasy clutch of ignorance and high feeding? We have tried already, and miserably felt what ambition, worldly glory, and immoderate wealth, can do; what the boisterous and contradictional hand of a temporal, earthly, and corporeal spirituality can avail to the edifying of Christ's holy church; were it such a desperate hazard to put to the venture the universal votes of Christ's congregation, and fellowly and friendly yoke of a teaching and laborious ministry, the pastorlike and apostolic imitation of meek and unlordly discipline, the gentle and benevolent mediocrity of church-maintenance, without the ignoble hucksterage of piddling tithes? Were it such an incurable mischief to make a little trial, what all this would do to the flourishing and growing up of Christ's mystical body? as rather to use every poor shift, and if that serve not, to threaten uproar and combustion, and shake the brand of civil discord?

O, sir, I do now feel myself inwrapped on the sudden into those mazes and labyrinths of dreadful and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end, I know not, unless I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that eternal and propitious Throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants: and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts less piously than the heathen were wont to conclude their graver discourses.

Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! and thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tripersonal godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church, leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the

souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again; never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken monarchy, that now lies labouring under her throes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreaded calamities.

O thou, that, after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations, and the succeeding sword of intestine war, soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless revolution of our swift and thick-coming sorrows; when we were quite breathless, of thy free grace didst motion peace, and terms of covenant with us; and having first wellnigh freed us from antichristian thraldom, didst build up this Britannic empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter-islands about her; stay us in this felicity, let not the obstinacy of our half-obedience and will-worship bring forth that viper of sedition, that for these fourscore years hath been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her cast her abortive spawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing kingdom: that we may still remember in our solemn thanksgivings, how for us, the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was scattered with the proud shipwrecks of the Spanish armada, and the very maw of hell ransacked, and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

O how much more glorious will those former deliverances appear, when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyself, tie us everlastingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne.

And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad intelligencing tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas: but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them embattle themselves, and be broken; let them embattle, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most christian people at that day, when thou, the eternal and shortly-expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferiour orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, (which God grant them,) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where, under the despiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and downtrodden vassals of perdition.

PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY,

AND WHETHER IT MAY BE DEDUCED FROM THE APOSTOLICAL TIMES, BY VIRTUE OF THOSE TESTIMONIES WHICH ARE ALLEGED TO THAT PURPOSE IN SOME LATE TREATISES; ONE WHEREOF GOES UNDER THE NAME OF JAMES ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

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EPISCOPACY, as it is taken for an order in the church above a presbyter, or, as we commonly name him, the minister of a congregation, is either of divine constitution or of human. If only of human, we have the same human privilege that all men have ever had since Adam, being born free, and in the mistress island of all the British, to retain this episcopacy, or to remove it, consulting with our own occasions and conveniences, and for the prevention of our own dangers and disquiets, in what best manner we can devise, without running at a loss, as we must needs in those stale and useless records of either uncertain or unsound antiquity; which, if we hold fast to the grounds of the reformed church, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, so oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of tradition. If it be of divine constitution, to satisfy us fully in that, the Scripture only is able, it being the only book left us of divine authority, not in any thing more divine than in the allsufficiency it hath to furnish us, as with all other spiritual knowledge, so with this in particular, setting out to us a perfect man of God, accomplished to all the good works of his charge: through all which book can be nowhere, either by plain text or solid reasoning, found any difference between a bishop and a presbyter, save that they be two names to signify the same order. Notwithstanding this clearness, and that by all evidence of argument, Timothy and Titus (whom our prelates claim to imitate only in the controlling part of their office) had rather the vicegerency of an apostleship committed to them, than the ordinary charge of a bishopric, as being men of an extraordinary calling; yet to verify that which St. Paul foretold of succeeding times, when men began to have itching ears, then not contented with the plentiful and wholesome fountains of the gospel, they began after their own lusts to heap to themselves teachers, and as if the divine Scripture wanted a supplement, and were to be eked out, they cannot think any doubt resolved, and any doctrine confirmed, unless they run to that indigested heap and fry of authors which they call antiquity. Whatsoever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those are the fathers. Seeing, therefore, some men, deeply conversant in books, have had so little care of late to give the world a better account of their reading, than by divulging needless tractates stuffed with specious names of Ignatius and Polycarpus; with fragments of old martyrologies and legends, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers, and mislead them from their strong guards and places of safety, under the tuition of holy writ; it came into my thoughts to persuade myself, setting all distances and nice respects aside, that I could do religion and my country no better service for the time, than doing my utmost endeavour to recall the people of God from this vain foraging after straw, and to reduce them to their firm stations under the standard of the gospel; by making appear to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconveniency, and lastly the impiety of these gay testimonies, that their great doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this, I shall not strive to be more exact in method, than as their citations lead me.

First, therefore, concerning Ignatius shall be treated fully, when the author shall come to insist upon some places in his epistles. Next, to prove a succession of twenty-seven bishops from Timothy, he cites one Leontius bishop of Magnesia, out of the 11th act of the Chalcedonian council: this is but an obscure and single witness, and for his faithful dealing who shall commend him to us, with this his catalogue of bishops? What know we further of him, but that he might be as factious and false a bishop as Leontius of Antioch, that was a hundred years his predecessor? For neither the

praise of his wisdom, or his virtue, hath left him memorable to posterity, but only this doubtful relation, which we must take at his word: and how shall this testimony receive credit from his word, whose very name had scarce been thought on but for this bare testimony? But they will say, he was a member of the council, and that may deserve to gain him credit with us. I will not stand to argue, as yet with fair allowance I might, that we may as justly suspect there were some bad and slippery men in that council, as we know there are wont to be in our convocations: nor shall I need to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more subtlety brought about, both anciently by other heretics, and modernly by papists, than to falsify the editions of the councils, of which we have none, but from our adversaries' hands, whence canons, acts, and whole spurious councils are thrust upon us; and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimate, against the lawful rejection of an urgent and free disputer. But this I purpose not to take advantage of; for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt editions of councils, whenas we know that many years ere this time, which was almost five hundred years after Christ, the councils themselves were foully corrupted with ungodly prelatism, and so far plunged into worldly ambition, as that it stood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well tasted hierarchy by what fair pretext soever they could, in like manner as they had now learned to defend many other gross corruptions by as ancient, and supposed authentic tradition as episcopacy? And what hope can we have of this whole council to warrant us a matter, four hundred years at least above their time, concerning the distinction of bishop and presbyter, whenas we find them such blind judges of things before their eyes, in their decrees of precedency between bishop and bishop, acknowledging Rome for the apostolic throne, and Peter, in that see, for the rock, the basis, and the foundation of the catholic church and faith, contrary to the interpretation of more ancient fathers? And therefore from a mistaken text did they give to Leo, as Peter's successor, a kind of preeminence above the whole council, as Euagrius expresses; (for now the pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himself by his vicars incompetible honours;) and yet having thus yielded to Rome, the universal primacy for spiritual reasons, as they thought, they conclude their sitting with a carnal and ambitious decree, to give the second place of dignity to Constantinople from reason of state, because it was New Rome; and by like consequence doubtless of earthly privileges annexed to each other city, was the bishop thereof to take his place.

I may say again therefore, what hope can we have of such a council, as, beginning in the spirit, ended thus in the flesh? Much rather should we attend to what Eusebius, the ancientest writer extant of church-history, notwithstanding all the helps he had above these, confesses in the 4th chapter of his third book, That it was no easy matter to tell who were those that were left bishops of the churches by the apostles, more than by what a man might gather from the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, in which number he reckons Timothy for bishop of Ephesus. So as may plainly appear, that this tradition of bishoping Timothy over Ephesus was but taken for granted out of that place in St. Paul, which was only an intreating him to tarry at Ephesus, to do something left him in charge. Now, if Eusebius, a famous writer, thought it so difficult to tell who were appointed bishops by the apostles, much more may we think it difficult to Leontius, an obscure bishop, speaking beyond his own diocess: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of bishops these were, if they had so little means to know who they were; and much less reason have we to stand to their definitive sentence, seeing they have been so rash to raise up such lofty bishops and bishoprics out of places in Scripture merely misunderstood. Thus while we leave the Bible to gad after the traditions of the ancients, we hear the ancients themselves confessing, that what knowledge they had in this point was such as they had gathered from the Bible.

Since therefore antiquity itself hath turned over the controversy to that sovereign book which we had fondly straggled from, we shall do better not to detain this venerable apparition of Leontius any longer, but dismiss him with his list of seven and twenty, to sleep unmolested in his former obscurity.

Now for the word προεςὼς, it is more likely that Timothy never knew the word in that sense: it was the vanity of those next succeeding times not to content themselves with the simplicity of scripture-phrase, but must make a new lexicon to name themselves by; one will be called προεςὼς, or antistes, a word of precedence; another would be termed a gnostic, as Clemens; a third sacerdos, or priest, and talks of altars; which was a plain sign that their doctrine began to change, for which they must change their expressions. But that place of Justin Martyr serves rather to convince the author, than to make for him, where the name προεςὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, the president or pastor of the brethren, (for to what end is he their president, but to teach them?) cannot be limited to signify a prelatical bishop, but rather communicates that Greek appellation to every ordinary presbyter: for there he tells what the Christians had wont to do in their several congregations, to read and expound, to pray and administer, all which he says the προεςὼς, or antistes, did. Are these the offices only of a bishop, or shall we think that every congregation where these things were done, which he attributes to this antistes, had a bishop present among them? Unless they had as many antistites as presbyters, which this place rather seems to imply; and so we may infer even from their own alleged authority, "that antistes was nothing else but presbyter."

As for that nameless treatise of Timothy's martyrdom, only cited by Photius that lived almost nine hundred years after Christ, it handsomely follows in that author the martyrdom of the seven sleepers, that slept (I tell you but what mine author says) three hundred and seventy and two years; for so long they had been shut

up in a cave without meat, and were found living. This story of Timothy's Ephesian bishopric, as it follows in order, so may it for truth, if it only subsist upon its own authority, as it doth; for Photius only saith he read it, he does not aver it. That other legendary piece found among the lives of the saints, and sent us from the shop of the Jesuits at Louvain, does but bear the name of Polycrates; how truly, who can tell? and shall have some more weight with us, when Polycrates can persuade us of that which he affirms in the same place of Eusebius's fifth book, that St. John was a priest, and wore the golden breastplate: and why should he convince us more with his traditions of Timothy's episcopacy, than he could convince Victor bishop of Rome with his traditions concerning the feast of Easter, who, not regarding his irrefragable instances of examples taken from Philip and his daughters that were prophetesses, or from Polycarpus, no nor from St. John himself, excommunicated both him, and all the Asian churches, for celebrating their Easter judaically? He may therefore go back to the seven bishops his kinsmen, and make his moan to them, that we esteem his traditional ware as lightly as Victor did.

Those of Theodoret, Felix, and John of Antioch, are authorities of later times, and therefore not to be received for their antiquity's sake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherein writers, so much their elders, we see so easily miscarry. What if they had told us that Peter, who, as they say, left Ignatius bishop of Antioch, went afterwards to Rome, and was bishop there, as this Ignatius, and Irenæus, and all antiquity with one mouth deliver? there be nevertheless a number of learned and wise protestants, who have written, and will maintain, that Peter's being at Rome as bishop cannot stand with concordance of Scripture.

Now come the epistles of Ignatius to shew us, first, that Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus; next, to assert the difference of bishop and presbyter: wherein I wonder that men, teachers of the protestant religion, make no more difficulty of imposing upon our belief a supposititious offspring of some dozen epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them heresies and trifles; which cannot agree in chronology with Ignatius, entitling him archbishop of Antioch Theopolis, which name of Theopolis that city had not till Justinian's time, long after, as Cedrenus mentions; which argues both the barbarous time, and the unskilful fraud of him that foisted this epistle upon Ignatius. In the epistle to those of Tarsus, he condemns them for ministers of Satan, that say, "Christ is God above all." To the Philippians, them that kept their Easter as the Asian churches, as Polycarpus did, and them that fasted upon any Saturday or Sunday, except one, he counts as those that had slain the Lord. To those of Antioch, he salutes the subdeacons, chanters, porters, and exorcists, as if these had been orders of the church in his time: those other epistles less questioned, are yet so interlarded with corruptions, as may justly endue us with a wholesome suspicion of the rest. As to the Trallians, he writes, that "a bishop hath power over all beyond all government and authority whatsoever." Surely then no pope can desire more than Ignatius attributes to every bishop; but what will become then of the archbishops and primates, if every bishop in Ignatius's judgment be as supreme as a pope? To the Ephesians, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof for episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the epistle; "Let no man err," saith he, "unless a man be within the rays or enclosure of the altar, he is deprived of the bread of life." I say not but this may be stretched to a figurative construction; but yet it has an ill look, especially being followed beneath with the mention of I know not what sacrifices. In the other epistle to Smyrna, wherein is written that "they should follow their bishop as Christ did his Father, and the presbytery as the apostles;" not to speak of the insulse, and ill laid comparison, this cited place lies upon the very brim of a noted corruption, which, had they that quote this passage ventured to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the testimony had been of, where it is said, "that it is not lawful without a bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do sacrifice." What can our church make of these phrases but scandalous? And but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the spirit of God in Solomon, judged by the words themselves; "My son," saith he, "honour God and the king; but I say, honour God, and the bishop as high-priest, bearing the image of God according to his ruling, and of Christ according to his priesting, and after him honour the king." Excellent Ignatius! can ye blame the prelates for making much of this epistle? Certainly if this epistle can serve you to set a bishop above a presbyter, it may serve you next to set him above a king. These, and other like places in abundance through all those short epistles, must either be adulterate, or else Ignatius was not Ignatius, nor a martyr, but most adulterate, and corrupt himself. In the midst, therefore, of so many forgeries, where shall we fix to dare say this is Ignatius? As for his style, who knows it, so disfigured and interrupted as it is? except they think that where they meet with any thing sound, and orthodoxal, there they find Ignatius. And then they believe him not for his own authority, but for a truth's sake, which they derive from elsewhere: to what end then should they cite him as authentic for episcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might safely learn from him? How can they bring satisfaction from such an author, to whose very essence the reader must be fain to contribute his own understanding? Had God ever intended that we should have sought any part of useful instruction from Ignatius, doubtless he would not have so ill provided for our knowledge, as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if he intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelic manna, by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments of an unknown table; and searching among the verminous and polluted rags

dropped overworn from the toiling shoulders of time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of truth, the daughter not of time, but of Heaven, only bred up here below in christian hearts, between two grave and holy nurses, the doctrine and discipline of the gospel.

Next follows Irenæus bishop of Lyons, who is cited to affirm, that Polycarpus "was made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles;" and this, it may seem, none could better tell than he who had both seen and heard Polycarpus: but when did he hear him? Himself confesses to Florinus, when he was a boy. Whether that age in Irenæus may not be liable to many mistakings; and whether a boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a church constitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of commission Polycarpus received his charge, let a man consider, ere he be credulous. It will not be denied that he might have seen Polycarpus in his youth, a man of great eminence in the church, to whom the other presbyters might give way for his virtue, wisdom, and the reverence of his age; and so did Anicetus, bishop of Rome, even in his own city, give him a kind of priority in administering the sacrament, as may be read in Eusebius: but that we should hence conclude a distinct and superior order from the young observation of Irenæus, nothing yet alleged can warrant us; unless we shall believe such as would face us down, that Calvin and, after him, Beza were bishops of Geneva, because that in the unsettled state of the church, while things were not fully composed, their worth and learning cast a greater share of business upon them, and directed men's eyes principally towards them: and yet these men were the dissolvers of episcopacy. We see the same necessity in state affairs; Brutus, that expelled the kings out of Rome, was for the time forced to be as it were a king himself, till matters were set in order, as in a free commonwealth. He that had seen Pericles lead the Athenians which way he listed, haply would have said he had been their prince; and yet he was but a powerful and eloquent man in a democracy, and had no more at any time than a temporary and elective sway, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is most likely that in the church, they which came after these apostolic men, being less in merit, but bigger in ambition, strove to invade those privileges by intrusion and plea of right, which Polycarpus, and others like him possessed, from the voluntary surrender of men subdued by the excellency of their heavenly gifts; which because their successors had not, and so could neither have that authority, it was their policy to divulge that the eminence which Polycarpus and his equals enjoyed, was by right of constitution, not by free will of condescending. And yet thus far Irenæus makes against them, as in that very place to call Polycarpus an apostolical presbyter. But what fidelity his relations had in general, we cannot sooner learn than by Eusebius, who, near the end of his third book, speaking of Papias, a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. John, and was known to many that had seen and been acquainted with others of the apostles, but being of a shallow wit, and not understanding those traditions which he received, filled his writings with many new doctrines, and fabulous conceits: he tells us there, that "divers ecclesiastical men, and Irenæus among the rest, while they looked at his antiquity, became infected with his errours." Now, if Irenæus was so rash as to take unexamined opinions from an author of so small capacity, when he was a man, we should be more rash ourselves to rely upon those observations which he made when he was a boy. And this may be a sufficient reason to us why we need no longer muse at the spreading of many idle traditions so soon after the apostles, while such as this Papias had the throwing them about, and the inconsiderate zeal of the next age, that heeded more the person than the doctrine, had the gathering them up. Wherever a man, who had been any way conversant with the apostles, was to be found, thither flew all the inquisitive ears, although the exercise of right instructing was changed into the curiosity of impertinent fabling: where the mind was to be edified with solid doctrine, there the fancy was soothed with solemn stories: with less fervency was studied what St. Paul or St. John had written, than was listened to one that could say, Here he taught, here he stood, this was his stature; and thus he went habited; and, O happy this house that harboured him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this village wherein he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedewed with the warm effusion of his last blood, that sprouted up into eternal roses to crown his martyrdom. Thus, while all their thoughts were poured out upon circumstances, and the gazing after such men as had sat at table with the apostles, (many of which Christ hath professed, yea, though they had cast out devils in his name, he will not know at the last day,) by this means they lost their time, and truanted in the fundamental grounds of saving knowledge, as was seen shortly by their writings. Lastly, for Irenæus, we have cause to think him less judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the apostles did, when we find him so negligent in keeping the faith which they wrote, as to say in his third book against heresies, that "the obedience of Mary was the cause of salvation to herself and all mankind;" and in his fifth book, that "as Eve was seduced to fly God, so the virgin Mary was persuaded to obey God, that the virgin Mary might be made the advocate of the virgin Eve." Thus if Irenæus, for his nearness to the apostles, must be the patron of episcopacy to us, it is no marvel though he be the patron of idolatry to the papist, for the same cause. To the epistle of those brethren of Smyrna, that write the martyrdom of Polycarpus, and style him an apostolical and prophetical doctor, and bishop of the church of Smyrna, I could be content to give some credit for the great honour and affection which I see those brethren bear him; and not undeservedly, if it be true, which they there say, that he was a prophet, and had a voice from heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could hear, but the rest could not for the noise and tumult that was in the place; and besides, if his body were so precious to the

Christians, that he was never wont to pull off his shoes for one or other that still strove to have the office, that they might come in to touch his feet; yet a light scruple or two I would gladly be resolved in: if Polycarpus (who, as they say, was a prophet that never failed in what he foretold) had declared to his friends, that he knew, by vision, he should die no other death than burning, how it came to pass that the fire, when it came to proof, would not do his work, but starting off like a full sail from the mast, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbs, exhaling such a sweet odour, as if all the incense of Arabia had been burning; insomuch that when the billmen saw that the fire was overawed, and could not do the deed, one of them steps to him and stabs him with a sword, at which wound such abundance of blood gushed forth as quenched the fire. By all this relation it appears not how the fire was guilty of his death, and then how can his prophecy be fulfilled? Next, how the standers-by could be so soon weary of such a glorious sight, and such a fragrant smell, as to hasten the executioner to put out the fire with the martyr's blood; unless perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the smoak would be more odorous than the flame: yet these good brethren say he was bishop of Smyrna. No man questions it, if bishop and presbyter were anciently all one, and how does it appear by any thing in this testimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of prophetical, apostolical, and most admired of those times, he be also styled bishop of the church of Smyrna in a kind of speech, which the rhetoricians call κατ' ἐξοχὴν, for his excellence sake, as being the most famous of all the Smyrnian presbyters; it cannot be proved neither from this nor that other place of Irenæus, that he was therefore in distinct and monarchical order above the other presbyters; it is more probable, that if the whole presbytery had been as renowned as he, they would have termed every one of them severally bishop of Smyrna. Hence it is, that we read sometimes of two bishops in one place; and had all the presbyters there been of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accosts us next, (for Polycrates hath had his answer,) whose testimony, state but the question right, is of no more force to deduce episcopacy, than the two former. He says that the church of Smyrna had Polycarpus placed there by John, and the church of Rome, Clement ordained by Peter; and so the rest of the churches did shew what bishops they had received by the appointment of the apostles. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the Scripture that bishops or presbyters, which were the same, were left by the apostles in every church, and they might perhaps give some special charge to Clement, or Polycarpus, or Linus, and put some special trust in them for the experience they had of their faith and constancy; it remains yet to be evinced out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word bishop is otherwise taken, than in the language of St. Paul and The Acts, for an order above presbyters. We grant them bishops, we grant them worthy men, we grant them placed in several churches by the apostles; we grant that Irenæus and Tertullian affirm this; but that they were placed in a superior order above the presbytery, shew from all these words why we should grant. It is not enough to say the apostle left this man bishop in Rome, and that other in Ephesus, but to shew when they altered their own decree set down by St. Paul, and made all the presbyters underlings to one bishop. But suppose Tertullian had made an imparity where none was originally, should he move us, that goes about to prove an imparity between God the Father, and God the Son, as these words import in his book against Praxeas? "The Father is the whole substance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himself professes, because the Father is greater than me." Believe him now for a faithful relater of tradition, whom you see such an unfaithful expounder of the Scripture: besides, in his time, all allowable tradition was now lost. For this same author, whom you bring to testify the ordination of Clement to the bishopric of Rome by Peter, testifies also, in the beginning of his treatise concerning chastity, that the bishop of Rome did then use to send forth his edicts by the name of Pontifex Maximus, and Episcopus Episcoporum, chief priest, and bishop of bishops: for shame then do not urge that authority to keep up a bishop, that will necessarily engage you to set up a pope. As little can your advantage be from Hegesippus, an historian of the same time, not extant, but cited by Eusebius: his words are, that "in every city all things so stood in his time as the law, and the prophets, and our Lord did preach." If they stood so, then stood not bishops above presbyters; for what our Lord and his disciples taught, God be thanked, we have no need to go learn of him: and you may as well hope to persuade us out of the same author, that James the brother of our Lord was a Nazarite, and that to him only it was lawful to enter into the holy of holies; that his food was not upon any thing that had life, fish or flesh; that he used no woollen garments, but only linen, and so as he trifles on.

If therefore the tradition of the church were now grown so ridiculous, and disconsenting from the doctrine of the apostles, even in those points which were of least moment to men's particular ends, how well may we be assured it was much more degenerated in point of episcopacy and precedency, things which could afford such plausible pretences, such commodious traverses for ambition and avarice to lurk behind!

As for those Britain bishops which you cite, take heed what you do; for our Britain bishops, less ancient than these, were remarkable for nothing more than their poverty, as Sulpitius Severus and Beda can remember you of examples good store.

Lastly, (for the fabulous Metaphrastes is not worth an answer,) that authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is not to be found in all his works; and wherever it be extant, it is in controversy, whether it be Clement's or no; or if it were, it says only that St. John in some places constituted bishops: questionless he did, but where does Clemens say he set them above presbyters?

No man will gainsay the constitution of bishops: but the raising them to a superior and distinct order above presbyters, seeing the gospel makes them one and the same thing, a thousand such allegations as these will not give prelatical episcopacy one chapel of ease above a parish church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot say rather than petty fog of witnesses, with which episcopal men would cast a mist before us, to deduce their exalted episcopacy from apostolic times. Now, although, as all men well know, it be the wonted shift of errour, and fond opinion, when they find themselves outlawed by the Bible, and forsaken of sound reason, to betake them with all speed to their old startinghole of tradition, and that wild and overgrown covert of antiquity, thinking to farm there at large room, and find good stabling, yet thus much their own deified antiquity betrays them to inform us, that tradition hath had very seldom or never the gift of persuasion; as that which church-histories report of those east and western paschalists, formerly spoken of, will declare. Who would have thought that Polycarpus on the one side could have erred in what he saw St. John do, or Anicetus bishop of Rome on the other side, in what he or some of his friends might pretend to have seen St. Peter or St. Paul do; and yet neither of these could persuade either when to keep Easter? The like frivolous contention troubled the primitive English churches, while Colmanus and Wilfride on either side deducing their opinions, the one from the undeniable example of Saint John, and the learned bishop Anatolius, and lastly the miraculous Columba, the other from Saint Peter and the Nicene council; could gain no ground each of other, till King Oswy, perceiving no likelihood of ending the controversy that way, was fain to decide it himself, good king, with that small knowledge wherewith those times had furnished him. So when those pious Greek emperors began, as Cedrenus relates, to put down monks, and abolish images, the old idolaters, finding themselves blasted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the Scripture, sent out their sturdy monks called the Abramites, to allege for images the ancient fathers Dionysius, and this our objected Irenæus: nay, they were so highflown in their antiquity, that they undertook to bring the apostles, and Luke the evangelist, yea Christ himself, from certain records that were then current, to patronize their idolatry: yet for all this the worthy emperor Theophilus, even in those dark times, chose rather to nourish himself and his people with the sincere milk of the gospel, than to drink from the mixed confluence of so many corrupt and poisonous waters, as tradition would have persuaded him to, by most ancient seeming authorities. In like manner all the reformed churches abroad, unthroning episcopacy, doubtless were not ignorant of these testimonies alleged to draw it in a line from the apostles' days: for surely the author will not think he hath brought us now any new authorities or considerations into the world, which the reformers in other places were not advised of: and yet we see, the intercession of all these apostolic fathers could not prevail with them to alter their resolved decree of reducing into order their usurping and over-provendered episcopants; and God hath blessed their work this hundred years with a prosperous and stedfast, and still happy success. And this may serve to prove the insufficiency of these present episcopal testimonies, not only in themselves but in the account of those ever that have been the followers of truth. It will next behove us to consider the inconvenience we fall into, by using ourselves to be guided by these kind of testimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well-learned man to have read diligently the ancient stories of the church, and to be no stranger in the volumes of the fathers, shall have all judicious men consenting with him; not hereby to control, and new fangle the Scripture, God forbid! but to mark how corruption and apostasy crept in by degrees, and to gather up wherever we find the remaining sparks of original truth, wherewith to stop the mouths of our adversaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly pass by that which is orthodoxal in them, and studiously cull out that which is commentitious, and best for their turns, not weighing the fathers in the balance of Scripture, but Scripture in the balance of the fathers. If we, therefore, making first the gospel our rule and oracle, shall take the good which we light on in the fathers, and set it to oppose the evil which other men seek from them, in this way of skirmish we shall easily master all superstition and false doctrine; but if we turn this our discreet and wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatsoever we find written by them; we both forsake our own grounds and reasons which led us at first to part from Rome, that is, to hold the Scriptures against all antiquity; we remove our cause into our adversaries' own court, and take up there those cast principles, which will soon cause us to soder up with them again; inasmuch as believing antiquity for itself in any one point, we bring an engagement upon ourselves of assenting to all that it charges upon us. For suppose we should now, neglecting that which is clear in Scripture, that a bishop and presbyter is all one both in name and office, and that what was done by Timothy and Titus, executing an extraordinary place, as fellow-labourers with the apostles, and of a universal charge in planting christianity through divers regions, cannot be drawn into particular and daily example; suppose that neglecting this clearness of the text, we should, by the uncertain and corrupted writings of succeeding times, determine that bishop and presbyter are different, because we dare not deny what Ignatius, or rather the Perkin Warbeck of Ignatius, says; then must we be constrained to take upon ourselves a thousand superstitions and falsities, which the papists will prove us down in, from as good authorities, and as ancient as these that set a bishop above a presbyter. And the plain truth is, that when any of our men, of those that are wedded to antiquity, come to dispute with a papist, and leaving the Scriptures put themselves without appeal to the sentence of synods and councils, using in the cause of Sion the hired soldiery of revolted Israel; where they give the Romanists one buff, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true bishop

should be afraid to conquer in his cause by such authorities as these, which if we admit for the authority's sake, we open a broad passage for a multitude of doctrines, that have no ground in Scripture, to break in upon us.

Lastly, I do not know, it being undeniable that there are but two ecclesiastical orders, bishops and deacons, mentioned in the gospel, how it can be less than impiety to make a demur at that, which is there so perspicuous, confronting and paralleling the sacred verity of St. Paul with the offals and sweepings of antiquity, that met as accidentally and absurdly, as Epicurus's atoms, to patch up a Leucippean Ignatius, inclining rather to make this phantasm an expounder, or indeed a depraver of St. Paul, than St. Paul an examiner, and discoverer of this impostorship; nor caring how slightly they put off the verdict of holy text unsalved, that says plainly there be but two orders, so they maintain the reputation of their imaginary doctor that proclaims three. Certainly if Christ's apostle have set down but two, then according to his own words, though he himself should unsay it, and not only the angel of Smyrna, but an angel from heaven, should bear us down that there be three, Saint Paul has doomed him twice, "Let him be accursed;" for Christ hath pronounced that no tittle of his word shall fall to the ground; and if one jot be alterable, it is as possible that all should perish: and this shall be our righteousness, our ample warrant, and strong assurance, both now and at the last day, never to be ashamed of, against all the heaped names of angels and martyrs, councils and fathers, urged upon us, if we have given ourselves up to be taught by the pure and living precept of God's word only; which, without more additions, nay with a forbidding of them, hath within itself the promise of eternal life, the end of all our wearisome labours, and all our sustaining hopes. But if any shall strive to set up his ephod and teraphim of antiquity against the brightness and perfection of the gospel; let him fear lest he and his Baal be turned into Bosheth. And thus much may suffice to shew, that the pretended episcopacy cannot be deduced from the apostolical times.

THE

REASON OF CHURCH-GOVERNMENT

URGED AGAINST PRELATY.

IN TWO BOOKS.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1641.]

THE PREFACE.

In the publishing of human laws, which for the most part aim not beyond the good of civil society, to set them barely forth to the people without reason or preface, like a physical prescript, or only with threatenings, as it were a lordly command, in the judgment of Plato was thought to be done neither generously nor wisely. His advice was, seeing that persuasion certainly is a more winning and more manlike way to keep men in obedience than fear, that to such laws as were of principal moment, there should be used as an induction some well-tempered discourse, shewing how good, how gainful, how happy it must needs be to live according to honesty and justice; which being uttered with those native colours and graces of speech, as true eloquence, the daughter of virtue, can best bestow upon her mother's praises, would so incite, and in a manner charm, the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to embrace it ever after, not of custom and awe, which most men do, but of choice and purpose, with true and constant delight. But this practice we may learn from a better and more ancient authority than any heathen writer hath to give us; and indeed being a point of so high wisdom and worth, how could it be but we should find it in that book, within whose sacred context all wisdom is unfolded? Moses, therefore, the only lawgiver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God, knowing how vain it was to write laws to men whose hearts were not first seasoned with the knowledge of God and of his works, began from the book of Genesis, as a prologue to his laws; which Josephus right well hath noted: that the nation

of the Jews, reading therein the universal goodness of God to all creatures in the creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of Abraham their ancestor from whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be moved to obey sincerely, by knowing so good a reason of their obedience. If then, in the administration of civil justice, and under the obscurity of ceremonial rites, such care was had by the wisest of the heathen, and by Moses among the Jews, to instruct them at least in a general reason of that government to which their subjection was required; how much more ought the members of the church, under the gospel, seek to inform their understanding in the reason of that government, which the church claims to have over them! Especially for that church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections of the mind, where the seat of reason is having power to examine our spiritual knowledge, and to demand from us, in God's behalf, a service entirely reasonable. But because about the manner and order of this government, whether it ought to be presbyterial or prelatical, such endless question, or rather uproar, is arisen in this land, as may be justly termed what the fever is to the physicians, the eternal reproach of our divines, whilst other profound clerks of late, greatly, as they conceive, to the advancement of prelaty, are so earnestly meting out the Lydian proconsular Asia, to make good the prime metropolis of Ephesus, as if some of our prelates in all haste meant to change their soil, and become neighbours to the English bishop of Chalcedon; and whilst good Breerwood as busily bestirs himself in our vulgar tongue, to divide precisely the three patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; and whether to any of these England doth belong: I shall in the mean while not cease to hope, through the mercy and grace of Christ, the head and husband of his church, that England shortly is to belong, neither to see patriarchal nor see prelatical, but to the faithful feeding and disciplining of that ministerial order, which the blessed apostles constituted throughout the churches; and this I shall assay to prove, can be no other than presbyters and deacons. And if any man incline to think I undertake a task too difficult for my years, I trust through the supreme enlightening assistance far otherwise; for my years, be they few or many, what imports it? So they bring reason, let that be looked on: and for the task, from hence that the question in hand is so needful to be known at this time, chiefly by every meaner capacity, and contains in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reached out to us by the gospel, I conclude the task must be easy: God having to this end ordained his gospel to be the revelation of his power and wisdom in Christ Jesus. And this is one depth of his wisdom, that he could so plainly reveal so great a measure of it to the gross distorted apprehension of decayed mankind. Let others, therefore, dread and shun the Scriptures for their darkness; I shall wish I may deserve to be reckoned among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearness. And this seems to be the cause why in those places of holy writ, wherein is treated of church-government, the reasons thereof are not formally and professedly set down, because to him that heeds attentively the drift and scope of christian profession, they easily imply themselves; which thing further to explain, having now prefaced enough, I shall no longer defer.

CHAP. I.

That church-government is prescribed in the gospel, and that to say otherwise is unsound.

THE first and greatest reason of church-government we may securely, with the assent of many on the adverse part, affirm to be, because we find it so ordained and set out to us by the appointment of God in the Scriptures; but whether this be presbyterial, or prelatical, it cannot be brought to the scanning, until I have said what is meet to some who do not think it for the ease of their inconsequent opinions, to grant that church-discipline is platformed in the Bible, but that it is left to the discretion of men. To this conceit of theirs I answer, that it is both unsound and untrue; for there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, than is discipline. What need I instance? He that hath read with judgment, of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the moments and turnings of human occasions, are moved to and fro as upon the axle of discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortal things weaker men have attributed to fortune, I durst with more confidence (the honour of Divine Providence ever saved) ascribe either to the vigour or the slackness of discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life, civil or sacred, that can be above discipline; but she is that which with her musical cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in those perfect armies of Cyrus in Xenophon, and Scipio in the Roman stories, the excellence of military skill was esteemed, not by the not needing, but by the readiest submitting to the edicts of their commander. And certainly discipline is not only the removal of disorder; but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape

and image of virtue, whereby she is not only seen in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walks, but also makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into the celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven. The state also of the blessed in paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without discipline, whose golden surveying reed marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of New Jerusalem. Yet is it not to be conceived, that these eternal effluences of sanctity and love in the glorified saints should by this means be confined and cloyed with repetition of that which is prescribed, but that our happiness may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical equation be, as it were, an invariable planet of joy and felicity; how much less can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble, though not less beloved church here below, to the perpetual stumble of conjecture and disturbance in this our dark voyage, without the card and compass of discipline! Which is so hard to be of man's making, that we may see even in the guidance of a civil state to worldly happiness, it is not for every learned, or every wise man, though many of them consult in common, to invent or frame a discipline: but if it be at all the work of man, it must be of such a one as is a true knower of himself, and in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence, must be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden causes of things, and span in his thoughts all the various effects, that passion or complexion can work in man's nature; and hereto must his hand be at defiance with gain, and his heart in all virtues heroic; so far is it from the ken of these wretched projectors of ours, that bescrawl their pamphlets every day with new forms of government for our church. And therefore all the ancient lawgivers were either truly inspired, as Moses, or were such men as with authority enough might give it out to be so, as Minos, Lycurgus, Numa, because they wisely forethought that men would never quietly submit to such a discipline as had not more of God's hand in it than man's. To come within the narrowness of household government, observation will shew us many deep counsellors of state and judges to demean themselves incorruptly in the settled course of affairs, and many worthy preachers upright in their lives, powerful in their audience: but look upon either of these men where they are left to their own disciplining at home, and you shall soon perceive, for all their single knowledge and uprightness, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own family; not only in what may concern the virtuous and decent composure of their minds in their several places, but that which is of a lower and easier performance, the right possessing of the outward vessel, their body, in health or sickness, rest or labour, diet or abstinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the soul, and useful to the commonwealth: which if men were but as good to discipline themselves, as some are to tutor their horses and hawks, it could not be so gross in most households. If then it appear so hard, and so little known how to govern a house well, which is thought of so easily discharge, and for every man's undertaking; what skill of man, what wisdom, what parts can be sufficient to give laws and ordinances to the elect household of God? If we could imagine that he had left it at random without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant, so presumptuous, that durst dispose and guide the living ark of the Holy Ghost, though he should find it wandering in the field of Bethshemesh, without the conscious warrant of some high calling? But no profane insolence can parallel that which our prelates dare avouch, to drive outrageously, and shatter the holy ark of the church, not borne upon their shoulders with pains and labour in the word, but drawn with rude oxen their officials, and their own brute inventions. Let them make shows of reforming while they will, so long as the church is mounted upon the prelatical cart, and not as it ought, between the hands of the ministers, it will but shake and totter; and he that sets to his hand, though with a good intent to hinder the shogging of it, in this unlawful waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him as it was to Uzza. Certainly if God be the father of his family the church, wherein could he express that name more, than in training it up under his own allwise and dear economy, not turning it loose to the havoc of strangers and wolves, that would ask no better plea than this, to do in the church of Christ whatever humour, faction, policy, or licentious will would prompt them to? Again, if Christ be the Church's husband, expecting her to be presented before him a pure unspotted virgin; in what could he shew his tender love to her more, than in prescribing his own ways, which he best knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty, with much greater care doubtless, than the Persian king could appoint for his queen Esther those maiden dietings and set prescriptions of baths and odours, which may render her at last more amiable to his eye? For of any age or sex, most unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary education. Yea, though she be well instructed, yet is she still under a more strait tuition, especially if betrothed. In like manner the church bearing the same resemblance, it were not reason to think she should be left destitute of that care, which is as necessary and proper to her as instruction. For public preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit, working as best seems to his secret will; but discipline is the practic work of preaching directed and applied, as is most requisite, to particular duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of souls, as it would be to the cure of bodies, if all the physicians in London should get into the several pulpits of the city, and assembling all the diseased in every parish, should begin a learned lecture of pleurisies, palsies, lethargies, to which perhaps none there present were inclined; and so, without so much as feeling one pulse, or giving the least order to any skilful apothecary, should dis-

miss them from time to time, some groaning, some languishing, some expiring, with this only charge, to look well to themselves, and do as they hear. Of what excellence and necessity then church-discipline is, how beyond the faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to man's invention, who would be every foot turning it to sinister ends; how properly also it is the work of God as father, and of Christ as husband, of the church, we have by thus much heard.

CHAP. II.

That church-government is set down in Holy Scripture, and that to say otherwise is untrue.

As therefore it is unsound to say, that God hath not appointed any set government in his church, so it is untrue. Of the time of the law there can be no doubt; for to let pass the first institution of priests and Levites, which is too clear to be insisted upon, when the temple came to be built, which in plain judgment could breed no essential change, either in religion, or in the priestly government; yet God, to shew how little he could endure that men should be tampering and contriving in his worship, though in things of less regard, gave to David for Solomon, not only a pattern and model of the temple, but a direction for the courses of the priests and Levites, and for all the work of their service. At the return from the captivity, things were only restored after the ordinance of Moses and David; or if the least alteration be to be found, they had with them inspired men, prophets; and it were not sober to say they did aught of moment without divine intimation. In the prophecy of Ezekiel, from the 40th chapter onward, after the destruction of the temple, God, by his prophet, seeking to wean the hearts of the Jews from their old law, to expect a new and more perfect reformation under Christ, sets out before their eyes the stately fabric and constitution of his church, with all the ecclesiastical functions appertaining: indeed the description is as sorted best to the apprehension of those times, typical and shadowy, but in such manner as never yet came to pass, nor ever must literally, unless we mean to annihilate the gospel. But so exquisite and lively the description is in pourtraying the new state of the church, and especially in those points where government seems to be most active, that both Jews and Gentiles might have good cause to be assured, that God, whenever he meant to reform his church, never intended to leave the government thereof, delineated here in such curious architecture, to be patched afterwards, and varnished over with the devices and embellishings of man's imagination. Did God take such delight in measuring out the pillars, arches, and doors of a material temple? Was he so punctual and circumspect in lavers, altars, and sacrifices soon after to be abrogated, lest any of these should have been made contrary to his mind? Is not a far more perfect work, more agreeable to his perfections in the most perfect state of the church militant, the new alliance of God to man? Should not he rather now by his own prescribed discipline have cast his line and level upon the soul of man which is his rational temple, and, by the divine square and compass thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely shapes of virtues and graces, the sooner to edify and accomplish that immortal stature of Christ's body, which is his church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions? And that this indeed God hath done for us in the gospel we shall see with open eyes, not under a veil. We may pass over the history of the Acts and other places, turning only to those epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus; where the spiritual eye may discern more goodly and gracefully erected, than all the magnificence of temple or tabernacle, such a heavenly structure of evangelical discipline, so diffusive of knowledge and charity to the prosperous increase and growth of the church, that it cannot be wondered if that elegant and artful symmetry of the promised new temple in Ezekiel, and all those sumptuous things under the law, were made to signify the inward beauty and splendour of the christian church thus governed. And whether this be commanded, let it now be judged. St. Paul after his preface to the first of Timothy, which he concludes in the 17th verse with Amen, enters upon the subject of this epistle, which is to establish the church-government, with a command: "This charge I commit to thee, son Timothy: according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest war a good warfare." Which is plain enough thus expounded: This charge I commit to thee, wherein I now go about to instruct thee how thou shalt set up church-discipline, that thou mightest war a good warfare, bearing thyself constantly and faithfully in the ministry, which, in the first to the Corinthians, is also called a warfare; and so after a kind of parenthesis concerning Hymenæus, he returns to his command, though under the mild word of exhorting, chap. ii. ver. 1, "I exhort therefore;" as if he had interrupted his former command by the occasional mention of Hymenæus. More beneath in the 14th verse of the third chapter, when he had delivered the duties of bishops or presbyters, and deacons, not once naming any other order in the church, he thus adds; "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; (such necessity it seems there was;) but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God." From this place it may be justly asked, whether Timothy by this here written, might know what was to be known concerning the orders of church governors or no? If he might, then, in such a clear text as this, may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did St. Paul write insufficiently, and moreover said not true, for he saith here he might know; and I persuade myself he did know ere this was written, but that the apostle had more regard to the instruction of us, than to the informing of him. In the fifth chapter, after some other church-precepts concerning discipline, mark what a dreadful

command follows, ver. 21: "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things." And as if all were not yet sure enough, he closes up the epistle with an adjuring charge thus; "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, that thou keep this commandment:" that is, the whole commandment concerning discipline, being the main purpose of the epistle: although Hooker would fain have this denouncement referred to the particular precept going before, because the word commandment is in the singular number, not remembering that even in the first chapter of this epistle, the word commandment is used in a plural sense, ver. 5: "Now the end of the commandment is charity;" and what more frequent than in like manner to say the law of Moses? So that either to restrain the significance too much, or too much to enlarge it, would make the adjuration either not so weighty or not so pertinent. And thus we find here that the rules of church-discipline are not only commanded, but hedged about with such a terrible impalement of commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the least of them, must hazard the wounding of his conscience even unto death. Yet all this notwithstanding, we shall find them broken well nigh all by the fair pretenders even of the next ages. No less to the contempt of him whom they feign to be the archfounder of prelaty, St. Peter, who, by what he writes in the fifth chapter of his first epistle, should seem to be far another man than tradition reports him: there he commits to the presbyters only full authority, both of feeding the flock and episcopating; and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repel the venturous boldness of innovation that ensued, changing the decrees of God that are immutable, as if they had been breathed by man. Nevertheless when Christ, by those visions of St. John, foreshews the reformation of his church, he bids him take his reed, and mete it out again after the first pattern, for he prescribes no other. "Arise, said the angel, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein." What is there in the world can measure men but discipline? Our word ruling imports no less. Doctrine indeed is the measure, or at least the reason of the measure, it is true; but unless the measure be applied to that which it is to measure, how can it actually do its proper work? Whether therefore discipline be all one with doctrine, or the particular application thereof to this or that person, we all agree that doctrine must be such only as is commanded; or whether it be something really differing from doctrine, yet was it only of God's appointment, as being the most adequate measure of the church and her children, which is here the office of a great evangelist, and the reed given him from heaven. But that part of the temple which is not thus measured, so far is it from being in God's tuition or delight, that in the following verse he rejects it; however in shew and visibility it may seem a part of his church, yet inasmuch as it lies thus unmeasured, he leaves it to be trampled by the Gentiles; that is to be polluted with idolatrous and gentilish rites and ceremonies. And that the principal reformation here foretold is already come to pass, as well in discipline as in doctrine, the state of our neighbour churches afford us to behold. Thus, through all the periods and changes of the church, it hath been proved, that God hath still reserved to himself the right of enacting church-government.

CHAP. III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the gospel, to hold that church-government is to be patterned by the law, as bishop Andrews and the primate of Armagh maintain.

We may return now from this interposing difficulty thus removed, to affirm, that since church-government is so strictly commanded in God's word, the first and greatest reason why we should submit thereto is, because God hath so commanded. But whether of these two, prelaty or presbytery, can prove itself to be supported by this first and greatest reason, must be the next dispute: wherein this position is to be first laid down, as granted; that I may not follow a chase rather than an argument, that one of these two, and none other, is of God's ordaining; and if it be, that ordinance must be evident in the gospel. For the imperfect and obscure institution of the law, which the apostles themselves doubt not ofttimes to vilify, cannot give rules to the complete and glorious ministration of the gospel, which looks on the law as on a child, not as on a tutor. And that the prelates have no sure foundation in the gospel, their own guiltiness doth manifest; they would not else run questing up as high as Adam to fetch their original, as it is said one of them lately did in public. To which assertion, had I heard it, because I see they are so insatiable of antiquity, I should have gladly assented, and confessed them yet more ancient: for Lucifer, before Adam, was the first prelate angel; and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather Adam, as we all know, for aspiring above their orders, were miserably degraded. But others, better advised, are content to receive their beginning from Aaron and his sons, among whom bishop Andrews of late years, and in these times the primate of Armagh, for their learning are reputed the best able to say what may be said in this opinion. The primate, in his discourse about the original of episcopacy newly revised, begins thus: "The ground of episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern prescribed by God in the Old Testament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the apostles." Herein I must entreat to be excused of the desire I have to be satisfied, how for example the ground of episcopacy is fetched partly from the example of the Old Testament, by whom next, and by whose autho-

rity. Secondly, how the church-government under the gospel can be rightly called an imitation of that in the Old Testament; for that the gospel is the end and fulfilling of the law, our liberty also from the bondage of the law, I plainly read. How then the ripe age of the gospel should be put to school again, and learn to govern herself from the infancy of the law, the stronger to imitate the weaker, the freeman to follow the captive, the learned to be lessoned by the rude, will be a hard undertaking to evince from any of those principles, which either art or inspiration hath written. If any thing done by the apostles may be drawn howsoever to a likeness of something mosaical, if it cannot be proved that it was done of purpose in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in nature, and not in ceremony or type, it will little avail the matter. The whole judaic law is either political, (and to take pattern by that, no christian nation ever thought itself obliged in conscience,) or moral, which contains in it the observation of whatsoever is substantially and perpetually true and good, either in religion or course of life. That which is thus moral, besides what we fetch from those unwritten laws and ideas which nature hath engraven in us, the gospel, as stands with her dignity most, lectures to her from her own authentic handwriting and command, not copies out from the borrowed manuscript of a subservient scroll, by way of imitating: as well might she be said in her sacrament of water, to imitate the baptism of John. What though she retain excommunication used in the synagogue, retain the morality of the sabbath? She does not therefore imitate the law her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally delivered from the law to the gospel, in the office of the priests and Levites, was, that there should be a ministry set apart to teach and discipline the church; both which duties the apostles thought good to commit to the presbyters. And if any distinction of honour were to be made among them, they directed it should be to those not that only rule well, but especially to those that labour in the word and doctrine. By which we are told that laborious teaching is the most honourable prelaty that one minister can have above another in the gospel; if therefore the superiority of bishopship be grounded on the priesthood as a part of the moral law, it cannot be said to be an imitation; for it were ridiculous that morality should imitate morality, which ever was the same thing. This very word of patterning or imitating, excludes episcopacy from the solid and grave ethical law, and betrays it to be a mere child of ceremony, or likelier some misbegotten thing, that having plucked the gay feathers of her obsolete bravery, to hide her own deformed barrenness, now vaunts and glories in her stolen plumes. In the mean while, what danger there is against the very life of the gospel, to make in any thing the typical law her pattern, and how impossible in that which touches the priestly government, I shall use such light as I have received, to lay open. It cannot be unknown by what expressions the holy apostle St. Paul spares not to explain to us the nature and condition of the law, calling those ordinances, which were the chief and essential offices of the priests, the elements and rudiments of the world, both weak and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the children of the promise, the heirs of liberty and grace, under such a kind of government as is professed to be but an imitation of that ministry, which engendered to bondage the sons of Agar; how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that birthright and immunity, which Christ hath purchased for us with his blood? For the ministration of the law, consisting of carnal things, drew to it such a ministry as consisted of carnal respects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And such a ministry established in the gospel, as is founded upon the points and terms of superiority, and nests itself in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we see it doth, such a religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the flesh: for doubtless there is a certain attraction and magnetic force betwixt the religion and the ministerial form thereof. If the religion be pure, spiritual, simple, and lowly, as the gospel most truly is, such must the face of the ministry be. And in like manner, if the form of the ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honour, temporal jurisdiction, we see with our eyes it will turn the inward power and purity of the gospel into the outward carnality of the law; evaporating and exhaling the internal worship into empty conformities, and gay shews. And what remains then, but that we should run into as dangerous and deadly apostasy as our lamentable neighbours the papists, who, by this very snare and pitfall of imitating the ceremonial law, fell into that irrecoverable superstition, as must needs make void the covenant of salvation to them that persist in this blindness?

CHAP. IV.

That it is impossible to make the priesthood of Aaron a pattern whereon to ground episcopacy.

That which was promised next is, to declare the impossibility of grounding evangelic government in the imitation of the Jewish priesthood; which will be done by considering both the quality of the persons, and the office itself. Aaron and his sons were the princes of their tribe, before they were sanctified to the priesthood: that personal eminence, which they held above the other Levites, they received not only from their office, but partly brought it into their office; and so from that time forward the priests were not chosen out of the whole number of the Levites, as our bishops, but were born inheritors of the dignity. Therefore, unless we shall choose our prelates only out of the nobility, and let them run in a blood, there can be no possible imitation of lording over their brethren in regard of their persons altogether unlike. As for the office, which was a representation of Christ's own person more immediately in the high-priest, and of his whole priestly

office in all the other, to the performance of which the Levites were but servitors and deacons, it was necessary there should be a distinction of dignity between two functions of so great odds. But there being no such difference among our ministers, unless it be in reference to the deacons, it is impossible to found a prelaty upon the imitation of this priesthood: for wherein, or in what work, is the office of a prelate excellent above that of a pastor? In ordination, you will say; but flatly against Scripture: for there we know Timothy received ordination by the hands of the presbytery, notwithstanding all the vain delusions that are used to evade that testimony, and maintain an unwarrantable usurpation. But wherefore should ordination be a cause of setting up a superior degree in the church? Is not that whereby Christ became our Saviour a higher and greater work, than that whereby he did ordain messengers to preach and publish him our Saviour? Every minister sustains the person of Christ in his highest work of communicating to us the mysteries of our salvation, and hath the power of binding and absolving; how should he need a higher dignity, to represent or execute that which is an inferiour work in Christ? Why should the performance of ordination, which is a lower office, exalt a prelate, and not the seldom discharge of a higher and more noble office, which is preaching and administering, much rather depress him? Verily, neither the nature nor the example of ordination doth any way require an imparity between the ordainer and the ordained; for what more natural than every like to produce his like, man to beget man, fire to propagate fire? And in examples of highest opinion the ordainer is inferiour to the ordained; for the pope is not made by the precedent pope, but by cardinals, who ordain and consecrate to a higher and greater office than their own.

CHAP. V.

To the arguments of bishop Andrews and the Primate.

It follows here to attend to certain objections in a little treatise lately printed among others of like sort at Oxford, and in the title said to be out of the rude draughts of bishop Andrews: and surely they be rude draughts indeed, insomuch that it is marvel to think what his friends meant, to let come abroad such shallow reasonings with the name of a man so much bruited for learning. In the twelfth and twenty-third pages he seems most notoriously inconstant to himself; for in the former place he tells us he forbears to take any argument of prelaty from Aaron, as being the type of Christ. In the latter he can forbear no longer, but repents him of his rash gratuity, affirming, that to say, Christ being come in the flesh, his figure in the high priest ceaseth, is the shift of an anabaptist; and stiffly argues, that Christ being as well king as priest, was as well fore-resembled by the kings then, as by the high priest: so that if his coming take away the one type, it must also the other. Marvellous piece of divinity! and well worth that the land should pay six thousand pounds a year for in a bishopric; although I read of no sophister among the Greeks that was so dear, neither Hippias nor Protagoras, nor any whom the Socratic school famously refuted without hire. Here we have the type of the king sewed to the tippet of the bishop, subtlely to cast a jealousy upon the crown, as if the right of kings, like Meleager in the Metamorphosis, were no longer-lived than the firebrand of prelaty. But more likely the prelates fearing (for their own guilty carriage protests they do fear) that their fair days cannot long hold, practise by possessing the king with this most false doctrine, to engage his power for them, as in his own quarrel, that when they fall they may fall in a general ruin; just as cruel Tiberius would wish:

> "When I die let the earth be rolled in flames."

But where, O bishop, doth the purpose of the law set forth Christ to us as a king? That which never was intended in the law can never be abolished as part thereof. When the law was made, there was no king: if before the law, or under the law, God by a special type in any king would foresignify the future kingdom of Christ, which is not yet visibly come; what was that to the law? The whole ceremonial law (and types can be in no law else) comprehends nothing but the propitiatory office of Christ's priesthood, which being in substance accomplished, both law and priesthood fades away of itself, and passes into air like a transitory vision, and the right of kings neither stands by any type nor falls. We acknowledge that the civil magistrate wears an authority of God's giving, and ought to be obeyed as his vicegerent. But to make a king a type, we say is an abusive and unskilful speech, and of a moral solidity makes it seem a ceremonial shadow: therefore your typical chain of king and priest must unlink. But is not the type of priest taken away by Christ's coming? No, saith this famous protestant bishop of Winchester, it is not; and he that saith it is, is an anabaptist. What think ye, readers, do ye not understand him? What can be gathered hence, but that the prelate would still sacrifice? Conceive him, readers, he would missificate. Their altars, indeed, were in a fair forwardness; and by such arguments as these they were setting up the molten calf of their mass again, and of their great hierarch the pope. For if the type of priest be not taken away, then neither of the high priest, it were a strange beheading; and high priest more than one there cannot be, and that one can be no less than a pope. And this doubtless was the bent of his career, though never so covertly. Yea, but there was something else in the high priest, besides the figure, as is plain by St. Paul's acknowledging him. It is true, that in the 17th of Deut. whence this authority arises to the priest in matters too hard for the secular judges, as must needs be many in the occasions of those times, involved with ceremonial niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to inquire at the

mouth of the priests, who besides the magistrates their colleagues, had the oracle of urim to consult with. And whether the high priest Ananias had not encroached beyond the limits of his priestly authority, or whether he used it rightly, was no time then for St. Paul to contest about. But if this instance be able to assert any right of jurisdiction to the clergy, it must impart it in common to all ministers, since it were a great folly to seek for counsel in a hard intricate scruple from a dunce prelate, when there might be found a speedier solution from a grave and learned minister, whom God hath gifted with the judgment of urim, more amply ofttimes than all the prelates together; and now in the gospel hath granted the privilege of this oraculous ephod alike to all his ministers. The reason therefore of imparity in the priests, being now, as is aforesaid, really annulled both in their person and in their representative office, what right of jurisdiction soever can be from this place levitically bequeathed, must descend upon the ministers of the gospel equally, as it finds them in all other points equal. Well, then, he is finally content to let Aaron go; Eleazar will serve his turn, as being a superior of superiors, and yet no type of Christ in Aaron's lifetime. O thou that wouldest wind into any figment, or phantasm, to save thy mitc! yet all this will not fadge, though it be cunningly interpolished by some second hand with crooks and emendations: hear then, the type of Christ in some one particular, as of entering yearly into the holy of holies, and such like, rested upon the high priest only as more immediately personating our Saviour: but to resemble his whole satisfactory office, all the lineage of Aaron was no more than sufficient. And all or any of the priests, considered separately without relation to the highest, are but as a lifeless trunk, and signify nothing. And this shews the excellence of Christ's sacrifice, who at once and in one person fulfilled that which many hundreds of priests many times repeating had enough to foreshew. What other imparity there was among themselves, we may safely suppose it depended on the dignity of their birth and family, together with the circumstances of a carnal service, which might afford many priorities. And this I take to be the sum of what the bishop hath laid together to make plea for prelaty by imitation of the law: though indeed, if it may stand, it will infer popedom all as well. Many other courses he tries, enforcing himself with much ostentation of endless genealogies, as if he were the man that St. Paul forewarns us of in Timothy, but so unvigorously, that I do not fear his winning of many to his cause, but such as doting upon great names are either over-weak, or over-sudden of faith. I shall not refuse, therefore, to learn so much prudence as I find in the Roman soldier that attended the cross, not to stand breaking of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but pass to that which follows. The primate of Armagh at the beginning of his tractate seeks to avail himself of that place in the sixty-sixth of Isaiah, "I will take of them for priests and Levites, saith the Lord," to uphold hereby such a form of superiority among the ministers of the gospel, succeeding those in the law, as the Lord's-day did the sabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of interpreting those prophetical passages concerning christian times and a punctual correspondence, it may with equal probability be urged upon us, that we are bound to observe some monthly solemnity answerable to the new moons, as well as the Lord's-day which we keep in lieu of the sabbath: for in the 23rd verse the prophet joins them in the same manner together, as before he did the priests and Levites, thus: "And it shall come to pass that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord." Undoubtedly, with as good consequence may it be alleged from hence, that we are to solemnize some religious monthly meeting different from the sabbath, as from the other any distinct formality of ecclesiastical orders may be inferred. This rather will appear to be the lawful and unconstrained sense of the text, that God, in taking of them for priests and Levites, will not esteem them unworthy, though Gentiles, to undergo any function in the church, but will make of them a full and perfect ministry, as was that of the priests and Levites in their kind. And bishop Andrews himself, to end the controversy, sends us a candid exposition of this quoted verse from the 24th page of his said book, plainly deciding that God, by those legal names there of priests and Levites, means our presbyters and deacons; for which either ingenuous confession, or slip of his pen, we give him thanks, and withal to him that brought these treatises into one volume, who, setting the contradictions of two learned men so near together, did not foresee. What other deducements or analogies are cited out of St. Paul, to prove a likeness between the ministers of the Old and New Testament, having tried their sinews, I judge they may pass without harm-doing to our cause. We may remember, then, that prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the gospel; which assertion, as being for the plainness thereof a matter of eyesight rather than of disquisition, I voluntarily omit; not forgetting, to specify this note again, that the earnest desire which the prelates have to build their hierarchy upon the sandy bottom of the law, gives us to see abundantly the little assurance, which they find to rear up their high roofs by the authority of the gospel, repulsed as it were from the writings of the apostles, and driven to take sanctuary among the Jews. Hence that open confession of the primate before mentioned: "Episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern of the Old Testament, and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old;" though nothing can be more rotten in divinity than such a position as this, and is all one as to say, episcopacy is partly of divine institution, and partly of man's own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the pattern of the law, than what the apostles had already fetched, if they fetched any thing at all, as hath been proved they did not? So was Jeroboam's episcopacy partly from the pattern of the law, and partly from the pattern of his own carnality; a party-coloured and a party-membered episcopacy: and

what can this be else than a monstrous? Others therefore among the prelates, perhaps not so well able to brook, or rather to justify, this foul relapsing to the old law, have condescended at last to a plain confessing, that both the names and offices of bishops and presbyters at first were the same, and in the Scriptures nowhere distinguished. This grants the remonstrant in the fifth section of his defence, and in the preface to his last short answer. But what need respect be had whether he grant or grant it not, when as through all antiquity, and even in the loftiest times of prelaty, we find it granted? Jerome, the learnedest of the fathers, hides not his opinion, that custom only, which the proverb calls a tyrant, was the maker of prelaty; before his audacious workmanship the churches were ruled in common by the presbyters: and such a certain truth this was esteemed, that it became a decree among the papal canons compiled by Gratian. Anselm also of Canterbury, who, to uphold the points of his prelatism, made himself a traitor to his country, yet, commenting the epistles to Titus and the Philippians, acknowledges, from the clearness of the text, what Jerome and the church rubric hath before acknowledged. He little dreamed then that the weeding-hook of reformation would after two ages pluck up his glorious poppy from insulting over the good corn. Though since some of our British prelates, seeing themselves pressed to produce Scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Testament will not help them, to frame of their own heads, as it were with wax, a kind of mimic bishop limned out to the life of a dead priesthood: or else they would strain us out a certain figurative prelate, by wringing the collective allegory of those seven angels into seven single rochets. Howsoever, since it thus appears that custom was the creator of prelaty, being less ancient than the government of presbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tell us of bishops through so many ages: and if against their tedious muster of citations, sees, and successions, it be replied that wagers and church-antiquities, such as are repugnant to the plain dictate of Scripture, are both alike the arguments of fools, they have their answer. We rather are to cite all those ages to an arraignment before the word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how presuming they durst alter that divine institution of presbyters, which the apostles, who were no various and inconstant men, surely had set up in the churches; and why they choose to live by custom and catalogue, or, as St. Paul saith, by sight and visibility, rather than by faith? But, first, I conclude, from their own mouths, that God's command in Scripture, which doubtless ought to be the first and greatest reason of church-government, is wanting to prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Christ, to determine that the want of this reason is of itself sufficient to confute all other pretences, that may be brought in favour of it.

CHAP. VI.

That prelaty was not set up for prevention of schism, as is pretended; or if it were, that it performs not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary.

Yet because it hath the outside of a specious reason, and specious things we know are aptest to work with human lightness and frailty, even against the solidest truth that sounds not plausibly, let us think it worth the examining for the love of infirmer Christians, of what importance this their second reason may be. Tradition they say hath taught them, that, for the prevention of growing schism, the bishop was heaved above the presbyter. And must tradition then ever thus to the world's end be the perpetual cankerworm to eat out God's commandments? Are his decrees so inconsiderate and so fickle, that when the statutes of Solon or Lycurgus shall prove durably good to many ages, his, in forty years, shall be found defective, ill-contrived, and for needful causes to be altered? Our Saviour and his apostles did not only foresee, but foretell and forewarn us to look for schism. Is it a thing to be imagined of God's wisdom, or at least of apostolic prudence, to set up such a government in the tenderness of the church, as should incline, or not be more able than any others to oppose itself to schism? It was well known what a bold lurker schism was, even in the household of Christ, between his own disciples and those of John the Baptist about fasting; and early in the Acts of the Apostles the noise of schism had almost drowned the proclaiming of the gospel; yet we read not in Scripture, that any thought was had of making prelates, no not in those places where dissension was most rife. If prelaty had been then esteemed a remedy against schism, where was it more needful than in that great variance among the Corinthians, which St. Paul so laboured to reconcile? and whose eye could have found the fittest remedy sooner than his? And what could have made the remedy more available, than to have used it speedily? And lastly, what could have been more necessary, than to have written it for our instruction? Yet we see he neither commended it to us, nor used it himself. For the same division remaining there, or else bursting forth again more than twenty years after St. Paul's death, we find in Clement's epistle, of venerable authority, written to the yet factious Corinthians, that they were still governed by presbyters. And the same of other churches out of Hermas, and divers other the scholars of the apostles, by the late industry of the learned Salmasius appears. Neither yet did this worthy Clement, St. Paul's disciple, though writing to them to lay aside schism, in the least word advise them to change the presbyterian government into prelaty. And therefore if God afterward gave or permitted this insurrection of episcopacy, it is to be feared he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a king. With so good a will doth he use to alter his own chosen government once established. For mark whether this rare device of man's brain, thus preferred

before the ordinance of God, had better success than fleshly wisdom, not counselling with God, is wont to have. So far was it from removing schism, that if schism parted the congregations before, now it rent and mangled, now it raged. Heresy begat heresy with a certain monstrous haste of pregnancy in her birth, at once born and bringing forth. Contentions, before brotherly, were now hostile. Men went to choose their bishop as they went to a pitched field, and the day of his election was like the sacking of a city, sometimes ended with the blood of thousands. Nor this among heretics only, but men of the same belief, yea confessors; and that with such odious ambition, that Eusebius, in his eighth book, testifies he abhorred to write. And the reason is not obscure, for the poor dignity, or rather burden, of a parochial presbyter could not engage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud: but prelaty was a power of that extent and sway, that if her election were popular, it was seldom not the cause of some faction or broil in the church. But if her dignity came by favour of some prince, she was from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in state, were they right or wrong. So that, instead of finding prelaty an impeacher of schism or faction, the more I search, the more I grow into all persuasion to think rather that faction and she, as with a spousal ring, are wedded together, never to be divorced. But here let every one behold the just and dreadful judgment of God meeting with the audacious pride of man, that durst offer to mend the ordinances of heaven. God, out of the strife of men, brought forth by his apostles to the church that beneficent and ever-distributing office of deacons, the stewards and ministers of holy alms: man, out of the pretended care of peace and unity, being caught in the snare of his impious boldness to correct the will of Christ, brought forth to himself upon the church that irreconcilable schism of perdition and apostasy, the Roman antichrist; for that the exaltation of the pope arose out of the reason of prelaty, it cannot be denied. And as I noted before, that the pattern of the high priest pleaded for in the gospel, (for take away the head priest, the rest are but a carcase,) sets up with better reason a pope than an archbishop; for if prelaty must still rise and rise till it come to a primate, why should it stay there? when as the catholic government is not to follow the division of kingdoms, the temple best representing the universal church, and the high priest the universal head: so I observe here, that if to quiet schism there must be one head of prelaty in a land, or monarchy, rising from a provincial to a national primacy, there may, upon better grounds of repressing schism, be set up one catholic head over the catholic church. For the peace and good of the church is not terminated in the schismless estate of one or two kingdoms, but should be provided for by the joint consultation of all reformed christendom: that all controversy may end in the final pronounce or canon of one archprimate or protestant pope. Although by this means, for aught I see, all the diameters of schism may as well meet and be knit up in the centre of one grand falsehood. Now let all impartial men arbitrate what goodly inference these two main reasons of the prelates have, that by a natural league of consequence make more for the pope than for themselves; yea, to say more home, are the very womb for a new subantichrist to breed in, if it be not rather the old force and power of the same man of sin counterfeiting protestant. It was not the prevention of schism, but it was schism itself, and the hateful thirst of lording in the church, that first bestowed a being upon prelaty; this was the true cause, but the pretence is still the same. The prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mauls of schism. Forsooth if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow; we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists. And thus do they raise an evil report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for; like those faithless spies, whose carcases shall perish in the wilderness of their own confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Do they keep away schism? If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of mind, upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all; if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schism, they keep schism away indeed: and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politicly kept from schism as England hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead-palsy boast to a man, It is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring, I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapours; yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hidebound frost: but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thank to your bondage. But far worse than any frozen captivity is the bondage of prelates; for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good within the earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill; but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keep down the lesser ill, and let out the greatest. Be ashamed at last to tell the parliament, ye curb schismatics, whenas they know ye cherish and side with papists, and are now as it were one party with them, and it is said they help to petition for ye. Can we believe that your government strains in good earnest at the petty gnats of schism, whenas we see it makes nothing to swallow the camel heresy of Rome, but that indeed your throats are of the right pharisaical strain? where are those schismatics, with whom the prelates hold such hot skirmish? shew us your acts, those glorious annals which your courts of loathed memory lately deceased have left us? Those schismatics I doubt me will be found the most of them such as

whose only schism was to have spoken the truth against your high abominations and cruelties in the church; this is the schism ye hate most, the removal of your criminous hierarchy. A politic government of yours, and of a pleasant conceit, set up to remove those as a pretended schism, that would remove you as a palpable heresy in government. If the schism would pardon ye that, she might go jagged in as many cuts and slashes as she pleased for you. As for the rending of the church, we have many reasons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent, so much as the rending of your pontifical sleeves: that schism would be the sorest schism to you; that would be Brownism and Anabaptism indeed. If we go down, say you, (as if Adrian's wall were broken,) a flood of sects will rush in. What sects? What are their opinions? Give us the inventory: it will appear both by your former prosecutions and your present instances, that they are only such to speak of, as are offended with your lawless government, your ceremonies, your liturgy, an extract of the mass-book translated. But that they should be contemners of public prayer, and churches used without superstition, I trust God will manifest it ere long to be as false a slander, as your former slanders against the Scots. Noise it till ye be hoarse, that a rabble of sects will come in; it will be answered ye, no rabble, sir priest, but an unanimous multitude of good protestants will then join to the church, which now, because of you, stand separated. This will be the dreadful consequence of your removal. As for those terrible names of sectaries and schismatics, which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly stored, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lies your best archery. And whom you could not move by sophistical arguing, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming; thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to mislike and deride sound doctrine and good christianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms. But if we could easily endure and dissolve your doughtiest reasons in argument, we shall more easily bear the worst of your unreasonableness in calumny and false report: especially being foretold by Christ, that if he our master were by your predecessors called Samaritan and Beelzebub, we must not think it strange if his best disciples in the reformation, as at first by those of your tribe they were called Lollards and Hussites, so now by you be termed Puritans and Brownists. But my hope is, that the people of England will not suffer themselves to be juggled thus out of their faith and religion by a mist of names cast before their eyes, but will search wisely by the Scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aspersion of a disgraceful name into the things themselves: knowing that the primitive Christians in their times were accounted such as are now called Familists and Adamites, or worse. And many on the prelatic side, like the church of Sardis, have a name to live, and yet are dead; to be protestants, and are indeed papists in most of their principles. Thus persuaded, this your old fallacy we shall soon unmask, and quickly apprehend how you prevent schism, and who are your schismatics. But what if ye prevent and hinder all good means of preventing schism? That way which the apostles used, was to call a council: from which, by any thing that can be learned from the fifteenth of the Acts, no faithful Christian was debarred, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance. Of such a council as this every parochial consistory is a right homogeneous and constituting part, being in itself, as it were, a little synod, and towards a general assembly moving upon her own basis in an even and firm progression, as those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and steadfastness. Whereas, on the other side, prelaty ascending by a gradual monarchy from bishop to archbishop, from thence to primate, and from thence, for there can be no reason yielded neither in nature nor in religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it should not be a lordly ascendant in the horoscope of the church, from primate to patriarch, and so to pope: I say, prelaty thus ascending in a continual pyramid upon pretence to perfect the church's unity, if notwithstanding it be found most needful, yea the utmost help to darn up the rents of schism by calling a council, what does it but teach us that prelaty is of no force to effect this work, which she boasts to be her masterpiece; and that her pyramid aspires and sharpens to ambition, not to perfection or unity? This we know, that as often as any great schism disparts the church, and synods be proclaimed, the presbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the bishops, which the canon law conceals not. So that prelaty, if she will seek to close up divisions in the church, must be forced to dissolve and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which she affirms to be of such uniting power, whenas indeed it is the most dividing and schismatical form that geometricians know of, and must be fain to inglobe or incube herself among the presbyters; which she hating to do, sends her haughty prelates from all parts with their forked mitres, the badge of schism, or the stamp of his cloven foot whom they serve I think, who, according to their hierarchies acuminating still higher and higher in a cone of prelaty, instead of healing up the gashes of the church, as it happens in such pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their sharp spires for upper place and precedence, till the council itself proves the greatest schism of all. And thus they are so far from hindering dissension, that they have made unprofitable, and even noisome, the chiefest remedy we have to keep christendom at one, which is by councils: and these, if we rightly consider apostolic example, are nothing else but general presbyteries. This seemed so far from the apostles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impaired, that, as we may gather by those epistles of Peter and John, which are likely to be latest written, when the church grew to a settling, like those heroic patricians of Rome (if we may use such comparison) hastening to lay down their dictatorship, they rejoiced to call themselves, and to be

as fellow-elders among their brethren; knowing that their high office was but as the scaffolding of the church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troublesome disfigurement, so soon as the building was finished. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, such was their small discerning, thought it a poor indignity, that the high-reared government of the church should so on a sudden, as it seemed to them, squat into a presbytery. Next, or rather, before councils, the timeliest prevention of schism is to preach the gospel abundantly and powerfully throughout all the land, to instruct the youth religiously, to endeavour how the Scriptures may be easiest understood by all men; to all which the proceedings of these men have been on set purpose contrary. But how, O prelates, should you remove schism? and how should you not remove and oppose all the means of removing schism? when prelaty is a schism itself from the most reformed and most flourishing of our neighbour churches abroad, and a sad subject of discord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you allege, is the very disease we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing itself. Your predecessors were believed to assume this pre-eminence above their brethren, only that they might appease dissension. Now God and the church call upon you, for the same reason, to lay it down, as being to thousands of good men offensive, burdensome, intolerable. Surrender that pledge, which, unless you foully usurped it, the church gave you, and now claims it again, for the reason she first lent it. Discharge the trust committed to you, prevent schism; and that ye can never do, but by discharging yourselves. That government which ye hold, we confess, prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the schisms and grievances of the church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the church alone, but of the whole kingdom. And if it be still permitted ye to hold, will cause the most sad, I know not whether separation be enough to say, but such a wide gulf of distraction in this land, as will never close her dismal gap until ye be forced, (for of yourselves you will never do as that Roman, Curtius, nobly did,) for the church's peace and your country's, to leap into the midst, and be no more seen. By this we shall know whether yours be that ancient prelaty, which you say was first constituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the church, for then you will not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwise, we must be confident that your prelaty is nothing else but your ambition, an insolent preferring of yourselves above your brethren; and all your learned scraping in antiquity, even to disturb the bones of old Aaron and his sons in their graves, is but to maintain and set upon our necks a stately and severe dignity, which you called sacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverend gluttony, a sanctimonious avarice; in comparison of which, all the duties and dearnesses which ye owe to God or to his church, to law, custom, or nature, ye have resolved to set at nought. I could put you in mind what counsel Clement, a fellow-labourer with the apostles, gave to the presbyters of Corinth, whom the people, though unjustly, sought to remove. "Who among you," saith he, "is noble-minded, who is pitiful, who is charitable? let him say thus, If for me this sedition, this enmity, these differences be, I willingly depart, I go my ways; only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the presbyters that are set over it. He that shall do this," saith he, "shall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receive him." This was Clement's counsel to good and holy men, that they should depart rather from their just office, than by their stay to ravel out the seamless garment of concord in the church. But I have better counsel to give the prelates, and far more acceptable to their ears; this advice in my opinion is fitter for them: cling fast to your pontifical sees, bate not, quit yourselves like barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty courts and votes in parliament. Still tell us, that you prevent schism, though schism and combustion be the very issue of your bodies, your first-born; and set your country a bleeding in a prelatical mutiny, to fight for your pomp, and that ill-favoured weed of temporal honour, that sits dishonourably upon your laic shoulders; that ye may be fat and fleshy, swoln with high thoughts and big with mischievous designs, when God comes to visit upon you all this fourscore years' vexation of his church under your Egyptian tyranny. For certainly of all those blessed souls which you have persecuted, and those miserable ones which you have lost, the just vengeance does not sleep.

CHAP. VII.

That those many sects and schisms by some supposed to be among us, and that rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a hinderance, but a hastening of reformation.

As for those many sects and divisions rumoured abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceive, that they are partly the mere fictions and false alarms of the prelates, thereby to cast amazements and panic terrours into the hearts of weaker Christians, that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the church, for fear of I know not what worse inconveniencies. With the same objected fears and suspicions, we know that subtle prelate Gardner sought to divert the reformation. It may suffice us to be taught by St. Paul, that there must be sects for the manifesting of those that are sound-hearted. These are but winds and flaws to try the floating vessel of our faith, whether it be stanch and sail well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seen who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whose virtue is of an unchangeable grain, and whose of a slight wash. If God come to try our constancy, we ought not to shrink or stand the less firmly for that, but pass on with more steadfast resolution to

establish the truth, though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side. Other things men do to the glory of God: but sects and errours, it seems, God suffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted constancy in the truth. Let us not therefore make these things an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in reforming, which God sends us as an incitement to proceed with more honour and alacrity: for if there were no opposition, where were the trial of an unfeigned goodness and magnanimity? Virtue that wavers is not virtue, but vice revolted from itself, and after a while returning. The actions of just and pious men do not darken in their middle course; but Solomon tells us, they are as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. But if we shall suffer the trifling doubts and jealousies of future sects to overcloud the fair beginnings of purposed reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the same wise man be not upbraided to us, that "the way of the wicked is as darkness, they stumble at they know not what." If sects and schisms be turbulent in the unsettled estate of a church, while it lies under the amending hand, it best beseems our christian courage to think they are but as the throes and pangs that go before the birth of reformation, and that the work itself is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elemental and mixed things, we know they cannot suffer any change of one kind or quality into another, without the struggle of contrarieties. And in things artificial, seldom any elegance is wrought without a superfluous waste and refuse in the transaction. No marble statue can be politely carved, no fair edifice built, without almost as much rubbish and sweeping. Insomuch that even in the spiritual conflict of St. Paul's conversion, there fell scales from his eyes, that were not perceived before. No wonder then in the reforming of a church, which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falsehood together, if, as it were, the splinters and shards of so violent a jousting, there fall from between the shock many fond errours and fanatic opinions, which, when truth has the upper hand, and the reformation shall be perfected, will easily be rid out of the way, or kept so low, as that they shall be only the exercise of our knowledge, not the disturbance or interruption of our faith. As for that which Barclay, in his "Image of Minds," writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Englishmen in their religion, I deem it spoken like what he was, a fugitive papist traducing the island whence he sprung. It may be more judiciously gathered from hence, that the Englishman of many other nations is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weakness and want of better instruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, especially by the meaner sort, turning the bent of his own wits, with a scrupulous and ceaseless care, what he might do to inform himself aright of God and his worship, he may fall not unlikely sometimes, as any other landman, into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardliness in the roughcast without breeding, some nation or other may haply be better composed to a natural civility and right judgment than he. But if he get the benefit once of a wise and well rectified nurture, which must first come in general from the godly vigilance of the church, I suppose that wherever mention is made of countries, manners, or men, the English people, among the first that shall be praised, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation. But thus while some stand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which should mainly hasten them forward, lest schism and errour should increase, we may now thank ourselves and our delays, if instead of schism a bloody and inhuman rebellion be strook in between our slow movings. Indeed against violent and powerful opposition there can be no just blame of a lingering dispatch. But this I urge against those that discourse it for a maxim, as if the swift opportunities of establishing or reforming religion were to attend upon the phlegm of state-business. In state many things at first are crude and hard to digest, which only time and deliberation can supple and concoct. But in religion, wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of season, it goes far otherwise. The door of grace turns upon smooth hinges, wide opening to send out, but soon shutting to recall the precious offers of mercy to a nation: which, unless watchfulness and zeal, two quicksighted and ready-handed virgins, be there in our behalf to receive, we lose: and still the oftener we lose, the straiter the door opens, and the less is offered. This is all we get by demurring in God's service. It is not rebellion that ought to be the hinderance of reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cause of that. The prelates which boast themselves the only bridlers of schism, God knows have been so cold and backward both there and with us to repress heresy and idolatry, that either, through their carelessness, or their craft, all this mischief is befallen. What can the Irish subjects do less in God's just displeasure against us, than revenge upon English bodies the little care that our prelates have had of their souls? Nor hath their negligence been new in that island, but ever notorious in Queen Elizabeth's days, as Camden their known friend forbears not to complain. Yet so little are they touched with remorse of these their cruelties, (for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those souls which they have famished,) that whenas against our brethren the Scots, who, by their upright and loyal deeds, have now brought themselves an honourable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by slander could invent, rage in hostility attempt, they greedily attempted; toward these murderous Irish, the enemies of God and mankind, a cursed offspring of their own connivance, no man takes notice but that they seem to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then should we begin to extinguish a rebellion, that hath its cause from the misgovernment, of the church? where, but at the church's reformation, and the removal of that government, which pursues and wars with all good Christians under the name of schismatics, but maintains and fosters all papists and ido-

laters as tolerable Christians? And if the sacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witness of God himself, that the corrupted state of the church is both the cause of tumult and civil wars, and that to stint them, the peace of the church must first be settled. "Now, for a long season," saith Azariah to King Asa, "Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city, for God did vex them with all adversity. Be ye strong therefore," saith he to the reformers of that age, "and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded." And in those prophets that lived in the times of reformation after the captivity, often doth God stir up the people to consider, that while establishment of church-matters was neglected, and put off, there "was no peace to him that went out or came in; for I," saith God, "had set all men every one against his neighbour." But from the very day forward that they went seriously and effectually about the welfare of the church, he tells them, that they themselves might perceive the sudden change of things into a prosperous and peaceful condition. But it will here be said, that the reformation is a long work, and the miseries of Ireland are urgent of a speedy redress. They be indeed; and how speedy we are, the poor afflicted remnant of our martyred countrymen that sit there on the seashore, counting the hours of our delay with their sighs, and the minutes with their falling tears, perhaps with the distilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time cast off, and almost cursed the vain hope of our foundered ships and aids, can best judge how speedy we are to their relief. But let their succours be hasted, as all need and reason is; and let not therefore the reformation, which is the chiefest cause of success and victory, be still procrastinated. They of the captivity in their greatest extremities could find both counsel and hands enough at once to build, and to expect the enemy's assault. And we, for our parts, a populous and mighty nation, must needs be fallen into a strange plight either of effeminacy or confusion, if Ireland, that was once the conquest of one single earl with his private forces, and the small assistance of a petty Kernish prince, should now take up all the wisdom and prowess of this potent monarchy, to quell a barbarous crew of rebels, whom, if we take but the right course to subdue, that is, beginning at the reformation of our church, their own horrid murders and rapes will so fight against them, that the very sutlers and horse-boys of the camp will be able to rout and chase them, without the staining of any noble sword. To proceed by other method in this enterprise, be our captains and commanders never so expert, will be as great an errour in the art of war, as any novice in soldiership ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared truth, that neither the fear of sects, no nor rebellion, can be a fit plea to stay reformation, but rather to push it forward with all possible diligence and speed.

THE SECOND BOOK.

How happy were it for this frail, and as it may be called mortal life of man, since all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily use, are withal so cumbersome and full of trouble, if knowledge, yet which is the best and lightsomest possession of the mind, were, as the common saying is, no burden; and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the spirit! For not to speak of that knowledge that rests in the contemplation of natural causes and dimensions, which must needs be a lower wisdom, as the object is low, certain it is, that he who hath obtained in more than the scantiest measure to know any thing distinctly of God, and of his true worship, and what is infallibly good and happy in the state of man's life, what in itself evil and miserable, though vulgarly not so esteemed; he that hath obtained to know this, the only high valuable wisdom indeed, remembering also that God, even to a strictness, requires the improvement of these his entrusted gifts, cannot but sustain a sorer burden of mind, and more pressing, than any supportable toil or weight which the body can labour under, how and in what manner he shall dispose and employ those sums of knowledge and illumination, which God hath sent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravates the burden more, is, that, having received amongst his allotted parcels, certain precious truths, of such an orient lustre as no diamond can equal; which nevertheless he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea, for nothing to them that will; the great merchants of this world, fearing that this course would soon discover and disgrace the false glitter of their deceitful wares, wherewith they abuse the people, like poor Indians with beads and glasses, practise by all means how they may suppress the vending of such rarities, and at such a cheapness as would undo them, and turn their trash upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt desires of men in fleshly doctrines, they stir them up to persecute with hatred and contempt all those, that seek to bear themselves uprightly in this their spiritual factory: which they foreseeing, though they cannot but testify of truth, and

the excellency of that heavenly traffick which they bring, against what opposition or danger soever, yet needs must it sit heavily upon their spirits, that, being in God's prime intention, and their own, selected heralds of peace, and dispensers of treasure inestimable, without price to them that have no peace, they find in the discharge of their commission, that they are made the greatest variance and offence, a very sword and fire both in house and city over the whole earth. This is that which the sad prophet Jeremiah laments: "Wo is me, my mother, that thou hast born me, a man of strife and contention!" And although divine inspiration must certainly have been sweet to those ancient prophets, yet the irksomeness of that truth which they brought was so unpleasant unto them, that everywhere they call it a burden. Yea, that mysterious book of revelation, which the great evangelist was bid to eat, as it had been some eyebrightening electuary of knowledge and foresight, though it were sweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wise poet Sophocles, who in that place of his tragedy, where Tiresias is called to resolve king Œdipus in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more than other men. For surely to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtless to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. If he shall think to be silent as Jeremiah did, because of the reproach and derision he met with daily, "and all his familiar friends watched for his halting," to be revenged on him for speaking the truth, he would be forced to confess as he confessed; "his word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; I was weary with forbearing and could not stay." Which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken or vehemently written as proceeding out of stomach, virulence, and ill nature; but to consider rather, that if the prelates have leave to say the worst that can be said, or do the worst that can be done, while they strive to keep to themselves, to their great pleasure and commodity, those things which they ought to render up, no man can be justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart and bestow, without any gain to himself, those sharp and saving words which would be a terrour and a torment in him to keep back. For me, I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the church's good. For if I be, either by disposition or what other cause, too inquisitive, or suspicious of myself and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foresee, that should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents, which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach. Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest; what matters it for thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read, or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hast the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. Or else I should have heard on the other ear; slothful, and ever to be set light by, the church hath now overcome her late distresses after the unwearied labours of many her true servants that stood up in her defence; thou also wouldst take upon thee to share amongst them of their joy: but wherefore thou? Where canst thou shew any word or deed of thine which might have hastened her peace? Whatever thou dost now talk, or write, or look, is the alms of other men's active prudence and zeal. Dare not now to say or do any thing better than thy former sloth and infancy; or if thou darest, thou dost impudently to make a thrifty purchase of boldness to thyself, out of the painful merits of other men; what before was thy sin is now thy duty, to be abject and worthless. These, and such like lessons as these, I know would have been my matins duly, and my even-song. But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if she should suffer, when others, that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward subject against prelaty, the touching whereof is so distasteful and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear lest the omitting of this duty should be against me, when I would store up to myself the good provision of peaceful hours: so, lest it should be still imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that some self-pleasing humour of vain-glory hath incited me to contest with men of high estimation, now while green years are upon my head; from this

needless surmisal I shall hope to dissuade the intelligent and equal auditor, if I can but say successfully that which in this exigent behoves me; although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned reader, to whom principally for a while I shall beg leave I may address myself. To him it will be no new thing, though I tell him that if I hunted after praise, by the ostentation of wit and learning, I should not write thus out of mine own season when I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies, although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand; or were I ready to my wishes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately composed to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times. Next, if I were wise only to my own ends, I would certainly take such a subject as of itself might catch applause, whereas this hath all the disadvantages on the contrary, and such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayed at pleasure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultless picture; whenas in this argument the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding, that if solidity have leisure to do her office, art cannot have much. Lastly, I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferiour to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand. And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet, since it will be such a folly, as wisest men go about to commit, having only confessed and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a poet, soaring in the high reason of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me. I must say therefore, that after I had for my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, (whom God recompense!) been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found, that whether ought was imposed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of mine own choice in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the private academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study, (which I take to be my portion in this life,) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possessed me, and these other; that if I were certain to write as men buy leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution, which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, (that were a toilsome vanity,) but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things, among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christian, might do for mine; not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world; whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics.

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model: or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and use judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching of art: and lastly, what king or knight, before the conquest, might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories; or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a

sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus, commenting that book, is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation: and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guessed by what we know of the corruption and bane, which they suck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters, who having scarce ever heard of that which is the main consistence of a true poem, the choice of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one; do for the most part lay up vicious principles in sweet pills to be swallowed down, and make the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour. But because the spirit of man cannot demean itself lively in this body, without some recreating intermission of labour and serious things, it were happy for the commonwealth, if our magistrates, as in those famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious law cases and brawls, but the managing of our publick sports and festival pastimes; that they might be, not such as were authorized a while since, the provocations of drunkenness and lust, but such as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skill and performance; and may civilize, adorn, and make discreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent academics, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent and graceful inticements to the love and practice of justice, temperance, and fortitude, instructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and virtue may be heard every where, as Solomon saith; " She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourse, and in the openings of the gates." Whether this may not be, not only in pulpits, but after another persuasive method, at set and solemn panegurics, in theatres, porches, or what other place or way, may win most upon the people to receive at once both recreation and instruction; let them in authority consult. The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have lived within me ever since I could conceive myself any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath plucked from me, by an abortive and foredated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend; and that the land had once enfranchised herself from this impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whose inquisitorious and tyrannical duncery, no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine; like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much before-hand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings, who, when they have, like good sumpters, laid ye down their

horse-loads of citations and fathers at your door, with a rhapsody of who and who were bishops here or there, ye may take off their packsaddles, their day's work is done, and episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehension, that can distinguish learned pains from unlearned drudgery, imagine what pleasure or profoundness can be in this, or what honour to deal against such adversaries. But were it the meanest under-service, if God by his secretary conscience enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help, ease, and lighten the difficult labours of the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions: till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever thus church-outed by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before the necessity and constraint appeared.

CHAP. I.

That prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the gospel three ways; and first, in her outward form.

After this digression, it would remain that I should single out some other reason, which might undertake for prelaty to be a fit and lawful church-government; but finding none of like validity with these that have already sped according to their fortune, I shall add one reason why it is not to be thought a church-government at all, but a church-tyranny, and is at hostile terms with the end and reason of Christ's evangelic ministry. Albeit I must confess to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the world, and the world so potent in most men's hearts, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood; for who is there almost that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness? Who is there that counts it first to be last, something to be nothing, and reckons himself of great command in that he is a servant? Yet God, when he meant to subdue the world and hell at once, part of that to salvation, and this wholly to perdition, made choice of no other weapons or auxiliaries than these, whether to save or to destroy. It had been a small mastery for him to have drawn out his legions into array, and flanked them with his thunder; therefore he sent foolishness to confute wisdom, weakness to bind strength, despisedness to vanquish pride: and this is the great mystery of the gospel made good in Christ himself, who, as he testifies, came not to be ministered to, but to minister; and must be fulfilled in all his ministers till his second coming. To go against these principles St. Paul so feared, that if he should but affect the wisdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the cross of Christ to be of none effect. Whether, then, prelaty do not make of none effect the cross of Christ, by the principles it hath so contrary to these, nullifying the power and end of the gospel, it shall not want due proof, if it want not due belief. Neither shall I stand to trifle with one that would tell me of quiddities and formalities, whether prelaty or prelateity, in abstract notion be this or that; it suffices me that I find it in his skin, so I find it inseparable, or not oftener otherwise than a phœnix hath been seen; although I persuade me, that whatever faultiness was but superficial to prelaty at the beginning, is now, by the just judgment of God, long since branded and inworn into the very essence thereof. First, therefore, if to do the work of the gospel, Christ our Lord took upon him the form of a servant; how can his servant in this ministry take upon him the form of a lord? I know Bilson hath deciphered us all the gallantries of signore and monsignore, and monsieur, as circumstantially as any punctualist of Castile, Naples, or Fountain-Bleau, could have done: but this must not so compliment us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a servant was a mean, laborious, and vulgar life, aptest to teach; which form Christ thought fittest, that he might bring about his will according to his own principles, choosing the meaner things of this world, that he might put under the high. Now, whether the pompous garb, the lordly life, the wealth, the haughty distance of prelaty, be those meaner things of the world, whereby God in them would manage the mystery of his gospel, be it the verdict of common sense. For Christ saith in St. John, "The servant is not greater than his lord, nor he that is sent, greater than he that sent him;" and adds, "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." Then let the prelates well advise, if they neither know, nor do these things, or if they know, and yet do them not, wherein their happiness consists. And thus is the gospel frustrated by the lordly form of prelaty.

CHAP. II.

That the ceremonious doctrine of prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the gospel.

That which next declares the heavenly power, and reveals the deep mystery of the gospel, is the pure simplicity of doctrine, accounted the foolishness of this world, yet crossing and confounding the pride and wisdom of the flesh. And wherein consists this fleshly wisdom and pride? In being altogether ignorant of

God and his worship? No surely, for men are naturally ashamed of that. Where then? It consists in a bold presumption of ordering the worship and service of God after man's own will in traditions and ceremonies. Now if the pride and wisdom of the flesh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt but in that very point wherein it was proudest, and thought itself wisest, that so the victory of the gospel might be the more illustrious. But our prelates, instead of expressing the spiritual power of their ministry, by warring against this chief bulwark and strong hold of the flesh, have entered into fast league with the principal enemy against whom they were sent, and turned the strength of fleshly pride and wisdom against the pure simplicity of saving truth. First, mistrusting to find the authority of their order in the immediate institution of Christ, or his apostles, by the clear evidence of Scripture, they fly to the carnal supportment of tradition; when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unwieldy volumes of tradition: and do not shame to reject the ordinance of him that is eternal, for the perverse iniquity of sixteen hundred years; choosing rather to think truth itself a liar, than that sixteen ages should be taxed with an errour; not considering the general apostasy that was foretold, and the church's flight into the wilderness. Nor is this enough; instead of shewing the reason of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high pre-eminence from human consent and authority. But let them chant while they will of prerogatives, we shall tell them of Scripture; of custom, we of Scripture; of acts and statutes, still of Scripture; till the quick and piercing word enter to the dividing of their souls, and the mighty weakness of the gospel throw down the weak mightiness of man's reasoning. Now for their demeanour within the church, how have they disfigured and defaced that more than angelic brightness, the unclouded serenity of christian religion, with the dark overcasting of superstitious copes and flaminical vestures, wearing on their backs, and I abhor to think, perhaps in some worse place, the inexpressible image of God the Father? Tell me, ye priests, wherefore this gold, wherefore these robes and surplices over the gospel? Is our religion guilty of the first trespass, and hath need of clothing to cover her nakedness? What does this else but cast an ignominy upon the perfection of Christ's ministry, by seeking to adorn it with that which was the poor remedy of our shame? Believe it, wondrous doctors, all corporeal resemblances of inward holiness and beauty are now past; he that will clothe the gospel now, intimates plainly that the gospel is naked, uncomely, that I may not say reproachful. Do not, ye church-maskers, while Christ is clothing upon our barrenness with his righteous garment to make us acceptable in his Father's sight; do not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted clothing of your ceremonies, to make it seem more decent in your own eyes. "How beautiful," saith Isaiah, "are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth salvation!" Are the feet so beautiful, and is the very bringing of these tidings so decent of itself? What new decency can then be added to this by your spinstry? Ye think by these gaudy glisterings to stir up the devotion of the rude multitude; ye think so, because ye forsake the heavenly teaching of St. Paul for the hellish sophistry of papism. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the preacher must give knowledge, and not ceremonies. And although some Christians be new-born babes comparatively to some that are stronger, yet in respect of ceremony, which is but a rudiment of the law, the weakest Christian hath thrown off the robes of his minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal rites. What children's food there is in the gospel, we know to be no other than the "sincerity of the word, that they may grow thereby." But is here the utmost of your outbraving the service of God? No. Ye have been bold, not to set your threshold by his threshold, or your post by his posts; but your sacrament, your sign, call it what you will, by his sacrament, baptizing the christian infant with a solemn sprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger; as if when ye had laid the purifying element upon his forehead, ye meant to cancel and cross it out again with a character not of God's bidding. O but the innocence of these ceremonies! O rather the sottish absurdity of this excuse. What could be more innocent than the washing of a cup, a glass, or hands, before meat, and that under the law, when so many washings were commanded, and by long tradition? yet our Saviour detested their customs, though never so seeming harmless, and charges them severely, that they had transgressed the commandments of God by their traditions, and worshipped him in vain. How much more then must these, and much grosser ceremonies now in force, delude the end of Christ's coming in the flesh against the flesh, and stifle the sincerity of our new covenant, which hath bound us to forsake all carnal pride and wisdom, especially in matters of religion? Thus we see again how prelaty, failing in opposition to the main end and power of the gospel, doth not join in that mysterious work of Christ, by lowliness to confound height, by simplicity of doctrine the wisdom of the world, but contrariwise hath made itself high in the world and the flesh, to vanquish things by the world accounted low, and made itself wise in tradition and fleshly ceremony, to confound the purity of doctrine which is the wisdom of God.

CHAP. III.

That prelatical jurisdiction opposeth the reason and end of the gospel and of state.

The third and last consideration remains, whether the prelates in their function do work according to the gospel, practising to subdue the mighty things of this world by things weak, which St. Paul hath set forth to be the power and excellence of the gospel; or whether

in more likelihood they band themselves with the prevalent things of this world, to overrun the weak things which Christ hath made choice to work by: and this will soonest be discerned by the course of their jurisdiction. But here again I find my thoughts almost in suspense betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may best retire, and not proceed in this subject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixed me too attentively to come thus far. For truth, I know not how, hath this unhappiness fatal to her, ere she can come to the trial and inspection of the understanding; being to pass through many little wards and limits of the several affections and desires, she cannot shift it, but must put on such colours and attire, as those pathetic handmaids of the soul please to lead her in to their queen: and if she find so much favour with them, they let her pass in her own likeness; if not, they bring her into the presence habited and coloured like a notorious falsehood. And contrary, when any falsehood comes that way, if they like the errand she brings, they are so artful to counterfeit the very shape and visage of truth, that the understanding not being able to discern the fucus which these inchantresses with such cunning have laid upon the feature sometimes of truth, sometimes of falsehood interchangeably, sentences for the most part one for the other at the first blush, according to the subtle imposture of these sensual mistresses, that keep the ports and passages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already said, I should go near to relinquish that which is to follow. And because I see that most men, as it happens in this world, either weakly or falsely principled, what through ignorance, and what through custom of licence, both in discourse and writing, by what hath been of late written in vulgar, have not seemed to attain the decision of this point: I shall likewise assay those wily arbitresses who in most men have, as was heard, the sole ushering of truth and falsehood between the sense and the soul, with what loyalty they will use me in convoying this truth to my understanding; the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I do not find them engaged either one way or other. Concerning therefore ecclesiastical jurisdiction, I find still more controversy, who should administer it, than diligent inquiry made to learn what it is: for had the pains been taken to search out that, it had been long ago enrolled to be nothing else but a pure tyrannical forgery of the prelates; and that jurisdictive power in the church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceived that what men now call jurisdiction in the church, should be other thing than a christian censorship; and therefore it is most commonly and truly named ecclesiastical censure. Now if the Roman censor, a civil function, to that severe assize of surveying and controlling the privatest and slyest manners of all men and all degrees, had no jurisdiction, no courts of plea or inditement, no punitive force annexed; whether it were that to this manner of correction the intanglement of suits was improper, or that the notice of those upright inquisitors extended to such the most covert and spirituous vices as would slip easily between the wider and more material grasp of the law; or that it stood more with the majesty of that office to have no other sergeants or maces about them but those invisible ones of terrour and shame; or, lastly, were it their fear, lest the greatness of this authority and honour, armed with jurisdiction, might step with ease into a tyranny: in all these respects, with much more reason undoubtedly ought the censure of the church be quite divested and disentailed of all jurisdiction whatsoever. For if the course of judicature to a political censorship seem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the discipline of the church, whose definitive decrees are to be speedy, but the execution of rigour slow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is most usual; and by how much the less contentious it is, by so much will it be the more christian. And if the censor, in his moral episcopacy, being to judge most in matters not answerable by writ or action, could not use an instrument so gross and bodily as jurisdiction is, how can the minister of the gospel manage the corpulent and secular trial of bill and process in things merely spiritual? Or could that Roman office, without this juridical sword or saw, strike such a reverence of itself into the most undaunted hearts, as with one single dash of ignominy to put all the senate and knighthood of Rome into a tremble? Surely much rather might the heavenly ministry of the evangel bind herself about with far more piercing beams of majesty and awe, by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amercements in the use of her powerful keys. For when the church without temporal support is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when she thinks to credit and better her spiritual efficacy, and to win herself respect and dread by strutting in the false vizard of worldly authority, it is evident that God is not there, but that her apostolic virtue is departed from her, and hath left her key-cold; which she perceiving as in a decayed nature, seeks to the outward fomentations and chafings of worldly help, and external flourishes, to fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her extreme parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and artificial heat of jurisdiction. But it is observable, that so long as the church, in true imitation of Christ, can be content to ride upon an ass, carrying herself and her government along in a mean and simple guise, she may be, as he is, a lion of the tribe of Judah; and in her humility all men with loud hosannas will confess her greatness. But when despising the mighty operation of the Spirit by the weak things of this world, she thinks to make herself bigger and more considerable, by using the way of civil force and jurisdiction, as she sits upon this lion she changes into an ass, and instead of hosannas every man pelts her with stones and dirt. Lastly, if the wisdom of the Romans feared to commit jurisdiction to an office of so high esteem and dread as was the censor's, we may see what a solecism in the art of policy it hath been, all this while through christendom to give jurisdiction to ecclesiastical censure. For that strength, joined with religion, abused

and pretended to ambitious ends, must of necessity breed the heaviest and most quelling tyranny not only upon the necks, but even to the souls of men: which if christian Rome had been so cautelous to prevent in her church, as pagan Rome was in her state, we had not had such a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all christendom. For although I said before that the church coveting to ride upon the lionly form of jurisdiction, makes a transformation of herself into an ass, and becomes despicable, that is, to those whom God hath enlightened with true knowledge; but where they remain yet in the reliques of superstition, this is the extremity of their bondage and blindness, that while they think they do obeisance to the lordly vision of a lion, they do it to an ass, that through the just judgment of God is permitted to play the dragon among them because of their wilful stupidity. And let England here well rub her eyes, lest by leaving jurisdiction and church-censure to the same persons, now that God hath been so long medicining her eyesight, she do not with her over-politic fetches mar all, and bring herself back again to worship this ass bestriding a lion. Having hitherto explained, that to ecclesiastical censure no jurisdictive power can be added, without a childish and dangerous oversight in policy, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelical discipline, as anon more fully; it will be next to declare wherein the true reason and force of church-censure consists, which by then it shall be laid open to the root; so little is it that I fear lest any crookedness, any wrinkle or spot should be found in presbyterian government, that if Bodin the famous French writer, though a papist, yet affirms that the commonwealth which maintains this discipline will certainly flourish in virtue and piety; I dare assure myself, that every true protestant will admire the integrity, the uprightness, the divine and gracious purposes thereof, and even for the reason of it so coherent with the doctrine of the gospel, beside the evidence of command in Scripture, will confess it to be the only true church-government; and that contrary to the whole end and mystery of Christ's coming in the flesh, a false appearance of the same is exercised by prelaty. But because some count it rigorous, and that hereby men shall be liable to a double punishment, I will begin somewhat higher, and speak of punishment; which, as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobate conscience in this life, and hell in the other world. Whatever else men call punishment or censure, is not properly an evil, so it be not an illegal violence, but a saving medicine ordained of God both for the public and private good of man; who consisting of two parts, the inward and the outward, was by the eternal Providence left under two sorts of cure, the church and the magistrate. The magistrate hath only to deal with the outward part, I mean not of the body alone, but of the mind in all her outward acts, which in Scripture is called the outward man. So that it would be helpful to us if we might borrow such authority as the rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of promethean skill to shape and fashion this outward man into the similitude of a body, and set him visible before us; imagining the inner man only as the soul. Thus then the civil magistrate looking only upon the outward man, (I say as a magistrate, for what he doth further, he doth it as a member of the church,) if he find in his complexion, skin, or outward temperature the signs and marks, or in his doings the effects of injustice, rapine, lust, cruelty, or the like, sometimes he shuts up as in frenetick or infectious diseases; or confines within doors, as in every sickly estate. Sometimes he shaves by penalty or mulct, or else to cool and take down those luxuriant humours which wealth and excess have caused to abound. Otherwhiles he sears, he cauterizes, he scarifies, lets blood; and finally, for utmost remedy cuts off. The patients, which most an end are brought into his hospital, are such as are far gone, and beside themselves, (unless they be falsely accused,) so that force is necessary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more humane cure. His general end is the outward peace and welfare of the commonwealth, and civil happiness in this life. His particular end in every man is, by the infliction of pain, damage, and disgrace, that the senses and common perceivance might carry this message to the soul within, that it is neither easeful, profitable, nor praiseworthy in this life to do evil. Which must needs tend to the good of man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the first means to a natural man, especially an offender, which might open his eyes to a higher consideration of good and evil, as it is taught in religion. This is seen in the often penitence of those that suffer, who, had they escaped, had gone on sinning to an immeasurable heap, which is one of the extremest punishments. And this is all that the civil magistrate, as so being, confers to the healing of man's mind, working only by terrifying plasters upon the rind and orifice of the sore; and by all outward appliances, as the logicians say, a posteriori, at the effect, and not from the cause; not once touching the inward bed of corruption, and that hectic disposition to evil, the source of all vice and obliquity against the rule of law. Which how insufficient it is to cure the soul of man, we cannot better guess than by the art of bodily physic. Therefore God, to the intent of further healing man's depraved mind, to this power of the magistrate, which contents itself with the restraint of evil-doing in the external man, added that which we call censure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmost soul. In the beginning this authority seems to have been placed, as all both civil and religious rites once were, only in each father of a family; afterwards among the heathen, in the wise men and philosophers of the age; but so as it was a thing voluntary, and no set government. More distinctly among the Jews, as being God's peculiar people, where the priests, Levites, prophets, and at last the scribes and Pharisees, took charge of instructing and overseeing the lives of the people. But in the gospel, which is the straightest and the dearest covenant can be made between God and man, we being now his

adopted sons, and nothing fitter for us to think on than to be like him, united to him, and, as he pleases to express it, to have fellowship with him; it is all necessity that we should expect this blessed efficacy of healing our inward man to be ministered to us in a more familiar and effectual method than ever before. God being now no more a judge after the sentence of the law, nor, as it were, a schoolmaster of perishable rites, but a most indulgent father, governing his church as a family of sons in their discreet age: and therefore, in the sweetest and mildest manner of paternal discipline, he hath committed his other office of preserving in healthful constitution the inner man, which may be termed the spirit of the soul, to his spiritual deputy the minister of each congregation; who being best acquainted with his own flock, hath best reason to know all the secretest diseases likely to be there. And look by how much the internal man is more excellent and noble than the external, by so much is his cure more exactly, and more thoroughly, and more particularly to be performed. For which cause the Holy Ghost by the apostles joined to the minister, as assistant in this great office, sometimes a certain number of grave and faithful brethren, (for neither doth the physician do all in restoring his patient, he prescribes, another prepares the medicine, some tend, some watch, some visit,) much more may a minister partly not see all, partly err as a man: besides, that nothing can be more for the mutual honour and love of the people to their pastor, and his to them, than when in select numbers and courses they are seen partaking and doing reverence to the holy duties of discipline by their serviceable and solemn presence, and receiving honour again from their employment, not now any more to be separated in the church by veils and partitions as laics and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the tabernacle as the rightful clergy of Christ, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice in that meet place, to which God and the congregation shall call and assign them. And this all Christians ought to know, that the title of clergy St. Peter gave to all God's people, till pope Higinus and the succeeding prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themselves and their priests only; and condemning the rest of God's inheritance to an injurious and alienate condition of laity, they separated from them by local partitions in churches, through their gross ignorance and pride imitating the old temple, and excluding the members of Christ from the property of being members, the bearing of orderly and fit offices in the ecclesiastical body; as if they had meant to sew up that Jewish veil, which Christ by his death on the cross rent in sunder. Although these usurpers could not so presently overmaster the liberties and lawful titles of God's freeborn church; but that Origen, being yet a layman, expounded the Scriptures publicly, and was therein defended by Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, producing in his behalf divers examples, that the privilege of teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy laymen: and Cyprian in his epistles professes he will do nothing without the advice and assent of his assistant laics. Neither did the first Nicene council, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and presence of many learned lay-brethren, as they were then called. Many other authorities to confirm this assertion, both out of Scripture and the writings of next antiquity, Golartius hath collected in his notes upon Cyprian; whereby it will be evident, that the laity, not only by apostolic permission, but by consent of many of the ancientest prelates, did participate in church-offices as much as is desired any lay-elder should now do. Sometimes also not the elders alone, but the whole body of the church is interested in the work of discipline, as oft as public satisfaction is given by those that have given public scandal. Not to speak now of her right in elections. But another reason there is in it, which though religion did not commend to us, yet moral and civil prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in philosophy, that shame, or to call it better, the reverence of our elders, our brethren, and friends, was the greatest incitement to virtuous deeds, and the greatest dissuasion from unworthy attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the Iliad, where Hector being wished to retire from the battle, many of his forces being routed, makes answer, that he durst not for shame, lest the Trojan knights and dames should think he did ignobly. And certain it is, that whereas terrour is thought such a great stickler in a commonwealth, honourable shame is a far greater, and has more reason: for where shame is, there is fear; but where fear is, there is not presently shame. And if any thing may be done to inbreed in us this generous and christianly reverence one of another, the very nurse and guardian of piety and virtue, it cannot sooner be than by such a discipline in the church, as may use us to have in awe the assemblies of the faithful, and to count it a thing most grievous, next to the grieving of God's Spirit, to offend those whom he hath put in authority, as a healing superintendence over our lives and behaviours, both to our own happiness, and that we may not give offence to good men, who, without amends by us made, dare not, against God's command, hold communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcast from the company of saints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his church, to consort with the devil and his angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honest shame, or, call it, if you will, an esteem, whereby men bear an inward reverence toward their own persons. And if the love of God, as a fire sent from heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altars of our hearts, be the first principle of all godly and virtuous actions in men, this pious and just honouring of ourselves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture and fountain-head, whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth. And although I have given it the name of a liquid thing, yet it is not incontinent to bound itself, as humid things are, but hath in it a most restraining and powerful abstinence to start back, and glob itself upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeseeming

motion, or any soil wherewith it may peril to stain itself. Something I confess it is to be ashamed of evil-doing in the presence of any; and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather than a bad, fearing most in his sight to offend, goes so far as almost to be virtuous; yet this is but still the fear of infamy, and many such, when they find themselves alone, saving their reputation, will compound with other scruples, and come to a close treaty with their dearer vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him, and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with such a debasement, and such a pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and ennobled to a new friendship and filial relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye upon himself, if it should see him doing or imagining that which is sinful, though in the deepest secrecy. How shall a man know to do himself this right, how to perform his honourable duty of estimation and respect towards his own soul and body? which way will lead him best to this hill-top of sanctity and goodness, above which there is no higher ascent but to the love of God, which from this self-pious regard cannot be asunder? No better way doubtless, than to let him duly understand, that as he is called by the high calling of God, to be holy and pure, so is he by the same appointment ordained, and by the church's call admitted, to such offices of discipline in the church, to which his own spiritual gifts, by the example of apostolic institution, have authorized him. For we have learned that the scornful term of laic, the consecrating of temples, carpets, and table-cloths, the railing in of a repugnant and contradictive mount Sinai in the gospel, as if the touch of a lay-christian, who is nevertheless God's living temple, could prophane dead judaisms, the exclusion of Christ's people from the offices of holy discipline through the pride of a usurping clergy, causes the rest to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themselves, to approach to holy duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldness. For seeing such a wide and terrible distance between religious things and themselves, and that in respect of a wooden table, and the perimeter of holy ground about it, a flaggon pot, and a linen corporal, the priest esteems their layships unhallowed and unclean, they fear religion with such a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the gospel too pure for them, and that any uncleanness is more suitable to their unconsecrated estate. But when every good Christian, thoroughly acquainted with all those glorious privileges of sanctification and adoption, which render him more sacred than any dedicated altar or element, shall be restored to his right in the church, and not excluded from such place of spiritual government, as his christian abilities, and his approved good life in the eye and testimony of the church shall prefer him to, this and nothing sooner will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation of himself, (which is so requisite and high a point of Christianity,) and will stir him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave employment wherewith God and the church hath dignified him; not fearing lest he should meet with some outward holy thing in religion, which his lay-touch or presence might profane; but lest something unholy from within his own heart should dishonour and profane in himself that priestly unction and clergy-right whereto Christ hath entitled him. Then would the congregation of the Lord soon recover the true likeness and visage of what she is indeed, a holy generation, a royal priesthood, a saintly communion, the household and city of God. And this I hold to be another considerable reason why the functions of church-government ought to be free and open to any christian man, though never so laic, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanour, commend him. And this the apostles warrant us to do. But the prelates object, that this will bring prophaneness into the church: to whom may be replied, that none have brought that in more than their own irreligious courses, nor more driven holiness out of living into lifeless things. For whereas God, who hath cleansed every beast and creeping worm, would not suffer St. Peter to call them common or unclean, the prelate bishops, in their printed orders hung up in churches, have proclaimed the best of creatures, mankind, so unpurified and contagious, that for him to lay his hat or his garment upon the chancel-table, they have defined it no less heinous, in express words, than to prophane the table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitish doctrine, (for that which was to the Jew but Jewish, is to the Christian no better than Canaanitish,) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made prophane that nature, which God hath not only cleansed, but Christ also hath assumed. And now that the equity and just reason is so perspicuous, why in ecclesiastic censure the assistance should be added of such as whom not the vile odour of gain and fees, (forbid it, God, and blow it with a whirlwind out of our land!) but charity, neighbourhood, and duty to church-government hath called together, where could a wise man wish a more equal, gratuitous, and meek examination of any offence, that he might happen to commit against Christianity, than here? Would he prefer those proud simoniacal courts? Thus therefore the minister assisted attends his heavenly and spiritual cure: where we shall see him both in the course of his proceeding, and first in the excellency of his end, from the magistrate far different, and not more different than excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man, both soul and body, to an everlasting health; and yet as for worldly happiness, which is the proper sphere wherein the magistrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy from law, so little aims the minister, as his intended scope, to procure the much prosperity of this life, that ofttimes he may have cause to wish much of it away, as a diet puffing up the soul with a slimy fleshiness, and weakening her prin-

cipal organic parts. Two heads of evil he has to cope with, ignorance and malice. Against the former he provides the daily manna of incorruptible doctrine, not at those set meals only in public, but as oft as he shall know that each infirmity or constitution requires. Against the latter with all the branches thereof, not meddling with that restraining and styptic surgery, which the law uses, not indeed against the malady, but against the eruptions, and outermost effects thereof; he on the contrary, beginning at the prime causes and roots of the disease, sends in those two divine ingredients of most cleansing power to the soul, admonition and reproof; besides which two there is no drug or antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other experiments are but vain, unless by accident. And he that will not let these pass into him, though he be the greatest king, as Plato affirms, must be thought to remain impure within, and unknowing of those things wherein his pureness and his knowledge should most appear. As soon therefore as it may be discerned that the christian patient, by feeding otherwhere on meats not allowable, but of evil juice, hath disordered his diet, and spread an ill humour through his veins, immediately disposing to a sickness; the minister, as being much nearer both in eye and duty than the magistrate, speeds him betimes to overtake that diffused malignance with some gentle potion of admonishment; or if aught be obstructed, puts in his opening and discussive confections. This not succeeding after once or twice, or oftener, in the presence of two or three his faithful brethren appointed thereto, he advises him to be more careful of his dearest health, and what it is that he so rashly hath let down into the divine vessel of his soul, God's temple. If this obtain not, he then, with the counsel of more assistants, who are informed of what diligence hath been already used, with more speedy remedies lays nearer siege to the entrenched causes of his distemper, not sparing such fervent and well aimed reproofs as may best give him to see the dangerous estate wherein he is. To this also his brethren and friends intreat, exhort, adjure; and all these endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or less repeated. But if neither the regard of himself, nor the reverence of his elders and friends prevail with him to leave his vicious appetite; then as the time urges, such engines of terrour God hath given into the hand of his minister, as to search the tenderest angles of the heart: one while he shakes his stubbornness with racking convulsions nigh despair, otherwhiles with deadly corrosives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole church beseech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this performed with what patience and attendance is possible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmost of their cure, in the name of God and of the church they dissolve their fellowship with him, and holding forth the dreadful sponge of excommunion, pronounce him wiped out of the list of God's inheritance, and in the custody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid sentence, though it touch neither life nor limb, nor any worldly possession, yet has it such a penetrating force, that swifter than any chymical sulphur, or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rifles the entrails, it scorches the inmost soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the church for no other cause but to be as a rough and vehement cleansing medicine, where the malady is obdurate, a mortifying to life, a kind of saving by undoing. And it may be truly said, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, so the cruelties of the church are mercies. For if repentance sent from Heaven meet this lost wanderer, and draw him out of that steep journey wherein he was hasting towards destruction, to come and reconcile to the church, if he bring with him his bill of health, and that he is now clear of infection, and of no danger to the other sheep; then with incredible expressions of joy all his brethren receive him, and set before him those perfumed banquets of christian consolation; with precious ointments bathing and fomenting the old, and now to be forgotten stripes, which terrour and shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly solaces they cheer up his humble remorse, till he regain his first health and felicity. This is the approved way, which the gospel prescribes, these are the "spiritual weapons of holy censure, and ministerial warfare, not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine particle of God's breathing, the soul, and what could be done less? he that would hide his faults from such a wholesome curing as this, and count it a twofold punishment, as some do, is like a man, that having foul diseases about him, perishes for shame, and the fear he has of a rigorous incision to come upon his flesh. We shall be able by this time to discern whether prelatical jurisdiction be contrary to the gospel or no. First, therefore, the government of the gospel being economical and paternal, that is, of such a family where there be no servants, but all sons in obedience, not in servility, as cannot be denied by him that lives but within the sound of Scripture; how can the prelates justify to have turned the fatherly orders of Christ's household, the blessed meekness of his lowly roof, those ever-open and inviting doors of his dwelling house, which delight to be frequented with only filial accesses; how can they justify to have turned these domestic privileges into the bar of a proud judicial court, where fees and clamours keep shop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption solicits, paltering the free and moneyless power of discipline with a carnal satisfaction by the purse? Contrition, humiliation, confession, the very sighs of a repentant spirit, are there sold by the penny. That undeflowered and unblemishable simplicity of the gospel, not she herself, for that could never be, but a false-whited, a lawny resemblance of her, like that airborn Helena in the fables, made by the sorcery of prelates, instead of calling her disciples from the receipt of custom, is now turned publican herself; and gives up her body to a

mercenary whoredom under those fornicated arches, which she calls God's house, and in the sight of those her altars, which she hath set up to be adored, makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. Rejecting purgatory for no other reason, as it seems, than because her greediness cannot defer, but had rather use the utmost extortion of redeemed penances in this life. But because these matters could not be thus carried without a begged and borrowed force from worldly authority, therefore prelaty, slighting the deliberate and chosen council of Christ in his spiritual government, whose glory is in the weakness of fleshly things, to tread upon the crest of the world's pride and violence by the power of spiritual ordinances, hath on the contrary made these her friends and champions, which are Christ's enemies in this his high design, smothering and extinguishing the spiritual force of his bodily weakness in the discipline of his church with the boisterous and carnal tyranny of an undue, unlawful, and ungospel-like jurisdiction. And thus prelaty, both in her fleshly supportments, in her carnal doctrine of ceremony and tradition, in her violent and secular power, going quite counter to the prime end of Christ's coming in the flesh, that is, to reveal his truth, his glory, and his might, in a clean contrary manner than prelaty seeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great mystery of God; I do not conclude that prelaty is antichristian, for what need I? the things themselves conclude it. Yet if such like practices, and not many worse than these of our prelates, in that great darkness of the Roman church, have not exempted both her and her present members from being judged to be antichristian in all orthodoxal esteem; I cannot think but that it is the absolute voice of truth and all her children to pronounce this prelaty, and these her dark deeds in the midst of this great light wherein we live, to be more antichristian than antichrist himself.

THE CONCLUSION.

The mischief that prelaty does in the state

I add one thing more to those great ones that are so fond of prelaty: this is certain, that the gospel being the hidden might of Christ, as hath been heard, that ever a victorious power joined with it, like him in the Revelation that went forth on the white horse with his bow and his crown conquering and to conquer. If we let the angel of the gospel ride on his own way, he does his proper business, conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reasonings of the flesh, and brings them under to give obedience to Christ with the salvation of many souls. But if ye turn him out of his road, and in a manner force him to express his irresistible power by a doctrine of carnal might, as prelaty is, he will use that fleshly strength, which ye put into his hands, to subdue your spirits by a servile and blind superstition; and that again shall hold such dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an insatiate greediness and force upon your worldly wealth and power, wherewith to deck and magnify herself, and her false worships, he shall spoil and havoc your estates, disturb your ease, diminish your honour, enthral your liberty under the swelling mood of a proud clergy, who will not serve or feed your souls with spiritual food; look not for it, they have not wherewithal, or if they had, it is not in their purpose. But when they have glutted their ungrateful bodies, at least, if it be possible that those open sepulchres should ever be glutted, and when they have stuffed their idolish temples with the wasteful pillage of your estates, will they yet have any compassion upon you, and that poor pittance which they have left you; will they be but so good to you as that ravisher was to his sister, when he had used her at his pleasure; will they but only hate ye, and so turn ye loose? No, they will not, lords and commons, they will not favour ye so much. What will they do then, in the name of God and saints, what will these manhaters yet with more despite and mischief do? I will tell ye, or at least remember ye, (for most of ye know it already,) that they may want nothing to make them true merchants of Babylon, as they have done to your souls, they will sell your bodies, your wives, your children, your liberties, your parliaments, all these things; and if there be ought else dearer than these, they will sell at an outcry in their pulpits to the arbitrary and illegal dispose of any one that may hereafter be called a king, whose mind shall serve him to listen to their bargain. And by their corrupt and servile doctrines boring our ears to an everlasting slavery, as they have done hitherto, so will they yet do their best to repeal and erase every line and clause of both our great charters. Nor is this only what they will do, but what they hold as the main reason and mystery of their advancement that they must do; be the prince never so just and equal to his subjects, yet such are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they so look on him, and so understand him, as if he required no other gratitude or piece of service from them than this. And indeed they stand so opportunely for the disturbing or the destroying of a state, being a knot of creatures, whose dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the gospel, as they themselves acknowledge, but only in the prince's favour, and to continue so long to them, as by pleasing him they shall deserve: whence it must needs be they should bend all their intentions and services to no other ends but to his, that if it should happen that a tyrant (God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies) should come to grasp the sceptre, here were his spearmen and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he should need no other pretorian band nor pensionary than these, if they could once with their perfidious preachments awe the people. For although the prelates in time of popery were sometimes friendly enough to Magna Charta, it was because they stood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the royal nod: but now being well acquainted that the protestant religion, if she will reform herself rightly by the Scriptures, must undress them of all their gilded

vanities, and reduce them as they were at first, to the lowly and equal order of presbyters, they know it concerns them nearly to study the times more than the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hills of the court, from whence only comes their help; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and observance, as ere long it would, and that yet their minds climb still to a higher ascent of worldly honour, this only refuge can remain to them, that they must of necessity contrive to bring themselves and us back again to the pope's supremacy; and this we see they had by fair degrees of late been doing. These be the two fair supporters between which the strength of prelaty is borne up, either of inducing tyranny, or of reducing popery. Hence also we may judge that prelaty is mere falsehood. For the property of truth is, where she is publicly taught to unyoke and set free the minds and spirits of a nation first from the thraldom of sin and superstition, after which all honest and legal freedom of civil life cannot be long absent; but prelaty, whom the tyrant custom begot, a natural tyrant in religion, and in state the agent and minister of tyranny, seems to have had this fatal gift in her nativity, like another Midas, that whatsoever she should touch or come near either in ecclesial or political government, it should turn, not to gold, though she for her part could wish it, but to the dross and scum of slavery, breeding and settling both in the bodies and the souls of all such as do not in time, with the sovereign treacle of sound doctrine, provide to fortify their hearts against her hierarchy. The service of God who is truth, her liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom; but her works and her opinions declare, that the service of prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falsehood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the gentry, studious men as I hear, should engage themselves to write and speak publicly in her defence; but that I believe their honest and ingenuous natures coming to the universities to store themselves with good and solid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing else but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry, were sent home again with such a scholastical bur in their throats, as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering, cracked their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms, and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men prelatically addicted, whose unchastened and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or subdued under the true lore of religion or moral virtue, which two are the best and greatest points of learning; but either slightly trained up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney course of literature to get their living by, and dazzle the ignorant, or else fondly over-studied in useless controversies, except those which they use with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta; having a gospel and church-government set before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exercise the greatest virtues and the greatest deeds of christian authority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world; (which even the sage heathen writers, and those old Fabritii and Curii well knew to be a manner of working, than which nothing could liken a mortal man more to God, who delights most to work from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instruments;) they understand it not, and think no such matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honours, with an easy and intemperate life, to the bane of Christianity: yea, they and their seminaries shame not to profess, to petition, and never leave pealing our ears, that unless we fat them like boars, and cram them as they list with wealth, with deaneries and pluralities, with baronies and stately preferments, all learning and religion will go underfoot. Which is such a shameless, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in churchmen, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who should teach us to contemn this world and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in baptism, that should the Scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of philosophers among the heathen so dissolute, no not Epicurus, nor Aristippus with all his Cyrenaic rout, but would shut his school-doors against such greasy sophisters; not any college of mountebanks, but would think scorn to discover in themselves with such a brazen forehead the outrageous desire of filthy lucre. Which the prelates make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians under the names of horrible schismatics, for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruel authority over their brethren that labour in the word, while they snore in their luxurious excess: openly proclaiming themselves now in the sight of all men, to be those which for awhile they sought to cover under sheep's clothing, ravenous and savage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey. More like that huge dragon of Egypt, breathing out waste and desolation to the land, unless he were daily fattened with virgin's blood. Him our old patron St. George, by his matchless valour slew, as the prelate of the garter that reads his collect can tell. And if our princes and knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of knighthood solemnly taken they vow, far be it that they should uphold and side with this English dragon; but rather to do as indeed their oaths bind them, they should make it their knightly adventure to pursue and vanquish this mighty sail-winged monster, that menaces to swallow up the land, unless her bottomless gorge may be satisfied with the blood of the king's daughter the church; and may, as she was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the saints. Nor will any one have reason to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be spoken of prelaty, if he consider well from what a mass of slime and mud the slothful, the covetous, and ambitious hopes of church-promotions and fat bishoprics, she is bred up and nuzzled in, like a great Python, from her youth, to prove the general poison both of doctrine and good discipline in the land. For certainly such hopes and such principles of earth

as these wherein she welters from a young one, are the immediate generation both of a slavish and tyrannous life to follow, and a pestiferous contagion to the whole kingdom, till like that fen-born serpent she be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word. And this may serve to describe to us in part, what prelaty hath been, and what, if she stand, she is like to be towards the whole body of people in England. Now that it may appear how she is not such a kind of evil, as hath any good or use in it, which many evils have, but a distilled quintessence, a pure elixir of mischief, pestilent alike to all; I shall shew briefly, ere I conclude, that the prelates, as they are to the subjects a calamity, so are they the greatest underminers and betrayers of the monarch, to whom they seem to be most favourable. I cannot better liken the state and person of a king than to that mighty Nazarite Samson; who being disciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminished and unshorn, he may with the jawbone of an ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, suppress and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against his just power. But laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of prelates, while he sleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and weighty tresses of his laws, and just prerogatives, which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which, as those Philistines, put out the fair and far-sighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grind in the prison-house of their sinister ends and practices upon him: till he, knowing this prelatical rasor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right: and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself. This is the sum of their loyal service to kings; yet these are the men that still cry, The king, the king, the Lord's anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing so true; and wonder more, if kings be the Lord's anointed, how they dare thus oil over and besmear so holy an unction with the corrupt and putrid ointment of their base flatteries; which, while they smooth the skin, strike inward and envenom the lifeblood. What fidelity kings can expect from prelates, both examples past, and our present experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath been said, may suffice to inform us. And if they be such clippers of regal power, and shavers of the laws, how they stand affected to the law-giving parliament, yourselves, worthy peers and commons, can best testify; the current of whose glorious and immortal actions hath been only opposed by the obscure and pernicious designs of the prelates, until their insolence broke out to such a bold affront, as hath justly immured their haughty looks within strong walls. Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, than to hinder or break the happy assembling of parliaments, however needful to repair the shattered and disjointed frame of the commonwealth; or if they cannot do this, to cross, to disenable, and traduce all parliamentary proceedings. And this, if nothing else, plainly accuses them to be no lawful members of the house, if they thus perpetually mutiny against their own body. And though they pretend, like Solomon's harlot, that they have right thereto, by the same judgment that Solomon gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not only their assent, but their endeavour continually to divide parliaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to abolish and destroy the free use of them to all posterity. For the which, and for all their former misdeeds, whereof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moiety, I shall move ye, lords, in the behalf I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your justice and speedy sentence pass against this great malefactor prelaty. And yet in the midst of rigour I would beseech ye to think of mercy; and such a mercy, (I fear I shall overshoot with a desire to save this falling prelaty,) such a mercy (if I may venture to say it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous persons would have saved Sodom. Not that I dare advise ye to contend with God, whether he or you shall be more merciful, but in your wise esteems to balance the offences of those peccant cities with these enormous riots of ungodly misrule, that prelaty hath wrought both in the church of Christ, and in the state of this kingdom. And if ye think ye may with a pious presumption strive to go beyond God in mercy, I shall not be one now that would dissuade ye. Though God for less than ten just persons would not spare Sodom, yet if you can find, after due search, but only one good thing in prelaty, either to religion or civil government, to king or parliament, to prince or people, to law, liberty, wealth, or learning, spare her, let her live, let her spread among ye, till with her shadow all your dignities and honours, and all the glory of the land be darkened and obscured. But on the contrary, if she be found to be malignant, hostile, destructive to all these, as nothing can be surer, then let your severe and impartial doom imitate the divine vengeance; rain down your punishing force upon this godless and oppressing government, and bring such a dead sea of subversion upon her, that she may never in this land rise more to afflict the holy reformed church, and the elect people of God.

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

THE REMONSTRANT'S DEFENCE AGAINST SMECTYMNUUS.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1641.]

THE PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH it be a certain truth, that they who undertake a religious cause need not care to be men-pleasers; yet because the satisfaction of tender and mild consciences is far different from that which is called men-pleasing; to satisfy such, I shall address myself in few words to give notice beforehand of something in this book, which to some men perhaps may seem offensive, that when I have rendered a lawful reason of what is done, I may trust to have saved the labour of defending or excusing hereafter. We all know that in private or personal injuries, yea in public sufferings for the cause of Christ, his rule and example teaches us to be so far from a readiness to speak evil, as not to answer the reviler in his language, though never so much provoked: yet in the detecting and convincing of any notorious enemy to truth and his country's peace, especially that is conceited to have a voluble and smart fluence of tongue, and in the vain confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly respects, stands up for all the rest to justify a long usurpation and convicted pseudepiscopy of prelates, with all their ceremonies, liturgies, and tyrannies, which God and man are now ready to explode and hiss out of the land; I suppose, and more than suppose, it will be nothing disagreeing from christian meekness to handle such a one in a rougher accent, and to send home his haughtiness well bespurted with his own holy-water. Nor to do thus are we unautoritied either from the moral precept of Solomon, to answer him thereafter that prides him in his folly; nor from the example of Christ, and all his followers in all ages, who, in the refuting of those that resisted sound doctrine, and by subtile dissimulations corrupted the minds of men, have wrought up their zealous souls into such vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly spoken: for who can be a greater enemy to mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver, than he who, defending a traditional corruption, uses no common arts, but with a wily stratagem of yielding to the time a greater part of his cause, seeming to forego all that man's invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his hold in Scripture; yet leaving it hanging by a twined thread, not from divine command, but from apostolical prudence or assent; as if he had the surety of some rolling trench, creeps up by this mean to his relinquished fortress of divine authority again, and still hovering between the confines of that which he dares not be openly, and that which he will not be sincerely, trains on the easy Christian insensibly within the close ambushment of worst errours, and with a sly shuffle of counterfeit principles, chopping and changing till he have gleaned all the good ones out of their minds, leaves them at last, after a slight resemblance of sweeping and garnishing, under the seven-fold possession of a desperate stupidity? And therefore they that love the souls of men, which is the dearest love, and stirs up the noblest jealousy, when they meet with such collusion, cannot be blamed though they be transported with the zeal of truth to a well-heated fervency; especially, seeing they which thus offend against the souls of their brethren, do it with delight to their great gain, ease, and advancement in this world; but they that seek to discover and oppose their false trade of deceiving, do it not without a sad and unwilling anger, not without many hazards; but without all private and personal spleen, and without any thought of earthly reward, whenas this very course they take stops their hopes of ascending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this life. And although in the serious uncasing of a grand imposture, (for to deal plainly with you, readers, prelaty is no better,) there be mixed here and there such a grim laughter, as may appear at the same time in an austere visage, it cannot be taxed of levity or insolence: for even this vein of laughing (as I could produce out of grave authors) hath ofttimes a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation and scorn together, than a false prophet taken in the greatest, dearest, and most dangerous cheat, the cheat of souls: in the disclosing whereof, if it be harmful to be angry, and withal to cast a lowering smile, when the properest object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to say, why those two most rational faculties of human intellect, anger and laughter, were first seated in the breast of man. Thus much,

readers, in favour of the softer spirited Christian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Only if it be asked, why this close and succinct manner of coping with the adversary was rather chosen, this was the reason chiefly, that the ingenuous reader, without further amusing himself in the labyrinth of controversial antiquity, may come to the speediest way to see the truth vindicated, and sophistry taken short at the first false bound. Next, that the Remonstrant himself, as oft as he pleases to be frolic, and brave it with others, may find no gain of money, and may learn not to insult in so bad a cause. But now he begins.

SECT. I.

REMONSTRANT. My single remonstrance is encountered with a plural adversary.

Answer. Did not your single remonstrance bring along with it a hot scent of your more than singular affection to spiritual pluralities, your singleness would be less suspected with all good Christians than it is.

Remonst. Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know.

Answ. Their names are known to the all-knowing Power above; and in the mean while, doubtless, they reck not whether you or your nomenclator know them or not.

Remonst. But could they say my name is Legion, for we are many?

Answ. Wherefore should ye begin with the devil's name, descanting upon the number of your opponents? Wherefore that conceit of Legion with a by-wipe? Was it because you would have men take notice how you esteem them, whom through all your book so bountifully you call your brethren? We had not thought that Legion could have furnished the Remonstrant with so many brethren.

Remonst. My cause, ye gods, would bid me meet them undismayed, &c.

Answ. Ere a foot further we must be content to hear a preambling boast of your valour, what a St. Dunstan you are to encounter Legions, either infernal or human.

Remonst. My cause, ye gods.

Answ. What gods? Unless your belly, or the god of this world be he? Shew us any one point of your remonstrance that does not more concern superiority, pride, ease, and the belly, than the truth and glory of God, or the salvation of souls.

Remonst. My cause, ye gods, would bid me meet them undismayed, and to say with holy David, "though a host, &c."

Answ. Do not think to persuade us of your undaunted courage, by misapplying to yourself the words of holy David; we know you fear, and are in an agony at this present, lest you should lose that superfluity of riches and honour, which your party usurp. And whosoever covets, and so earnestly labours to keep such an incumbering surcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an earthquake still in his bones. You are not armed, Remonstrant, nor any of your band; you are not dieted, nor your loins girt for spiritual valour, and christian warfare, the luggage is too great that follows your camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily: how shall we think you have not carnal fear, while we see you so subject to carnal desires?

Remonst. I do gladly fly to the bar.

Answ. To the bar with him then. Gladly you say. We believe you as gladly as your whole faction wished and longed for the assembling of this parliament, as gladly as your beneficiaries the priests came up to answer the complaints and outcries of all the shires.

Remonst. The Areopagi! who were those? Truly, my masters, I had thought this had been the name of the place, not of the men.

Answ. A soar-eagle would not stoop at a fly; but sure some pedagogue stood at your elbow, and made it itch with this parlous criticism; they urged you with a decree of the sage and severe judges of Athens, and you cite them to appear for certain paragogical contempts, before a capacious pedanty of hot-livered grammarians. Mistake not the matter, courteous Remonstrant, they were not making Latin: if in dealing with an outlandish name, they thought it best not to screw the English mouth to a harsh foreign termination, so they kept the radical word, they did no more than the elegantest authors among the Greeks, Romans, and at this day the Italians, in scorn of such a servility use to do. Remember how they mangle our British names abroad; what trespass were it, if we in requital should as much neglect theirs? And our learned Chaucer did not stick to do so, writing Semyramis for Semiramis, Amphiorax for Amphiaraus, K. Sejes for K. Ceyx the husband of Alcyone, with many other names strangely metamorphosed from the true orthography, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.

Remonst. Lest the world should think the press had of late forgot to speak any language other than libellous, this honest paper hath broken through the throng.

Answ. Mince the matter while you will, it shewed but green practice in the laws of discreet rhetoric to blurt upon the ears of a judicious parliament with such a presumptuous and overweening proem: but you do well to be the fewer of your own mess.

Remonst. That which you miscall the preface, was a too just complaint of the shameful number of libels.

Answ. How long is it that you and the prelatical

troop have been in such distaste with libels? Ask your Lysimachus Nicanor what defaming invectives have lately flown abroad against the subjects of Scotland, and our poor expulsed brethren of New England, the prelates rather applauding than shewing any dislike: and this hath been ever so, insomuch that Sir Francis Bacon in one of his discourses complains of the bishops' uneven hand over these pamphlets, confining those against bishops to darkness, but licensing those against puritans to be uttered openly, though with the greater mischief of leading into contempt the exercise of religion in the persons of sundry preachers, and disgracing the higher matter in the meaner person.

Remonst. A point no less essential to that proposed remonstrance.

Answ. We know where the shoe wrings you, you fret and are galled at the quick; and O what a death it is to the prelates to be thus unvisarded, thus uncased, to have the periwigs plucked off that cover your baldness, your inside nakedness thrown open to public view! The Romans had a time once every year, when their slaves might freely speak their minds; it were hard if the freeborn people of England, with whom the voice of truth for these many years, even against the proverb, hath not been heard but in corners, after all your monkish prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your gags and snaffles, your proud Imprimaturs not to be obtained without the shallow surview, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow-souled, and illiterate chaplain; when liberty of speaking, than which nothing is more sweet to man, was girded and strait-laced almost to a broken-winded phthisic, if now at a good time, our time of parliament, the very jubilee and resurrection of the state, if now the concealed, the aggrieved, and long persecuted truth, could not be suffered to speak; and though she burst out with some efficacy of words, could not be excused after such an injurious strangle of silence, nor avoid the censure of libelling, it were hard, it were something pinching in a kingdom of free spirits. Some princes, and great statists, have thought it a prime piece of necessary policy, to thrust themselves under disguise into a popular throng, to stand the night long under eaves of houses, and low windows, that they might hear every where the utterances of private breasts, and amongst them find out the precious gem of truth, as amongst the numberless pebbles of the shore; whereby they might be the abler to discover, and avoid, that deceitful and close-couched evil of flattery that ever attends them, and misleads them, and might skilfully know how to apply the several redresses to each malady of state, without trusting the disloyal information of parasites and sycophants: whereas now this permission of free writing, were there no good else in it, yet at some times thus licensed, is such an unripping, such an anatomy of the shyest and tenderest particular truths, as makes not only the whole nation in many points the wiser, but also presents and carries home to princes, men most remote from vulgar concourse, such a full insight of every lurking evil, or restrained good among the commons, as that they shall not need hereafter, in old cloaks and false beards, to stand to the courtesy of a night-walking cudgeller for eaves-dropping, nor to accept quietly as a perfume, the overhead emptying of some salt lotion. Who could be angry, therefore, but those that are guilty, with these free-spoken and plain-hearted men, that are the eyes of their country, and the prospective-glasses of their prince? But these are the nettlers, these are the blabbing books that tell, though not half your fellows' feats. You love toothless satires; let me inform you, a toothless satire is as improper as a toothed sleek-stone, and as bullish.

Remonst. I beseech you, brethren, spend your logic upon your own works.

Answ. The peremptory analysis that you call it, I believe will be so hardy as once more to unpin your spruce fastidious oratory, to rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobbins, though she wince and fling never so peevishly.

Remonst. Those verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will sink alone.

Answ. O rare subtlety, beyond all that Cardan ever dreamed of! when, I beseech you, will light things sink? when will light froth sink alone? Here in your phrase, the same day that heavy plummets will swim alone. Trust this man, readers, if you please, whose divinity would reconcile England with Rome, and his philosophy make friends nature with the chaos, sine pondere habentia pondus.

Remonst. That scum may be worth taking off which follows.

Answ. Spare your ladle, sir, it will be as the bishop's foot in the broth; the scum will be found upon your own remonstrance.

Remonst. I shall desire all indifferent eyes to judge, whether these men do not endeavour to cast unjust envy upon me.

Answ. Agreed.

Remonst. I had said that the civil polity, as in general notion, hath sometimes varied, and that the civil came from arbitrary imposers; these gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the present and particular government of our monarchy.

Answ. And deservedly have they done so; take up your logic else and see: civil polity, say you, hath sometimes varied, and came from arbitrary imposers; what proposition is this? Bishop Downam in his dialectics will tell you it is a general axiom, though the universal particle be not expressed, and you yourself in your defence so explain in these words as in general notion. Hence is justly inferred, he that says civil polity is arbitrary, says that the civil polity of England is arbitrary. The inference is undeniable, a thesi ad hypothesin, or from the general to the particular, an evincing argument in logic.

Remonst. Brethren, whiles ye desire to seem godly, learn to be less malicious.

Answ. Remonstrant, till you have better learnt your principles of logic, take not upon you to be a doctor to others.

Remonst. God bless all good men from such charity.

Answ. I never found that logical maxims were un-

charitable before; yet should a jury of logicians pass upon you, you would never be saved by the book.

Remonst. And our sacred monarchy from such friends.

Answ. Add, as the prelates.

Remonst. If episcopacy have yoked monarchy, it is the insolence of the persons, not the fault of the calling.

Answ. It was the fault of the persons, and of no calling: we do not count prelaty a calling.

Remonst. The testimony of a pope (whom these men honour highly).

Answ. That slanderous insertion was doubtless a pang of your incredible charity, the want whereof you lay so often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapped up in a parenthesis, a piece of the clergy benevolence laid by to maintain the episcopal broil, whether the 1000 horse or no, time will discover: for certainly had those cavaliers come on to play their parts, such a ticket as this of highly honouring the pope, from the hand of a prelate, might have been of special use and safety to them that had cared for such a ransom.

Remonst. And what says Antichrist?

Answ. Ask your brethren the prelates, that hold intelligence with him, ask not us. But is the pope Antichrist now? Good news! take heed you be not shent for this; for it is verily thought, that had this bill been put in against him in your last convocation, he would have been cleared by most voices.

Remonst. Any thing serves against episcopacy.

Answ. See the frowardness of this man, he would persuade us, that the succession and divine right of bishopdom hath been unquestionable through all ages; yet when they bring against him kings, they were irreligious; popes, they are antichrist. By what era of computation, through what fairy land, would the man deduce this perpetual beadroll of uncontradicted episcopacy? The pope may as well boast his ungainsaid authority to them that will believe, that all his contradicters were either irreligious or heretical.

Remonst. If the bishops, saith the pope, be declared to be of divine right, they would be exempted from regal power; and if there might be this danger in those kingdoms, why is this enviously upbraided to those of ours? who do gladly profess, &c.

Answ. Because your dissevered principles were but like the mangled pieces of a gashed serpent, that now begun to close, and grow together popish again. Whatsoever you now gladly profess out of fear, we know what your drifts were when you thought yourselves secure.

Remonst. It is a foul slander to charge the name of episcopacy with a faction, for the fact imputed to some few.

Answ. The more foul your faction that hath brought a harmless name into obloquy, and the fact may justly be imputed to all of ye that ought to have withstood it, and did not.

Remonst. Fie, brethren! are ye the presbyters of the church of England, and dare challenge episcopacy of faction?

Answ. Yes, as oft as episcopacy dares be factious.

Remonst. Had you spoken such a word in the time of holy Cyprian, what had become of you?

Answ. They had neither been haled into your Gehenna at Lambeth, nor strapadoed with an oath ex officio by your bowmen of the arches: and as for Cyprian's time the cause was far unlike, he indeed succeeded into an episcopacy that began then to prelatize; but his personal excellence like an antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption, which was then a disease that lay hid for a while under shew of a full and healthy constitution, as those hydropic humours not discernible at first from a fair and juicy fleshiness of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour, which seems graceful to a cheek otherwise pale; and yet arises from evil causes, either of some inward obstruction or inflammation, and might deceive the first physicians till they had learned the sequel, which Cyprian's days did not bring forth; and the prelatism of episcopacy, which began then to burgeon and spread, had as yet, especially in famous men, a fair, though a false imitation of flourishing.

Remonst. Neither is the wrong less to make application of that which was most justly charged upon the practices and combinations of libelling separatists, whom I deservedly censured, &c.

Answ. To conclude this section, our Remonstrant we see is resolved to make good that which was formerly said of his book, that it was neither humble nor a remonstrance, and this his defence is of the same complexion. When he is constrained to mention the notorious violence of his clergy attempted on the church of Scotland, he slightly terms it a fact imputed to some few; but when he speaks of that which the parliament vouchsafes to name the city petition, "which I," saith he, (as if the state had made him public censor,) "deservedly censured." And how? As before for a tumultuary and underhand way of procured subscriptions, so now in his defence more bitterly, as the practices and combinations of libelling separatists, and the miszealous advocates thereof, justly to be branded for incendiaries. Whether this be for the honour of our chief city to be noted with such an infamy for a petition, which not without some of the magistrates, and great numbers of sober and considerable men, was orderly and meekly presented, although our great clerks think that these men, because they have a trade, (as Christ himself and St. Paul had,) cannot therefore attain to some good measure of knowledge, and to a reason of their actions, as well as they that spend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their studies in unprofitable questions and barbarous sophistry, their middle age in ambition and idleness, their old age in avarice, dotage, and diseases. And whether this reflect not with a contumely upon the parliament itself, which thought this petition worthy, not only of receiving, but of voting to a commitment, after it had been advocated, and moved for by some honourable and learned gentleman of the house, to be called a combination of libelling separatists, and the advocates thereof to be branded for incendiaries; whether this appeach not the judgment and approbation of the parliament I leave to equal arbiters.

SECT. II.

Remonst. After the overflowing of your gall, you descend to liturgy and episcopacy.

Answ. The overflow being past, you cannot now in your own judgment impute any bitterness to their folling discourses.

Remonst. Dr. Hall, whom you name I dare say for honour's sake.

Answ. You are a merry man, sir, and dare say much.

Remonst. And why should not I speak of martyrs, as the authors and users of this holy liturgy?

Answ. As the authors! the translators, you might perhaps have said: for Edward the sixth, as Hayward hath written in his story, will tell you upon the word of a king, that the order of the service, and the use thereof in the English tongue, is no other than the old service was, and the same words in English which were in Latin, except a few things omitted, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English; these are his words: whereby we are left uncertain who the author was, but certain that part of the work was esteemed so absurd by the translators thereof, as was to be ashamed of in English. O but the martyrs were the refiners of it, for that only is left you to say. Admit they were, they could not refine a scorpion into a fish, though they had drawn it, and minced it with never so cleanly cookery, which made them fall at variance among themselves about the use either of it, or the ceremonies belonging to it.

Remonst. Slight you them as you please, we bless God for such patrons of our good cause.

Answ. O Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc est contrarius atro. Are not these they which one of your bishops in print scornfully terms the Foxian confessors? Are not these they whose acts and monuments are not only so contemptible, but so hateful to the prelates, that their story was almost come to be a prohibited book, which for these two or three editions hath crept into the world by stealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open regret and vexation of the bishops, as many honest men that had to do in setting forth the book will justify? And now at a dead lift for your liturgies you bless God for them: out upon such hypocrisy!

Remonst. As if we were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every bishop.

Answ. Your faction then belike is a subtile Janus, and hath two faces: your bolder face to set forward any innovations or scandals in the church, your cautious and wary face to disavow them if they succeed not, that so the fault may not light upon the function, lest it should spoil the whole plot by giving it an irrecoverable wound. Wherefore else did you not long ago, as a good bishop should have done, disclaim and protest against them? Wherefore have you sat still, and complied and hood-winked, till the general complaints of the land have squeezed you to a wretched, cold, and hollow-hearted confession of some prelatical riots both in this and other places of your book? Nay, what if you still defend them as follows?

Remonst. If a bishop have said that our liturgy hath been so wisely and charitably framed, as that the devotion of it yieldeth no cause of offence to a very pope's ear.

Answ. O new and never heard of supererogative height of wisdom and charity in our liturgy! Is the wisdom of God or the charitable framing of God's word otherwise inoffensive to the pope's ear, than as he may turn it to the working of his mysterious iniquity? A little pulley would have stretched your wise and charitable frame it may be three inches further, that the devotion of it might have yielded no cause of offence to the very devil's ear, and that had been the same wisdom and charity surmounting to the highest degree. For Antichrist we know is but the devil's vicar, and therefore please him with your liturgy, and you please his master.

Remonst. Would you think it requisite, that we should chide and quarrel when we speak to the God of peace?

Answ. Fie, no sir, but forecast our prayers so, that Satan and his instruments may take as little exception against them as may be, lest they should chide and quarrel with us.

Remonst. It is no little advantage to our cause and piety, that our liturgy is taught to speak several languages for use and example.

Answ. The language of Ashdod is one of them, and that makes so many Englishmen have such a smattering of their Philistian mother. And indeed our liturgy hath run up and down the world like an English galloping nun proffering herself, but we hear of none yet that bids money for her.

Remonst. As for that sharp censure of learned Mr. Calvin, it might well have been forborn by him in aliena republica.

Answ. Thus this untheological remonstrant would divide the individual catholic church into several republics: know, therefore, that every worthy pastor of the church of Christ hath universal right to admonish over all the world within the church; nor can that care be aliened from him by any distance or distinction of nation, so long as in Christ all nations and languages are as one household.

Remonst. Neither would you think it could become any of our greatest divines, to meddle with his charge.

Answ. It hath ill become them indeed to meddle so maliciously, as many of them have done, though that patient and christian city hath borne hitherto all their profane scoffs with silence.

Remonst. Our liturgy passed the judgment of no less reverend heads than his own.

Answ. It bribed their judgments with worldly engagements, and so passed it.

Remonst. As for that unparalleled discourse concerning the antiquity of liturgies, I cannot help your wonder, but shall justify mine own assertion.

Answ. Your justification is but a miserable shifting off those testimonies of the ancientest fathers alleged

against you, and the authority of some synodal canons, which are now arrant to us. We profess to decide our controversies only by the Scriptures; but yet to repress your vain-glory, there will be voluntarily bestowed upon you a sufficient conviction of your novelties out of succeeding antiquity.

Remonst. I cannot see how you will avoid your own contradiction, for I demand, is this order of praying and administration set or no? If it be not set, how is it an order? And if it be a set order both for matter and form——

Answ. Remove that form, lest you tumble over it, while you make such haste to clap a contradiction upon others.

Remonst. If the forms were merely arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an order?

Answ. Nothing will cure this man's understanding but some familiar and kitchen physic, which, with pardon, must for plainness sake be administered to him. Call hither your cook. The order of breakfast, dinner, and supper, answer me, is it set or no? Set. Is a man therefore bound in the morning to poached eggs and vinegar, or at noon to brawn or beef, or at night to fresh salmon, and French kickshose? May he not make his meals in order, though he be not bound to this or that viand? Doubtless the neat-fingered artist will answer yes, and help us out of this great controversy without more trouble. Can we not understand an order in church-assemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and administering, unless our prayers be still the same crambe of words?

Remonst. What a poor exception is this, that liturgies were composed by some particular men?

Answ. It is a greater presumption in any particular men, to arrogate to themselves, that which God universally gives to all his ministers. A minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chewed to, and fescued to a formal injunction of his rote lesson, should as little be trusted to preach, besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediately again; for there is a large difference in the repetition of some pathetical ejaculation raised out of the sudden earnestness and vigour of the inflamed soul, (such as was that of Christ in the garden,) from the continual rehearsal of our daily orisons; which if a man shall kneel down in a morning, and say over, and presently in another part of the room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one inventory, I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish battology of multiplying words, which Christ himself, that has the putting up of our prayers, told us would not be acceptable in heaven. Well may men of eminent gifts set forth as many forms and helps to prayer as they please; but to impose them on ministers lawfully called, and sufficiently tried, as all ought to be ere they be admitted, is a supercilious tyranny, impropriating the Spirit of God to themselves.

Remonst. Do we abridge this liberty by ordaining a public form.

Answ. Your bishops have set as fair to do it as they durst for that old pharasaical fear that still dogs them, the fear of the people; though you will say you are none of those, still you would seem not to have joined with the worst, and yet keep aloof off from that which is best. I would you would either mingle, or part: most true it is what Savanarola complains, that while he endeavoured to reform the church, his greatest enemies were still these lukewarm ones.

Remonst. And if the Lord's prayer be an ordinary and stinted form, why not others?

Answ. Because there be no other Lords, that can stint with like authority.

Remonst. If Justin Martyr said, that the instructor of the people prayed (as they falsely term it) "according to his ability."

Answ. Ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ will be so rendered to the world's end by those that are not to learn Greek of the Remonstrant, and so Langus renders it to his face, if he could see; and this ancient father mentions no antiphonies or responsories of the people here, but the only plain acclamation of Amen.

Remonst. The instructor of the people prayed according to his ability, it is true, so do ours: and yet we have a liturgy, and so had they.

Answ. A quick come-off. The ancients used pikes and targets, and therefore guns and great ordnance, because we use both.

Remonst. Neither is this liberty of pouring out ourselves in our prayers ever the more impeached by a public form.

Answ. Yes, the time is taken up with a tedious number of liturgical tautologies, and impertinencies.

Remonst. The words of the council are full and affirmative.

Answ. Set the grave councils up upon their shelves again, and string them hard, lest their various and jangling opinions put their leaves into a flutter. I shall not intend this hot season to bid you the base through the wide and dusty champaign of the councils, but shall take counsel of that which counselled them, reason: and although I know there is an obsolete reprehension now at your tongue's end, yet I shall be bold to say, that reason is the gift of God in one man as well as in a thousand: by that which we have tasted already of their cisterns, we may find that reason was the only thing, and not any divine command that moved them to enjoin set forms of liturgy. First, lest any thing in general might be missaid in their public prayers through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith: and next, lest the Arians, and Pelagians in particular, should infect the people by their hymns, and forms of prayer. By the leave of these ancient fathers, this was no solid prevention of spreading heresy, to debar the ministers of God the use of their noblest talent, prayer in the congregation; unless they had forbid the use of sermons, and lectures too, but such as were ready made to their hands, as our homilies: or else he that was heretically disposed, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his discourse as in his prayer or hymn. As insufficiently, and to say truth, as imprudently, did they provide by their contrived liturgies,

lest any thing should be erroneously prayed through ignorance, or want of care in the ministers. For if they were careless and ignorant in their prayers, certainly they would be more careless in their preaching, and yet more careless in watching over their flock; and what prescription could reach to bound them both in these? What if reason, now illustrated by the word of God, shall be able to produce a better prevention than these councils have left us against heresy, ignorance, or want of care in the ministry, that such wisdom and diligence be used in the education of those that would be ministers, and such strict and serious examination to be undergone, ere their admission, as St. Paul to Timothy sets down at large, and then they need not carry such an unworthy suspicion over the preachers of God's word, as to tutor their unsoundness with the * Abcie of a liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a matin, and even-song drench. All this may suffice after all their laboursome scrutiny of the councils.

Remonst. Our Saviour was pleased to make use in the celebration of his last and heavenly banquet both of the fashions and words which were usual in the Jewish feasts.

Answ. What he pleased to make use of, does not justify what you please to force.

Remonst. The set forms of prayer at the Mincha.

Answ. We will not buy your rabbinical fumes; we have one that calls us to buy of him pure gold tried in the fire.

Remonst. In the Samaritan chronicle.

Answ. As little do we esteem your Samaritan trumpery, of which people Christ himself testifies, Ye worship ye know not what.

Remonst. They had their several songs.

Answ. And so have we our several psalms for several occasions, without gramercy to your liturgy.

Remonst. Those forms which we have under the names of Saint James, &c., though they have some insertions which are plainly spurious, yet the substance of them cannot be taxed for other than holy and ancient.

Answ. Setting aside the odd coinage of your phrase, which no mint-master of language would allow for sterling, that a thing should be taxed for no other than holy and ancient, let it be supposed the substance of them may savour of something holy or ancient, this is but the matter; the form, and the end of the thing, may yet render it either superstitious, fruitless, or impious, and so worthy to be rejected. The garments of a strumpet are often the same, materially, that clothe a chaste matron, and yet ignominious for her to wear; the substance of the tempter's words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing less.

Remonst. In what sense we hold the Roman a true church, is so cleared that the iron is too hot for their fingers.

Answ. Have a care it be not the iron to sear your own conscience.

Remonst. You need not doubt but that the alteration of the liturgy will be considered by wiser heads than your own.

Answ. We doubt it not, because we know your head looks to be one.

Remonst. Our liturgy symbolizeth not with popish mass, neither as mass nor as popish.

Answ. A pretty slipskin conveyance to sift mass into no mass, and popish into not popish; yet saving this passing fine sophistical boulting hutch, so long as she symbolizes in form, and pranks herself in the weeds of popish mass, it may be justly feared she provokes the jealousy of God, no otherwise than a wife affecting whorish attire kindles a disturbance in the eye of her discerning husband.

Remonst. If I find gold in the channel, shall I throw it away because it was ill laid?

Answ. You have forgot that gold hath been anathematized for the idolatrous use; and to eat the good creatures of God once offered to idols, is in St. Paul's account to have fellowship with devils, and to partake of the devil's table. And thus you throttle yourself with your own similies.

Remonst. If the devils confessed the Son of God, shall I disclaim that truth?

Answ. You sifted not so clean before, but you shuffle as foully now; as if there were the like necessity of confessing Christ, and using the liturgy: we do not disclaim that truth, because we never believed it for their testimony; but we may well reject a liturgy which had no being that we can know of, but from the corruptest times: if therefore the devil should be given never so much to prayer, I should not therefore cease from that duty, because I learned it not from him; but if he would commend to me a new Pater-noster, though never so seemingly holy, he should excuse me the form which was his; but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I be said to take it from him. It is not the goodness of matter therefore which is not, nor can be owed to the liturgy, that will bear it out, if the form, which is the essence of it, be fantastic and superstitious, the end sinister, and the imposition violent.

Remonst. Had it been composed into this frame on purpose to bring papists to our churches.

Answ. To bring them to our churches? alas, what was that? unless they had been first fitted by repentance, and right instruction. You will say, the word was there preached, which is the means of conversion; you should have given so much honour then to the word preached, as to have left it to God's working without the interloping of a liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remonst. The project had been charitable and gracious.

Answ. It was pharisaical, and vain-glorious, a greedy desire to win proselytes by conforming to them unlawfully; like the desire of Tamar, who, to raise up seed to her husband, sate in the common road drest like a courtezan, and he that came to her committed incest with her. This was that which made the old Christians paganize, while by their scandalous and base conform-

* i. e. A, b, c.

ing to heathenism they did no more, when they had done their utmost, but bring some pagans to christianize; for true Christians they neither were themselves, nor could make other such in this fashion.

Remonst. If there be found aught in liturgy that may endanger a scandal, it is under careful hands to remove it.

Answ. Such careful hands as have shewn themselves sooner bent to remove and expel the men from the scandals, than the scandals from the men, and to lose a soul rather than a syllable or a surplice.

Remonst. It is idolized they say in England, they mean at Amsterdam.

Answ. Be it idolized therefore where it will, it is only idolatrized in England.

Remonst. Multitudes of people they say distaste it; more shame for those that have so mistaught them.

Answ. More shame for those that regard not the troubling God's church with things by themselves confessed to be indifferent, since true charity is afflicted, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the christian multitude which you affirm to be so mistaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaim never so long to the contrary, that God hath now taught them to detest your liturgy and prelacy; God who hath promised to teach all his children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their souls: hence is it that a man shall commonly find more savoury knowledge in one layman, than in a dozen of cathedral prelates; as we read in our Saviour's time that the common people had a reverend esteem of him, and held him a great prophet, whilst the gowned rabbies, the incomparable and invincible doctors, were of opinion that he was a friend of Beelzebub.

Remonst. If the multitude distaste wholesome doctrine, shall we, to humour them, abandon it?

Answ. Yet again! as if there were like necessity of saving doctrine, and arbitrary, if not unlawful, or inconvenient liturgy: who would have thought a man could have thwacked together so many incongruous similitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patched missal?

Remonst. Why did not other churches conform to us? I may boldly say ours was, and is, the more noble church.

Answ. O Laodicean, how vainly and how carnally dost thou boast of nobleness and precedency! more lordly you have made our church indeed, but not more noble.

Remonst. The second quære is so weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wise men.

Answ. You are but a bad fencer, for you never make a proffer against another man's weakness; but you leave your own side always open: mark what follows.

Remonst. Brethren, can ye think that our reformers had any other intentions than all the other founders of liturgies, the least part of whose care was the help of the minister's weakness?

Answ. Do you not perceive the noose you have brought yourself into, whilst you were so brief to taunt other men with weakness? Is it clean out of your mind what you cited from among the councils; that the principal scope of those liturgy-founders was to prevent either the malice or the weakness of the ministers; their malice, of infusing heresy in their forms of prayer; their weakness, lest something might be composed by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the faith? Is it not now rather to be wondered, that such a weakness could fall from the pen of such a wise remonstrant man?

Remonst. Their main drift was the help of the people's devotion, that they knowing before the matter that should be sued for,——

Answ. A solicitous care, as if the people could be ignorant of the matter to be prayed for; seeing the heads of public prayer are either ever constant, or very frequently the same.

Remonst. And the words wherewith it should be clothed, might be the more prepared, and be so much the more intent and less distracted.

Answ. As for the words, it is more to be feared lest the same continually should make them careless or sleepy, than that variety on the same known subject should distract; variety (as both music and rhetoric teacheth us) erects and rouses an auditory, like the masterful running over many chords and divisions; whereas if men should ever be thumbing the drone of one plain song, it would be a dull opiate to the most wakeful attention.

Remonst. Tell me, is this liturgy good or evil?

Answ. It is evil; repair the acheloian horn of your dilemma how you can, against the next push.

Remonst. If it be evil, it is unlawful to be used.

Answ. We grant you, and we find you have not your salve about you.

Remonst. Were the imposition amiss, what is that to the people?

Answ. Not a little, because they bear an equal part with the priest in many places, and have their cues and verses as well as he.

Remonst. The ears and hearts of our people look for a settled liturgy.

Answ. You deceive yourself in their ears and hearts, they look for no such matter.

Remonst. The like answer serves for homilies, surely they were enjoined to all, &c.

Answ. Let it serve for them that will be ignorant, we know that Hayward their own creature writes, that for defect of preachers, homilies were appointed to be read in churches, while Edward VI. reigned.

Remonst. Away then with the book, whilst it may be supplied with a more profitable nonsense.

Answ. Away with it rather, because it will be hardly supplied with a more unprofitable nonsense, than is in some passages of it to be seen.

SECT. III.

Remonst. Thus their cavils concerning liturgy are vanished.

Answ. You wanted but hey pass, to have made your transition like a mystical man of Sturbridge. But for all your sleight of hand, our just exceptions against liturgy are not vanished, they stare you still in the face.

Remonst. Certainly had I done so, I had been no less worthy to be spitten upon for my saucy uncharitableness, than they are now for their uncharitable falsehood.

Answ. We see you are in a choler, therefore till you cool awhile we turn us to the ingenuous reader. See how this Remonstrant would invest himself conditionally with all the rheum of the town, that he might have sufficient to bespaul his brethren. They are accused by him of uncharitable falsehood, whereas their only crime hath been, that they have too credulously thought him, if not an over-logical, yet a well-meaning man; but now we find him either grossly deficient in his principles of logic, or else purposely bent to delude the parliament with equivocal sophistry, scattering among his periods ambiguous words, whose interpretation he will afterwards dispense according to his pleasure, laying before us universal propositions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation: for say, Remonstrant,

Remonst. Episcopal government is cried down abroad by either weak or factious persons.

Answ. Choose you whether you will have this proposition proved to you to be ridiculous or sophistical; for one of the two it must be. Step again to bishop Downam your patron, and let him gently catechise you in the grounds of logic; he will shew you that this axiom, "episcopal government is cried down abroad by either weak or factious persons," is as much as to say, they that cry down episcopacy abroad, are either weak or factious persons. He will tell you that this axiom contains a distribution, and that all such axioms are general; and lastly, that the distribution in which any part is wanting, or abundant, is faulty, and fallacious.* If therefore distributing by the adjuncts of faction and weakness, the persons that decry episcopacy, and you made your distribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of fraud intended toward the honourable court to whom you wrote. If you had rather vindicate your honesty, and suffer in your want of art, you cannot condemn them of uncharitable falsehood, that attributed to you more skill than you had, thinking you had been able to have made a distribution, as it ought to be, general and full; and so any man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large word, (abroad,) and so take again either your manifest leasing, or manifest ignorance.

Remonst. Now come these brotherly slanderers.

Answ. Go on, dissembling Joab, as still your use is, call brother and smite; call brother and smite, till it be said of you, as the like was of Herod, a man had better be your hog than your brother.

Remonst. Which never came within the verge of my thoughts.

Answ. Take a metaphor or two more as good, the precinct, or the diocese of your thoughts.

Remonst. Brethren, if you have any remainders of modesty or truth, cry God mercy.

Answ. Remonstrant, if you have no groundwork of logic, or plain dealing in you, learn both as fast as you can.

Remonst. Of the same strain is their witty descant of my confoundedness.

Answ. Speak no more of it, it was a fatal word that God put into your mouth when you began to speak for episcopacy, as boding confusion to it.

Remonst. I am still, and shall ever be thus self-confounded, as confidently to say, that he is no peaceable and right-affected son of the church of England, that doth not wish well to liturgy and episcopacy.

Answ. If this be not that saucy uncharitableness, with which, in the foregoing page, you voluntarily invested yourself, with thought to have shifted it off, let the parliament judge, who now themselves are deliberating whether liturgy and episcopacy be to be well wished to, or no.

Remonst. This they say they cannot but rank amongst my notorious—speak out, masters; I would not have that word stick in your teeth or in your throat.

Answ. Take your spectacles, sir, it sticks in the paper, and was a pectoral roule we prepared for you to swallow down to your heart.

Remonst. Wanton wits must have leave to play with their own stern.

Answ. A meditation of yours doubtless observed at Lambeth from one of the archiepiscopal kittens.

Remonst. As for that form of episcopal government, surely could those look with my eyes, they would see cause to be ashamed of this their injurious misconceit.

Answ. We must call the barber for this wise sentence; one Mr. Ley the other day wrote a treatise of the sabbath, and his preface puts the wisdom of Balaam's ass upon one of our bishops, bold man for his labour; but we shall have more respect to our Remonstrant, and liken him to the ass's master, though the story say he was not so quick-sighted as his beast. Is not this Balaam the son of Beor, the man whose eyes are open, that said to the parliament, Surely, could those look with my eyes? Boast not of your eyes, it is feared you have Balaam's disease, a pearl in your eye, Mammon's prestriction.

Remonst. Alas, we could tell you of China, Japan, Peru, Brazil, New England, Virginia, and a thousand others, that never had any bishops to this day.

Answ. O do not foil your cause thus, and trouble Ortelius; we can help you, and tell you where they have been ever since Constantine's time at least, in a place called Mundus alter et idem, in the spacious and rich countries of Crapulia, Pamphagonia, Yuronia, and in the dukedom of Orgilia, and Variana, and their metro-

polis of Ucalegonium. It was an oversight that none of your prime antiquaries could think of these venerable monuments to deduce episcopacy by; knowing that Mercurius Britannicus had them forthcoming.

SECT. IV.

REMONST. Hitherto they have flourished, now I hope they will strike.

Answ. His former transition was in the fair about the jugglers, now he is at the pageants among the whifflers.

Remonst. As if arguments were almanacks.

Answ. You will find some such as will prognosticate your date, and tell you that, after your long summer solstice, the Equator calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient and equal house of Libra.

Remonst. Truly, brethren, you have not well taken the height of the pole.

Answ. No marvel, there be many more that do not take well the height of your pole; but will take better the declination of your altitude.

Remonst. He that said I am the way, said that the old way was the good way.

Answ. He bids ask of the old paths, or for the old ways, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old ways are not good, but that the good way is to be searched with diligence among the old ways, which is a thing that we do in the oldest records we have, the gospel. And if others may chance to spend more time with you in canvassing later antiquity, I suppose it is not for that they ground themselves thereon; but that they endeavour by shewing the corruptions, incertainties, and disagreements of those volumes, and the easiness of erring, or overslipping in such a boundless and vast search, if they may not convince those that are so strongly persuaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous minds from an overawful esteem of those more ancient than trusty fathers, whom custom and fond opinion, weak principles, and the neglect of sounder and superiour knowledge hath exalted so high as to have gained them a blind reverence; whose books in bigness and number so endless and immeasurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine or human wisdom, did ever mean should be a rule or reliance to us in the decision of any weighty and positive doctrine: for certainly every rule and instrument of necessary knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be so in proportion, as may be wielded and managed by the life of man, without penning him up from the duties of human society; and such a rule and instrument of knowledge perfectly is the holy Bible. But he that shall bind himself to make antiquity his rule, if he read but part, besides the difficulty of choice, his rule is deficient, and utterly unsatisfying; for there may be other writers of another mind, which he hath not seen; and if he undertake all, the length of man's life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in antiquity. Why do we therefore stand worshipping and admiring this unactive and lifeless Colossus, that, like a carved giant terribly menacing to children and weaklings, lifts up his club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting of every sparrow? If you let him rest upon his basis, he may perhaps delight the eyes of some with his huge and mountainous bulk, and the quaint workmanship of his massy limbs; but if ye go about to take him in pieces, ye mar him; and if you think, like pigmies, to turn and wind him whole as he is, besides your vain toil and sweat, he may chance to fall upon your own heads. Go, therefore, and use all your art, apply your sledges, your levers, and your iron crows, to heave and hale your mighty Polypheme of antiquity to the delusion of novices and unexperienced Christians. We shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God, which he hath left us as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted and proportioned to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithful man, whose every part consenting, and making up the harmonious symmetry of complete instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God, or bishop thoroughly furnished to all the good works of his charge: and with this weapon, without stepping a foot further, we shall not doubt to batter and throw down your Nebuchadnezzar's image, and crumble it like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, as well the gold of those apostolic successors that you boast of, as your Constantinian silver, together with the iron, the brass, and the clay of those muddy and strawy ages that follow.

Remonst. Let the boldest forehead of them all deny that episcopacy hath continued thus long in our island, or that any till this age contradicted it.

Answ. That bold forehead you have cleanly put upon yourself, it is you who deny that any till this age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do so much: you have rowed yourself fairly between the Scylla and Charybdis, either of impudence or nonsense, and now betake you to whither you please.

Remonst. As for that supply of accessory strength, which I not beg.

Answ. Your whole remonstrance does nothing else but beg it, and your fellow-prelates do as good as whine to the parliament for their fleshpots of Egypt, making sad orations at the funeral of your dear prelacy, like that doughty centurion Afranius in Lucian; who, to imitate the noble Pericles in his epitaphian speech, stepping up after the battle to bewail the slain Severianus, falls into a pitiful condolement, to think of those costly suppers and drinking banquets, which he must now taste of no more; and by then he had done, lacked but little to lament the dear-loved memory and calamitous loss of his capon and white broth.

Remonst. But raise and evince from the light of nature, and the rules of just policy, for the continuance of those things which long use and many laws have firmly established as necessary and beneficial.

Answ. Open your eyes to the light of grace, a better

guide than nature. Look upon the mean condition of Christ and his apostles, without that accessory strength you take such pains to raise from the light of nature and policy: take divine counsel, "Labour not for the things that perish:" you would be the salt of the earth; if that savour be not found in you, do not think much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under-foot. Hark how St. Paul, writing to Timothy, informs a true bishop; "Bishops (saith he) must not be greedy of filthy lucre; and having food and raiment, let us be therewith content: but they (saith he, meaning, more especially in that place, bishops) that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition: for the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith." How can we therefore expect sound doctrine, and the solution of this our controversy from any covetous and honour-hunting bishop, that shall plead so stiffly for these things, while St. Paul thus exhorts every bishop; "But thou, O man of God, flee these things?" As for the just policy, that long use and custom, and those many laws which you say have conferred these benefits upon you; it hath been nothing else but the superstitious devotion of princes and great men that knew no better, or the base importunity of begging friars, haunting and harassing the deathbeds of men departing this life, in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit heaven for the building of churches, cloisters, and convents. The most of your vaunted possessions, and those proud endowments that ye as sinfully waste, what are they but the black revenues of purgatory, the price of abused and murdered souls, the damned simony of Trentals, and indulgences to mortal sin? How can ye choose but inherit the curse that goes along with such a patrimony? Alas! if there be any releasement, any mitigation, or more tolerable being for the souls of our misguided ancestors; could we imagine there might be any recovery to some degree of ease left for as many of them as are lost, there cannot be a better way than to take the misbestowed wealth which they were cheated of, from these our prelates, who are the true successors of those that popped them into the other world with this conceit of meriting by their goods, which was their final undoing; and to bestow their beneficent gifts upon places and means of christian education, and the faithful labourers in God's harvest, that may incessantly warn the posterity of Dives, lest they come where their miserable forefather was sent by the cozenage and misleading of avaricious and worldly prelates.

Remonst. It will stand long enough against the battery of their paper pellets.

Answ. That must be tried without a square cap in the council; and if pellets will not do, your own canons shall be turned against you.

Remonst. They cannot name any man in this nation, that ever contradicted episcopacy, till this present age.

Answ. What an overworn and bedridden argument is this! the last refuge ever of old falsehood, and therefore a good sign, I trust, that your castle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of judaism and idolatry against Christ and his apostles, of papacy against reformation; and perhaps to the frailty of flesh and blood in a man destitute of better enlightening may for some while be pardonable: for what has fleshly apprehension other to subsist by than succession, custom, and visibility; which only hold, if in his weakness and blindness he be loth to lose, who can blame? But in a protestant nation, that should have thrown off these tattered rudiments long ago, after the many strivings of God's Spirit, and our fourscore years' vexation of him in this our wilderness since reformation began, to urge these rotten principles, and twit us with the present age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifestly come down among us, to do some remarkable good to our church or state; is, as if a man should tax the renovating and reingendering Spirit of God with innovation, and that new creature for an upstart novelty; yea, the new Jerusalem, which, without your admired link of succession, descends from heaven, could not escape some such like censure. If you require a further answer, it will not misbecome a Christian to be either more magnanimous or more devout than Scipio was; who, instead of other answer to the frivolous accusations of Petilius the tribune, "This day, Romans, (saith he,) I fought with Hannibal prosperously; let us all go and thank the gods, that gave us so great a victory:" in like manner will we now say, not caring otherwise to answer this unprotestantlike objection; In this age, Britons, God hath reformed his church after many hundred years of popish corruption; in this age he hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of prelates and papal discipline; in this age he hath renewed our protestation against all those yet remaining dregs of superstition. Let us all go, every true protested Briton, throughout the three kingdoms, and render thanks to God the Father of light, and Fountain of heavenly grace, and to his Son Christ our Lord, leaving this Remonstrant and his adherents to their own designs; and let us recount even here without delay, the patience and long-suffering that God hath used towards our blindness and hardness time after time. For he being equally near to his whole creation of mankind, and of free power to turn his beneficent and fatherly regard to what region or kingdom he pleases, hath yet ever had this island under the special indulgent eye of his providence; and pitying us the first of all other nations, after he had decreed to purify and renew his church that lay wallowing in idolatrous pollutions, sent first to us a healing messenger to touch softly our sores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds: he knocked once and twice, and came again, opening our drowsy eyelids leisurely by that glimmering light, which Wickliff and his followers dispersed; and still taking off by degrees the inveterate scales from our nigh perished sight, purged also our deaf ears, and prepared them to attend his second warning trumpet in our grandsires' days. How else could they have been able to have received the sudden assault of his reforming Spirit, warring against human principles, and carnal sense, the pride of flesh, that still cried up

antiquity, custom, canons, councils, and laws; and cried down the truth for novelty, schism, profaneness, and sacrilege? whenas we that have lived so long in abundant light, besides the sunny reflection of all the neighbouring churches, have yet our hearts rivetted with those old opinions, and so obstructed and benumbed with the same fleshly reasonings, which in our forefathers soon melted and gave way, against the morning beam of reformation. If God had left undone this whole work, so contrary to flesh and blood, till these times; how should we have yielded to his heavenly call, had we been taken, as they were, in the starkness of our ignorance; that yet, after all these spiritual preparatives and purgations, have our earthly apprehensions so clammed and furred with the old leaven? O if we freeze at noon after their early thaw, let us fear lest the sun for ever hide himself, and turn his orient steps from our ingrateful horizon, justly condemned to be eternally benighted. Which dreadful judgment, O thou the ever-begotten Light and perfect image of the Father! intercede, may never come upon us, as we trust thou hast; for thou hast opened our difficult and sad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppressions: thou hast done justice upon those that tyrannized over us, while some men wavered and admired a vain shadow of wisdom in a tongue nothing slow to utter guile, though thou hast taught us to admire only that which is good, and to count that only praiseworthy, which is grounded upon thy divine precepts. Thou hast discovered the plots, and frustrated the hopes, of all the wicked in the land, and put to shame the persecutors of thy church: thou hast made our false prophets to be found a lie in the sight of all the people, and chased them with sudden confusion and amazement before the redoubled brightness of thy descending cloud, that now covers thy tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walk through the midst of thy sanctuary, amidst those golden candlesticks, which have long suffered a dimness amongst us through the violence of those that had seized them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold than of their starry light; teaching the doctrine of Balaam, to cast a stumbling-block before thy servants, commanding them to eat things sacrificed to idols, and forcing them to fornication? Come, therefore, O thou that hast the seven stars in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen priests according to their orders and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duly to press and pour out the consecrated oil into thy holy and ever-burning lamps. Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the land to this effect, and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy throne. Every one can say, that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and hast not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the heavens, and hadst left to do marvellously among the sons of these last ages. O perfect and accomplish thy glorious acts! for men may leave their works unfinished, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection: shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from Egypt to destroy us in this wilderness, though we deserve; yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants. When thou hast settled peace in the church, and righteous judgment in the kingdom, then shall all thy saints address their voices of joy and triumph to thee, standing on the shore of that Red sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain ungarnished present as a thank-offering to thee, which could not be deferred in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a harp, and sing thee an elaborate song to generations. In that day it shall no more be said as in scorn, this or that was never held so till this present age, when men have better learnt that the times and seasons pass along under thy feet to go and come at thy bidding: and as thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages, since thou tookest the flesh; so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit as thou pleasest: for who shall prejudice thy all-governing will? seeing the power of thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth! put on the visible robes of thy imperial majesty, take up that unlimited sceptre which thy almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed.

SECT. V.

REMONST. Neglect not the gift which was given thee by prophecy, and by laying on the hands of presbytery.

Answ. The English translation expresses the article, (the,) and renders it the presbytery, which you do injury to omit.

Remonst. Which I wonder ye can so press, when Calvin himself takes it of the office, and not of the men.

Answ. You think then you are fairly quit of this proof, because Calvin interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with Calvin's name, unless we be convinced with Calvin's reason! the word πρεσβυτέριον is a collective noun, signifying a certain number of men in one order, as the word privy-council with us; and so Beza interprets, that knew Calvin's mind doubtless, with whom he lived. If any amongst us should say the privy-council ordained it, and thereby constrain us to understand one man's authority, should we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have used all your cramping-irons to the text, and done your utmost to cram a presbytery into the skin of one person, it will be but a piece of frugal nonsense. But if your meaning be with a violent hyperbaton to transpose the text, as if the words lay thus in order, "neglect not the gift of presbytery:" this were a construction like a harque-

buss shot over a file of words twelve deep, without authority to bid them stoop; or to make the word gift, like the river Mole in Surry, to run under the bottom of a long line, and so start up to govern the word presbytery, as in immediate syntaxis; a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wife's tale of a certain queen of England that sunk at Charing-cross, and rose up at Queenhithe. No marvel though the prelates be a troublesome generation, and, which way soever they turn them, put all things into a foul discomposure, when to maintain their domineering, they seek thus to rout and disarray the wise and well-couched order of Saint Paul's own words, using either a certain textual riot to chop off the hands of the word presbytery, or else a like kind of simony to clap the word gift between them. Besides, if the verse must be read according to this transposition, μὴ ἀμέλει τῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τῦ πρεσβυτερίυ, it would be improper to call ordination χάρισμα, whenas it is rather only χείριασμα, an outward testimony of approbation; unless they will make it a sacrament, as the papists do: but surely the prelates would have Saint Paul's words ramp one over another, as they use to climb into their livings and bishoprics.

Remonst. Neither need we give any other satisfaction to the point, than from Saint Paul himself, 2 Timothy i. 6, "Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands;" mine, and not others.

Answ. Ye are too quick; this last place is to be understood by the former; as the law of method, which bears chief sway in the art of teaching, requires, that clearest and plainest expressions be set foremost, to the end they may enlighten any following obscurity; and wherefore we should not attribute a right method to the teachableness of Scripture, there can be no reason given: to which method, if we shall now go contrary, besides the breaking of a logical rule, which the Remonstrant hitherto we see hath made little account of, we shall also put a manifest violence and impropriety upon a known word against his common signification, in binding a collective to a singular person. But if we shall, as logic (or indeed reason) instructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and understand "by the imposition of my hands," that is, of mine chiefly as an apostle, with the joint authority and assistance of the presbytery, there is nothing more ordinary or kindly in speech, than such a phrase as expresses only the chief in any action, and understands the rest. So that the imposition of Saint Paul's hands, without more expression in this place, cannot exclude the joint act of the presbytery affirmed by the former text.

Remonst. In the mean while see, brethren, how you have with Simon fished all night, and caught nothing.

Answ. If we fishing with Simon the apostle can catch nothing, see what you can catch with Simon Magus; for all his hooks and fishing implements he bequeathed among you.

SECT. XIII.

Remonst. We do again profess, that if our bishops challenge any other power than was delegated to and required of Timothy and Titus, we shall yield them usurpers.

Answ. Ye cannot compare an ordinary bishop with Timothy, who was an extraordinary man, foretold and promised to the church by many prophecies, and his name joined as collateral with Saint Paul, in most of his apostolic epistles, even where he writes to the bishops of other churches, as those in Philippi. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that Timothy was bishop of any particular place; for that wherein it is said in the third verse of the first epistle, "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus," will be such a gloss to prove the constitution of a bishop by, as would not only be not so good as a Bourdeaux gloss, but scarce be received to varnish a vizard of Modona. All that can be gathered out of holy writ concerning Timothy is, that he was either an apostle, or an apostle's extraordinary vice-gerent, not confined to the charge of any place. The like may be said of Titus, (as those words import in the 5th verse,) that he was for that cause left in Crete, that he might supply or proceed to set in order that which St. Paul in apostolic manner had begun, for which he had his particular commission, as those words sound "as I had appointed thee." So that what he did in Crete, cannot so much be thought the exercise of an ordinary function, as the direction of an inspired mouth. No less may be gathered from the 2 Cor. viii. 23.

Remonst. You descend to the angels of the seven Asian churches; your shift is, that the word angel is here taken collectively, not individually.

Answ. That the word is collective, appears plainly, Revel. ii.

First, Because the text itself expounds it so; for having spoken all the while as to the angel, the seventh verse concludes, that this was spoken to the churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the same tenor all the way, for we see not where he particularizes; then certainly he must begin collectively, else the construction can be neither grammatical nor logical.

Secondly, If the word angel be individual, then are the faults attributed to him individual: but they are such as for which God threatens to remove the candlestick out of its place, which is as much as to take away from that church the light of his truth; and we cannot think he will do so for one bishop's fault. Therefore those faults must be understood collective, and by consequence the subject of them collective.

Thirdly, An individual cannot branch itself into subindividuals; but this word angel doth in the tenth verse. "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison." And the like from other places of this and the following chapter may be observed. Therefore it is no individual word, but a collective.

Fourthly, In the 24th verse this word Angel is made capable of a pronoun plural, which could not be, unless it were a collective. As for the supposed manuscript of Tecla, and two or three other copies that have expunged the copulative, we cannot prefer them before the more received reading, and we hope you will not, against the translation of your mother the church of England, that passed the revise of your chiefest prelates. besides this, you will lay an unjust censure upon the much-praised bishop of Thyatira, and reckon him among those that had the doctrine of Jezebel, when the text says, he only suffered her. Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable conjunction, as we know your so much called for charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the bishop, if you comprehend him in the name of angel, otherwise you leave his case very doubtful.

Remonst. "Thou sufferest thy wife Jezebel:" was she wife to the whole company, or to one bishop alone?

Answ. Not to the whole company doubtless, for that had been worse than to have been the Levite's wife in Gibeah: but here among all those that constantly read it otherwise, whom you trample upon, your good mother of England is down again in the throng, who with the rest reads it, 'that woman Jezebel:' but suppose it were wife, a man might as well interpret that word figuratively, as her name Jezebel no man doubts to be a borrowed name.

Remonst. Yet what makes this for a diocesan bishop? Much every way.

Answ. No more than a special endorsement could make to puff up the foreman of a jury. If we deny you more precedence, than as the senior of any society, or deny you this priority to be longer than annual; prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you think to do from the title of eminence, Angel: alas, your wings are too short. It is not ordination nor jurisdiction that is angelical, but the heavenly message of the gospel, which is the office of all ministers alike; in which sense John the Baptist is called an Angel, which in Greek signifies a messenger, as oft as it is meant by a man, and might be so rendered here without treason to the hierarchy; but that the whole book soars to a prophetic pitch in types and allegories. Seeing then the reason of this borrowed name is merely to signify the preaching of the gospel, and that this preaching equally appertains to the whole ministry; hence may be drawn a fifth argument, that if the reason of this borrowed name Angel be equally collective and communicative to the whole preaching ministry of the place, then must the name be collectively and communicatively taken; but the reason, that is to say, the office, of preaching and watching over the flock, is equally collective and communicative: therefore the borrowed name itself is to be understood as equally collective and communicative to the whole preaching ministry of the place. And if you will contend still for a superiority in one person, you must ground it better than from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the axehead that fell into the water, and say, "Alas, master, for it was borrowed;" unless you have, as good a faculty to make iron swim, as you had to make light froth sink.

Remonst. What is, if this be not, ordination and jurisdiction?

Answ. Indeed in the constitution and founding of a church, that some men inspired from God should have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order, and dispose, must needs be. So Moses, though himself no priest, sanctified and ordained Aaron and his sons; but when all needful things be set, and regulated by the writings of the apostles, whether it be not a mere folly to keep up a superior degree in the church only for ordination and jurisdiction, it will be no hurt to debate awhile. The apostles were the builders, and, as it were, the architects of the christian church; wherein consisted their excellence above ordinary ministers? A prelate would say in commanding, in controlling, in appointing, in calling to them, and sending from about them, to all countries, their bishops and archbishops as their deputies, with a kind of legantine power. No, no, vain prelates, this was but as the scaffolding of a new edifice, which for the time must board and overlook the highest battlements; but if the structure once finished, any passenger should fall in love with them, and pray that they might still stand, as being a singular grace and strengthening to the house, who would otherwise think, but that the man was presently to be laid hold on, and sent to his friends and kindred? The eminence of the apostles consisted in their powerful preaching, their unwearied labouring in the word, their unquenchable charity, which, above all earthly respects, like a working flame, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next to that love which dwells in God to save souls; which, while they did, they were contented to be the offscouring of the world, and to expose themselves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unspeakable. As for ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward sign or symbol of admission? It creates nothing, it confers nothing; it is the inward calling of God that makes a minister, and his own painful study and diligence that manures and improves his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times, many, before ever they had received ordination from the apostles, had done the church noble service, as Apollos and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge; the employment of preaching is as holy, and far more excellent; the care also and judgment to be used in the winning of souls, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy minister, is an ability above that which is required in ordination: for many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister, that would not be found fit to be made ministers themselves; as it will not be denied that he may be the competent judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limn the like. Why therefore we should constitute a superior order in the church to perform an office which is not only every minister's function, but inferior also to that which he has a confessed right to; and why this superiority should remain thus

usurped, some wise Epimenides tell us. Now for jurisdiction, this dear saint of the prelates, it will be best to consider, first, what it is: that sovereign Lord, who in the discharge of his holy anointment from God the Father, which made him supreme bishop of our souls, was so humble as to say, "Who made me a judge, or a divider over ye?" hath taught us that a churchman's jurisdiction is no more but to watch over his flock in season, and out of season, to deal by sweet and efficacious instructions, gentle admonitions, and sometimes rounder reproofs: against negligence or obstinacy, will be required a rousing volley of pastorly threatenings; against a persisting stubbornness, or the fear of a reprobate sense, a timely separation from the flock by that interdictive sentence, lest his conversation unprohibited, or unbranded, might breathe a pestilential murrain into the other sheep. In sum, his jurisdiction is to see the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted: what other work the prelates have found for chancellors and suffragans, delegates and officials, with all the hell-pestering rabble of sumners and apparitors, is but an invasion upon the temporal magistrate, and affected by them as men that are not ashamed of the ensign and banner of antichrist. But true evangelical jurisdiction or discipline is no more, as was said, than for a minister to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthiest work of these two, to plant as every minister's office is equally with the bishops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiscerning prelates call jurisdiction, and would appropriate to themselves as a business of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and hear a law case. A certain man of large possessions had a fair garden, and kept therein an honest and laborious servant, whose skill and profession was to set or sow all wholesome herbs, and delightful flowers, according to every season, and whatever else was to be done in a well-husbanded nursery of plants and fruits. Now, when the time was come that he should cut his hedges, prune his trees, look to his tender slips, and pluck up the weeds that hindered their growth, he gets him up by break of day, and makes account to do what was needful in his garden; and who would think that any other should know better than he how the day's work was to be spent? Yet for all this there comes another strange gardener that never knew the soil, never handled a dibble or spade to set the least potherb that grew there, much less had endured an hour's sweat or chilness, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every flower, the clipping of every bush, the weeding and worming of every bed, both in that and all other gardens thereabout. The honest gardener, that ever since the day-peep, till now the sun was grown somewhat rank, had wrought painfully about his banks and seedplots, at his commanding voice turns suddenly about with some wonder; and although he could have well beteemed to have thanked him of the ease he proffered, yet loving his own handywork, modestly refused him, telling him withal, that, for his part, if he had thought much of his own pains, he could for once have committed the work to one of his fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well known to be a matter of less skill and less labour to keep a garden handsome, than it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already performed himself. No, said the stranger, this is neither for you nor your fellows to meddle with, but for me only that am for this purpose in dignity far above you; and the provision which the lord of the soil allows me in this office is, and that with good reason, tenfold your wages. The gardener smiled and shook his head; but what was determined, I cannot tell you till the end of this parliament.

Remonst. If in time you shall see wooden chalices, and wooden priests, thank yourselves.

Answ. It had been happy for this land, if your priests had been but only wooden; all England knows they have been to this island not wood, but wormwood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that apostate star in the Revelation, that many souls have died of their bitterness; and if you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there was no want of that sort among you; and their number increasing daily, as their laziness, their tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monastical schoolmen daily increased. What, should I tell you how the universities, that men look should be fountains of learning and knowledge, have been poisoned and choaked under your governance? And if to be wooden be to be base, where could there be found among all the reformed churches, nay in the church of Rome itself, a baser brood of flattering and time-serving priests? according as God pronounces by Isaiah, the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail. As for your young scholars, that petition for bishoprics and deaneries to encourage them in their studies, and that many gentlemen else will not put their sons to learning; away with such young mercenary striplings, and their simoniacal fathers; God has no need of such, they have no part or lot in his vineyard: they may as well sue for nunneries, that they may have some convenient stowage for their withered daughters, because they cannot give them portions answerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in. This is the root of all our mischief, that which they allege for the encouragement of their studies should be cut away forewith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that draws together all the fowls of prey and ravin in the land to come and gorge upon the church. How can it be but ever unhappy to the church of England, while she shall think to entice men to the pure service of God by the same means that were used to tempt our Saviour to the service of the devil, by laying before him honour and preferment? Fit professors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that godliness with content is great gain, whenas their godliness of teaching had not been but for worldly gain. The heathen philosophers thought that virtue was for its own sake inestimable, and the greatest gain of a teacher to make a soul virtuous; so Xenophon writes to Socrates, who never bargained with any for teaching them; he feared not lest those who had received so high a benefit from him, would

not of their own free will return him all possible thanks. Was moral virtue so lovely, and so alluring, and heathen men so enamoured of her, as to teach and study her with greatest neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement? And is Christian piety so homely and so unpleasant, and Christian men so cloyed with her, as that none will study and teach her, but for lucre and preferment? O stale-grown piety! O gospel rated as cheap as thy Master, at thirty pence, and not worth the study, unless thou canst buy those that will sell thee! O race of Capernaïtans, senseless of divine doctrine, and capable only of loaves and belly-cheer! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would fain ask these men at whose hands they seek inferiour things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houses? No doubt but they will soon answer, that all these things they seek at God's hands. Do they think then that all these meaner and superfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of learning from the den of Plutus, or the cave of Mammon? Certainly never any clear spirit nursed up from brighter influences, with a soul enlarged to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledge, ever entered there but with scorn, and thought it ever foul disdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his studies; it being the greatest honour, the greatest fruit and proficiency of learned studies to despise these things. Not liberal science, but illiberal must that needs be, that mounts in contemplation merely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling clergy, though never so learned? For such can have neither true wisdom nor grace; and then in vain do men trust in learning, where these be wanting. If in less noble and almost mechanic arts, according to the definitions of those authors, he is not esteemed to deserve the name of a complete architect, an excellent painter, or the like, that bears not a generous mind above the peasantly regard of wages and hire; much more must we think him a most imperfect and incomplete divine, who is so far from being a contemner of filthy lucre, that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly and brutish hopes of a fat prebendary, deanery, or bishopric; which poor and low-pitched desires, if they do but mix with those other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this study, it is justly expected that they should bring forth a baseborn issue of divinity, like that of those imperfect and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two most unlike procreants, the sun and mud. And in matters of religion, there is not any thing more intolerable than a learned fool, or a learned hypocrite; the one is ever cooped up at his empty speculations, a sot, an ideot for any use that mankind can make of him, or else sowing the world with nice and idle questions, and with much toil and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep shallows that wet not the instep: a plain unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better and wiser, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life than he. The other is still using his sophisticated arts, and bending all his studies how to make his insatiate avarice and ambition seem pious and orthodoxal, by painting his lewd and deceitful principles with a smooth and glossy varnish in a doctrinal way, to bring about his wickedest purposes. Instead of the great harm therefore that these men fear upon the dissolving of prelates, what an ease and happiness will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningest and most dangerous mercenaries will cease of themselves to frequent the fold, whom otherwise scarce all the prayers of the faithful could have kept back from devouring the flock! But a true pastor of Christ's sending hath this especial mark, that for greatest labours and greatest merits in the church, he requires either nothing, if he could so subsist, or a very common and reasonable supply of human necessaries: we cannot therefore do better than to leave this care of ours to God, he can easily send labourers into his harvest, that shall not cry, Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beseeming allowance; nor will he suffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace and our obedience to him abounds: for if he give us to know him aright, and to practise this our knowledge in right established discipline, how much more will he replenish us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory and our good! He can stir up rich fathers to bestow exquisite education upon their children, and so dedicate them to the service of the gospel; he can make the sons of nobles his ministers, and princes to be his Nazarites; for certainly there is no employment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great spirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, than to be the messenger and herald of heavenly truth from God to man, and, by the faithful work of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithful men, making a kind of creation like to God's, by infusing his spirit and likeness into them, to their salvation, as God did into him; arising to what climate soever he turn him, like that Sun of righteousness that sent him, with healing in his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raising out of darksome barrenness a delicious and fragrant spring of saving knowledge, and good works. Can a man, thus employed, find himself discontented, or dishonoured for want of admittance to have a pragmatical voice at sessions and jail deliveries? Or because he may not as a judge sit out the wrangling noise of litigious courts to shrive the purses of unconfessing and unmortified sinners, and not their souls, or be discouraged though men call him not lord, whenas the due performance of his office would gain him, even from lords and princes, the voluntary title of father? Would he tug for a barony to sit and vote in parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wisdom and sound doctrine, which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher and persuader of the parliament? And in all wise apprehensions the persuasive power in man to win others to goodness by instruction is greater, and more divine, than the compulsive power to restrain men from being evil by terrour of the law; and therefore Christ left Moses to be the lawgiver, but himself came down amongst us to be a teacher, with

which office his heavenly wisdom was so well pleased, as that he was angry with those that would have put a piece of temporal judicature into his hands, disclaiming that he had any commission from above for such matters.

Such a high calling therefore as this, sends not for those drossy spirits that need the lure and whistle of earthly preferment, like those animals that fetch and carry for a morsel; no. She can find such as therefore study her precepts, because she teaches to despise preferment. And let not those wretched fathers think they shall impoverish the church of willing and able supply, though they keep back their sordid sperm, begotten in the lustiness of their avarice, and turn them to their malting kilns; rather let them take heed what lessons they instil into that lump of flesh which they are the cause of; lest, thinking to offer him as a present to God, they dish him out for the devil. Let the novice learn first to renounce the world, and so give himself to God, and not therefore give himself to God, that he may close the better with the world, like that false shepherd Palinode in the eclogue of May, under whom the poet lively personates our prelates, whose whole life is a recantation of their pastoral vow, and whose profession to forsake the world, as they use the matter, bogs them deeper into the world. Those our admired Spenser inveighs against, not without some presage of these reforming times:

> The time was once and may again return,
> (For oft may happen that hath been beforn,)
> When shepherds had none inheritance,
> Ne of land nor fee in sufferance,
> But what might arise of the bare sheep,
> (Were it more or less,) which they did keep
> Well ywis was it with shepherds tho,
> Nought having, nought feared they to forego.
> For Pan himself was their inheritance,
> And little them served for their maintenance:
> The shepherds God so well them guided,
> That of nought they were unprovided.
> Butter enough, honey, milk and whey,
> And their flock fleeces them to array.
> But tract of time, and long prosperity
> (That nurse of vice, this of insolency)
> Lulled the shepherds in such security,
> That not content with loyal obeysance,
> Some gan to gape for greedy governance,
> And match themselves with mighty potentates,
> Lovers of lordships, and troublers of states.
> Tho gan shepherds swains to looke aloft,
> And leave to live hard, and learne to lig soft.
> Tho under colour of shepherds some while
> There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile,
> That often devoured their own sheep,
> And often the shepherd that did them keep.
> This was the first source of shepherds sorrow,
> That now nill be quit with bale, nor borrow.

By all this we may conjecture, how little we need fear that the ungilding of our prelates will prove the woodening of our priests. In the mean while let no man carry in his head either such narrow or such evil eyes, as not to look upon the churches of Belgia and Helvetia, and that envied city Geneva: where in the christian world doth learning more flourish than in these places? Not among your beloved Jesuits, nor their favourers, though you take all the prelates into the number, and instance in what kind of learning you please. And how in England all noble sciences attending upon the train of christian doctrine may flourish more than ever; and how the able professors of every art may with ample stipends be honestly provided; and finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the prelates; the courses are so many and so easy, that I shall pass them over.

Remonst. It is God that makes the bishop, the king that gives the bishopric; what can you say to this?

Answ. What you shall not long stay for: we say it is God that makes a bishop, and the devil that makes him take a prelatical bishopric; as for the king's gift, regal bounty may be excusable in giving, where the bishop's covetousness is damnable in taking.

Remonst. Many eminent divines of the churches abroad have earnestly wished themselves in our condition.

Answ. I cannot blame them, they were not only eminent but supereminent divines, and for stomach much like to Pompey the Great, that could endure no equal.

Remonst. The Babylonian note sounds well in your ears, "Down with it, down with it, even to the ground."

Answ. You mistake the matter, it was the Edomitish note; but change it, and if you be an angel, cry with the angel, "It is fallen, it is fallen."

Remonst. But the God of heaven will, we hope, vindicate his own ordinance so long perpetuated to his church.

Answ. Go rather to your god of this world, and see if he can vindicate your lordships, your temporal and spiritual tyrannies, and all your pelf; for the God of heaven is already come down to vindicate his ordinance from your so long perpetuated usurpation.

Remonst. If yet you can blush.

Answ. This is a more Edomitish conceit than the former, and must be silenced with a counter quip of the same country. So often and so unsavourily has it been repeated, that the reader may well cry, Down with it, down with it, for shame. A man would think you had eaten over-liberally of Esau's red porridge, and from thence dream continually of blushing; or perhaps, to heighten your fancy in writing, are wont to sit in your doctor's scarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red suffusion, begets a continual thought of blushing; that you thus persecute ingenuous men over all your book, with this one over-tired rubrical conceit still of blushing: but if you have no mercy upon them, yet spare yourself, lest you bejade the good galloway, your own opiniatre wit, and make the very conceit itself blush with spurgalling.

Remonst. The scandals of our inferiour ministers I desired to have had less public.

Answ. And what your superiour archbishop or bishops! O forbid to have it told in Gath! say you. O dauber! and therefore remove not impieties from Israel. Constantine might have done more justly to have pu-

nished those clergical faults which he could not conceal, than to leave them unpunished, that they might remain concealed: better had it been for him, that the heathen had heard the fame of his justice, than of his wilful connivance and partiality; and so the name of God and his truth had been less blasphemed among his enemies, and the clergy amended, which daily, by this impunity, grew worse and worse. But, O to publish in the streets of Ascalon! sure some colony of puritans have taken Ascalon from the Turk lately, that the Remonstrant is so afraid of Ascalon. The papists we know condole you, and neither Constantinople nor your neighbours of Morocco trouble you. What other Ascalon can you allude to?

Remonst. What a death it is to think of the sport and advantage these watchful enemies, these opposite spectators, will be sure to make of our sin and shame!

Answ. This is but to fling and struggle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to environ you round.

Remonst. No one clergy in the whole christian world yields so many eminent scholars, learned preachers, grave, holy, and accomplished divines, as this church of England doth at this day.

Answ. Ha, ha, ha!

Remonst. And long, and ever may it thus flourish.

Answ. O pestilent imprecation! flourish as it does at this day in the prelates?

Remonst. But O forbid to have it told in Gath!

Answ. Forbid him rather, sacred parliament, to violate the sense of Scripture, and turn that which is spoken of the afflictions of the church under her pagan enemies, to a pargetted concealment of those prelatical crying sins: for from these is prophaneness gone forth into all the land; they have hid their eyes from the sabbaths of the Lord; they have fed themselves, and not their flocks; with force and cruelty have they ruled over God's people: they have fed his sheep (contrary to that which St. Peter writes) not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre; not as examples to the flock, but as being lords over God's heritage: and yet this dauber would daub still with his untempered mortar. But hearken what God says by the prophet Ezekiel, "Say unto them that daub this wall with untempered mortar, that it shall fall; there shall be an overflowing shower, and ye, O great hailstones, shall fall, and a stormy wind shall rend it, and I will say unto you, the wall is no more, neither they that daubed it."

Remonst. Whether of us shall give a better account of our charity to the God of peace, I appeal.

Answ. Your charity is much to your fellow-offenders, but nothing to the numberless souls that have been lost by their false feeding: use not therefore so sillily the name of charity, as most commonly you do, and the peaceful attribute of God to a preposterous end.

Remonst. In the next section, like illbred sons, you spit in the face of your mother the church of England.

Answ. What should we do or say to this Remonstrant, that by his idle and shallow reasonings, seems to have been conversant in no divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold bishoprics? we acknowledge, and believe, the catholic reformed church; and if any man be disposed to use a trope or figure, as St. Paul did in calling her the common mother of us all, let him do as his own rhetoric shall persuade him. If therefore we must needs have a mother, and if the catholic church only be, and must be she, let all genealogy tell us, if it can, what we must call the church of England, unless we shall make every English protestant a kind of poetical Bacchus, to have two mothers: but mark, readers, the crafty scope of these prelates; they endeavour to impress deeply into weak and superstitious fancies, the awful notion of a mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicit obedience to whatsoever they shall decree or think fit. And if we come to ask a reason of aught from our dear mother, she is invisible, under the lock and key of the prelates her spiritual adulterers; they only are the internuncios, or the go-betweens, of this trim devised mummery: whatsoever they say, she says must be a deadly sin of disobedience not to believe. So that we, who by God's special grace have shaken off the servitude of a great male tyrant, our pretended father the pope, should now, if we be not betimes aware of these wily teachers, sink under the slavery of a female notion, the cloudy conception of a demy-island mother; and, while we think to be obedient sons, should make ourselves rather the bastards, or the centaurs of their spiritual fornications.

Remonst. Take heed of the ravens of the valley.

Answ. The ravens we are to take heed of are yourselves, that would peck out the eyes of all knowing Christians.

Remonst. Sit you merry, brethren.

Answ. So we shall when the furies of prelatical consciences will not give them leave to do so.

Queries. Whether they would not jeopard their ears rather, &c.

Answ. A punishment that awaits the merits of your bold accomplices, for the lopping and stigmatizing of so many freeborn Christians.

Remonst. Whether the professed slovenliness in God's service, &c.

Answ. We have heard of Aaron and his linen amice, but these days are past; and for your priest under the gospel, that thinks himself the purer or the cleanlier in his office for his new-washed surplice, we esteem him for sanctity little better than Apollonius Thyanæus in his white frock, or the priest of Isis in his lawn sleeves; and they may all for holiness lie together in the suds.

Remonst. Whether it were not most lawful and just to punish your presumption and disobedience.

Answ. The punishing of that which you call our presumption and disobedience, lies not now within the execution of your fangs; the merciful God above, and our just parliament, will deliver us from your Ephesian beasts, your cruel Nimrods, with whom we shall be ever fearless to encounter.

Remonst. God give you wisdom to see the truth, and grace to follow it.

Answ. I wish the like to all those that resist not the Holy Ghost; for of such God commands Jeremiah, saying, "Pray not thou for them, neither lift up cry or

prayer for them, neither make intercession to me, for I will not hear thee;" and of such St. John saith, "He that bids them God speed, is partaker of their evil deeds."

TO THE POSTSCRIPT.

Remonst. A goodly pasquin borrowed for a great part out of Sion's plea, or the breviate consisting of a rhapsody of histories.

Answ. How wittily you tell us what your wonted course is upon the like occasion: the collection was taken, be it known to you, from as authentic authors in this kind, as any in a bishop's library; and the collector of it says moreover, that if the like occasion come again, he shall less need the help of breviates, or historical rhapsodies, than your reverence to eke out your sermonings shall need repair to postils or polyantheas.

Remonst. They were bishops, you say; true, but they were popish bishops.

Answ. Since you would bind us to your jurisdiction by their canon law, since you would enforce upon us the old riffraff of Sarum, and other monastical reliques; since you live upon their unjust purchases, allege their authorities, boast of their succession, walk in their steps, their pride, their titles, their covetousness, their persecuting of God's people; since you disclaim their actions, and build their sepulchres, it is most just that all their faults should be imputed to you, and their iniquities visited upon you.

Remonst. Could you see no colleges, no hospitals built?

Answ. At that primero of piety, the pope and cardinals are the better gamesters, and will cog a die into heaven before you.

Remonst. No churches re-edified?

Answ. Yes, more churches than souls.

Remonst. No learned volumes writ?

Answ. So did the miscreant bishop of Spalato write learned volumes against the pope, and run to Rome when he had done: ye write them in your closets, and unwrite them in your courts; hot volumists and cold bishops; a swashbuckler against the pope, and a dormouse against the devil, while the whole diocese be sown with tares, and none to resist the enemy, but such as let him in at the postern; a rare superintendent at Rome, and a cipher at home. Hypocrites! the gospel faithfully preached to the poor, the desolate parishes visited and duly fed, loiterers thrown out, wolves driven from the fold, had been a better confutation of the pope and mass, than whole hecatontomes of controversies; and all this careering with spear in rest, and thundering upon the steel cap of Baronius or Bellarmine.

Remonst. No seduced persons reclaimed?

Answ. More reclaimed persons seduced.

Remonst. No hospitality kept?

Answ. Bacchanalias good store in every bishop's family, and good gleeking.

Remonst. No great offenders punished?

Answ. The trophies of your high commission are renowned.

Remonst. No good offices done for the public?

Answ. Yes, the good office of reducing monarchy to tyranny, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the people to the king.

Remonst. No care of the peace of the church?

Answ. No, nor of the land; witness the two armies in the North, that now lie plundered and overrun by a liturgy.

Remonst. No diligence in preaching?

Answ. Scarce any preaching at all.

Remonst. No holiness in living?

Answ. No.

Remonst. Truly, brethren, I can say no more, but that the fault is in your eyes.

Answ. If you can say no more than this, you were a proper Remonstrant to stand up for the whole tribe!

Remonst. Wipe them and look better.

Answ. Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light.

Remonst. Yea, I beseech God to open them rather that they may see good.

Answ. If you mean good prelates, let be your prayer. Ask not impossibilities.

Remonst. As for that proverb, 'the bishop's foot hath been in it,' it were more fit for a Scurra in Trivio, or some ribald upon an alebench.

Answ. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

Remonst. I doubt not but they will say, the bishop's foot hath been in your book, for I am sure it is quite spoiled by this just confutation; for your proverb, Sapit ollam.

Answ. Spoiled, quoth ye? Indeed it is so spoiled, as a good song is spoiled by a lewd singer; or as the saying is, "God sends meat, but the cooks work their wills:" in that sense we grant your bishop's foot may have spoiled it, and made it "Sapere ollam," if not "Sapere aulam;" which is the same in old Latin, and perhaps in plain English. For certain your confutation hath achieved nothing against it, and left nothing upon it but a foul taste of your skillet foot, and a more perfect and distinguishable odour of your socks, than of your nightcap. And how the bishop should confute a book with his foot, unless his brains were dropped into his great toe, I cannot meet with any man that can resolve me; only they tell me that certainly such a confutation must needs be gouty. So much for the bishop's foot.

Remonst. You tell us of Bonner's broth; it is the fashion in some countries to send in their keal in the last service, and this it seems is the manner among our Smectymnuans.

Answ. Your latter service at the high altar you mean: but soft, sir, the feast was but begun, the broth was your own, you have been inviting the land to it this fourscore years; and so long we have been your

slaves to serve it up for you, much against our wills: we know you have the beef to it, ready in your kitchens, we are sure it was almost sod before this parliament begun; what direction you have given since to your cooks, to set it by in the pantry till some fitter time, we know not, and therefore your dear jest is lost; this broth was but your first service: Alas, sir, why do you delude your guests? Why do not those goodly flanks and briskets march up in your stately chargers? Doubtless if need be, the pope that owes you for mollifying the matter so well with him, and making him a true church, will furnish you with all the fat oxen of Italy.

Remonst. Learned and worthy Doctor Moulin shall tell them.

Answ. Moulin says in his book of the calling of pastors, that because bishops were the reformers of the English church, therefore they were left remaining: this argument is but of small force to keep you in your cathedrals. For first it may be denied that bishops were our first reformers, for Wickliff was before them, and his egregious labours are not to be neglected: besides, our bishops were in this work but the disciples of priests, and began the reformation before they were bishops. But what though Luther and other monks were the reformers of other places? Does it follow therefore that monks ought to continue? No, though Luther had taught so. And lastly, Moulin's argument directly makes against you; for if there be nothing in it but this, bishops were left remaining because they were reformers of the church, by as good a consequence therefore they are now to be removed, because they have been the most certain deformers and ruiners of the church. Thus you see how little it avails you to take sanctuary among those churches which in the general scope of your actions formerly you have disregarded and despised; however, your fair words would now smooth it over otherwise.

Remonst. Our bishops, some whereof being crowned with martyrdom, subscribed the gospel with their blood.

Answ. You boast much of martyrs to uphold your episcopacy; but if you would call to mind what Eusebius in his fifth book recites from Apollinarius of Hierapolis, you should then hear it esteemed no other than an old heretical argument, to prove a position true, because some that held it were martyrs; this was that which gave boldness to the Marcionists and Cataphryges to avouch their impious heresies for pious doctrine, because they could reckon many martyrs of their sect; and when they were confuted in other points, this was ever their last and stoutest plea.

Remonst. In the mean time I beseech the God of heaven to humble you.

Answ. We shall beseech the same God to give you a more profitable and pertinent humiliation than yet you know, and a less mistaken charitableness, with that peace which you have hitherto so perversely misaffected.

AN

APOLOGY FOR SMECTYMNUUS.

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If, readers, to that same great difficulty of well-doing what we certainly know, were not added in most men as great a carelessness of knowing what they and others ought to do, we had been long ere this, no doubt but all of us, much farther on our way to some degree of peace and happiness in this kingdom. But since our sinful neglect of practising that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through God's just anger, so great a difficulty now to know that which otherwise might be soon learnt, and hath divided us by a controversy of great importance indeed, but of no hard solution, which is the more our punishment; I resolved (of what small moment soever I might be thought) to stand on that side where I saw both the plain authority of Scripture leading, and the reason of justice and equity persuading; with this opinion, which esteems it more unlike a Christian to be a cold neuter in the cause of the church, than the law of Solon made it punishable after a sedition in the state. And because I observe that fear and dull disposition, lukewarmness and sloth, are not seldomer wont to cloak themselves under the affected name of moderation, than true and lively zeal is customably disparaged with the term of indiscretion, bitterness, and choler; I could not to my thinking honour a good cause more from the heart, than by defending it earnestly, as oft as I could judge it to behove me, notwithstanding any false name that could be invented to wrong or under-value an honest meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to single forth more than once such of them as were thought the chief and most nominated opposers on the other side, whom no man else undertook; if I have done well either to be confident of the truth, whose force is best seen against the ablest resistance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping authority of great names titled to false opinions; or that it be lawful to attribute somewhat to gifts of God's imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge, and fear also lest at my certain account they be reckoned to me rather many than few; or if lastly it be but justice not to defraud of due esteem the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tired out almost a whole youth, I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption: knowing, that if heretofore all ages have received with favour and good acceptance the early industry of him that hath been hopeful, it were but hard measure now, if the freedom of any timely spirit should be oppressed merely by the big and blunted fame of his elder adversary; and that his sufficiency must be now sentenced, not by pondering the reason he shews, but by calculating the years he brings. However, as my purpose is not, nor hath been formerly, to look on my adversary abroad, through the deceiving glass of other men's great opinion of him, but at home, where I may find him in the proper light of his own worth; so now against the rancour of an evil tongue, from which I never thought so absurdly, as that I of all men should be exempt, I must be forced to proceed from the unfeigned and diligent inquiry of my own conscience at home, (for better way I know not, readers,) to give a more true account of myself abroad than this modest confuter, as he calls himself, hath given of me. Albeit, that in doing this I shall be sensible of two things which to me will be nothing pleasant; the one is, that not unlikely I shall be thought too much a party in mine own cause, and therein to see least: the other, that I shall be put unwillingly to molest the public view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the people should care whether such a one were thus, or thus. Yet those I entreat who have found the leisure to read that name, however of small repute, unworthily defamed, would be so good and so patient as to hear the same person not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the best apology against false accusers is silence and sufferance, and honest deeds set against dishonest words. And that I could at this time most easily and securely, with the least loss of reputation, use no other defence, I need not despair to win belief; whether I consider both the

foolish contriving and ridiculous aiming of these his slanderous bolts, shot so wide of any suspicion to be fastened on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceived my friends congratulating themselves in my innocence, and my enemies ashamed of their partner's folly: or whether I look at these present times, wherein most men, now scarce permitted the liberty to think over their own concernments, have removed the seat of their thoughts more outward to the expectation of public events: or whether the examples of men, either noble or religious, who have sat down lately with a meek silence and sufferance under many libellous endorsements, may be a rule to others, I might well appease myself to put up any reproaches in such an honourable society of fellow-sufferers, using no other defence. And were it that slander would be content to make an end where it first fixes, and not seek to cast out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the person traduced, I should have pleaded against this confuter by no other advocates than those which I first commended, silence and sufferance, and speaking deeds against faltering words. But when I discerned his intent was not so much to smite at me, as through me to render odious the truth which I had written, and to stain with ignominy that evangelic doctrine which opposes the tradition of prelaty; I conceived myself to be now not as mine own person, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was persuaded, and whereof I had declared openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to myself, yet to the religious cause I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the least spot or blemish in good name, so long as God should give me to say that which might wipe it off. Lest those disgraces, which I ought to suffer, if it so befall me, for my religion, through my default religion be made liable to suffer for me. And, whether it might not something reflect upon those reverent men, whose friend I may be thought in writing the Animadversions, was not my last care to consider; if I should rest under these reproaches, having the same common adversary with them, it might be counted small credit for their cause to have found such an assistant, as this babbler hath devised me. What other thing in his book there is of dispute or question, in answering thereto I doubt not to be justified; except there be who will condemn me to have wasted time in throwing down that which could not keep itself up. As for others, who notwithstanding what I can allege have yet decreed to misinterpret the intents of my reply, I suppose they would have found as many causes to have misconceived the reasons of my silence.

To begin therefore an apology for these animadversions, which I writ against the Remonstrant in defence of Smectymnuus; since the preface, which was purposely set before them, is not thought apologetical enough, it will be best to acquaint ye, readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be asked wherefore I writ the book, it being no difficulty to answer, that I did it to those ends, which the best men propose to themselves when they write: but wherefore in that manner, neglecting the main bulk of all that specious antiquity, which might stun children, and not men, I chose rather to observe some kind of military advantages to await him at his foragings, at his waterings, and whenever he felt himself secure, to solace his vein in derision of his more serious opponents. And here let me have pardon, readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licensed himself to utter contemptuously of those reverend men, provoke me to do that over again, which some expect I should excuse as too freely done; since I have two provocations, his latest insulting in his short answer, and their final patience. I had no fear, but that the authors of Smectymnuus, to all the shew of solidity, which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepared both with skill and purpose to return a sufficing answer, and were able enough to lay the dust and pudder in antiquity, which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but when I saw his weak arguments headed with sharp taunts, and that his design was, if he could not refute them, yet at least with quips and snapping adages to vapour them out, which they, bent only upon the business, were minded to let pass; by how much I saw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I must confess I took it as my part the less to endure that my respected friends, through their own unnecessary patience, should thus lie at the mercy of a coy flirting style; to be girded with frumps and curtal gibes, by one who makes sentences by the statute, as if all above three inches long were confiscate. To me it seemed an indignity, that whom his whole wisdom could not move from their place, them his impetuous folly should presume to ride over. And if I were more warm than was meet in any passage of that book, which yet I do not yield, I might use therein the patronage of no worse an author than Gregory Nyssen, who mentioning his sharpness against Eunomius in the defence of his brother Basil, holds himself irreprovable in that "it was not for himself, but in the cause of his brother; and in such cases," saith he, "perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry than to be cooler." And whereas this confuter taxes the whole discourse of levity, I shall shew ye, readers, wheresoever it shall be objected in particular, that I have answered with as little lightness as the Remonstrant hath given example. I have not been so light as the palm of a bishop, which is the lightest thing in the world when he brings out his book of ordination · for then, contrary to that which is wont in releasing out of prison, any one that will pay his fees is laid hands on. Another reason, it would not be amiss though the Remonstrant were told, wherefore he was in that unusual manner beleaguered; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his admirers the conceit that all who are not prelatical, are gross-headed, thick-witted, illiterate, shallow. Can nothing then but episcopacy teach men to speak good English, to pick and order a set of words judiciously? Must we learn from canons and quaint sermonings, interlined with barbarous Latin, to

illumine a period, to wreath an enthymema with masterous dexterity? I rather incline, as I have heard it observed, that a Jesuit's Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be born and bred a Florentine, so to think, that from like causes we may go near to observe the same in the style of a prelate. For doubtless that indeed according to art is most eloquent, which turns and approaches nearest to nature from whence it came; and they express nature best, who in their lives least wander from her safe leading, which may be called regenerate reason. So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withal a good man, I see not. Nevertheless, as oft as is to be dealt with men who pride themselves in their supposed art, to leave them inexcusable wherein they will not be bettered; there be of those that esteem prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe if they can dance, nor will be unfurnished to shew, that what the prelates admire and have not, others have and admire not. The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withstand the perverters of the gospel, were those other motives, which gave the Animadversions no leave to remit a continual vehemence throughout the book. For as in teaching doubtless the spirit of meekness is most powerful, so are the meek only fit persons to be taught: as for the proud, the obstinate, and false doctors of men's devices, be taught they will not, but discovered and laid open they must be. For how can they admit of teaching, who have the condemnation of God already upon them for refusing divine instruction? That is, to be filled with their own devices, as in the Proverbs we may read: therefore we may safely imitate the method that God uses; "with the froward to be froward, and to throw scorn upon the scorner," whom, if any thing, nothing else will heal. And if the "righteous shall laugh at the destruction of the ungodly," they may also laugh at the pertinacious and incurable obstinacy, and at the same time be moved with detestation of their seducing malice, who employ all their wits to defend a prelaty usurped, and to deprave that just government, which pride and ambition, partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath shouldered out of the church. And against such kind of deceivers openly and earnestly to protest, lest any one should be inquisitive wherefore this or that man is forwarder than others, let him know that this office goes not by age or youth, but to whomsoever God shall give apparently the will, the spirit, and the utterance. Ye have heard the reasons for which I thought not myself exempted from associating with good men in their labours towards the church's welfare; to which, if any one brought opposition, I brought my best resistance. If in requital of this, and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gained a name bestuck, or as I may say, bedecked with the reproaches and reviles of this modest confuter; it shall be to me neither strange nor unwelcome, as that which could not come in a better time.

Having rendered an account what induced me to write those animadversions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to see what the confutation hath to say against them; but so as the confuter shall hear first what I have to say against his confutation. And because he pretends to be a great conjector at other men by their writings, I will not fail to give ye, readers, a present taste of him from his title, hung out like a tolling sign post to call passengers, not simply a confutation, but "a modest confutation," with a laudatory of itself obtruded in the very first word. Whereas a modest title should only inform the buyer what the book contains without further insinuation; this officious epithet so hastily assuming the modesty which others are to judge of by reading, not the author to anticipate to himself by forestalling, is a strong presumption, that his modesty, set there to sale in the frontispiece, is not much addicted to blush. A surer sign of his lost shame he could not have given, than seeking thus unseasonably to prepossess men of his modesty. And seeing he hath neither kept his word in the sequel, nor omitted any kind of boldness in slandering, it is manifest his purpose was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word modest, that he might not want colour to be the more impudent throughout his whole confutation. Next, what can equally savour of injustice and plain arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemn his adversary in the title for "slanderous and scurrilous," and as the Remonstrant's fashion is, for frivolous, tedious, and false, not staying till the reader can hear him proved so in the following discourse? Which is one cause of a suspicion that in setting forth this pamphlet the Remonstrant was not unconsulted with: thus his first address was "an humble remonstrance by a dutiful son of the church," almost as if he had said, her white-boy. His next was, "a defence" (a wonder how it escaped some praising adjunct) "against the frivolous and false exceptions against Smectymnuus," sitting in the chair of his title-page upon his poor cast adversaries both as a judge and party, and that before the jury of readers can be impannelled. His last was "a short answer to a tedious vindication;" so little can he suffer a man to measure either with his eye or judgment, what is short or what tedious, without his preoccupying direction: and from hence is begotten this "modest confutation against a slanderous and scurrilous libel." I conceive, readers, much may be guessed at the man and his book, what depth there is, by the framing of his title; which being in this Remonstrant so rash and unadvised as ye see, I conceit him to be near akin to him who set forth a passion sermon with a formal dedicatory in great letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end in his praise and glory, yet to inscribe him in a void place with flourishes, as a man in compliment uses to trick up the name of some esquire, gentleman, or lord paramount at common law, to be his book-patron, with the appendant form of a ceremonious presentment, will ever appear among the judicious to be but an insulse and frigid affectation. As no less was that before his book against the Brownists, to write a letter to a Prosopopœia, a certain rhetorized woman whom he calls mother, and complains of some that laid whoredom to her charge; and certainly had he folded his epistle

with a superscription to be delivered to that female figure by any post or carrier, who were not a ubiquitary, it had been a most miraculous greeting. We find the primitive doctors, as oft as they writ to churches, speaking to them as to a number of faithful brethren and sons, and not to make a cloudy transmigration of sexes in such a familiar way of writing as an epistle ought to be, leaving the tract of common address, to run up, and tread the air in metaphorical compellations, and many fond utterances better let alone. But I step again to this emblazoner of his titlepage, (whether it be the same man or no, I leave it in the midst,) and here I find him pronouncing without reprieve, those animadversions to be a slanderous and scurrilous libel. To which I, readers, that they are neither slanderous, nor scurrilous, will answer in what place of his book he shall be found with reason, and not ink only, in his mouth. Nor can it be a libel more than his own, which is both nameless and full of slanders; and if in this that it freely speaks of things amiss in religion, but established by act of state, I see not how Wickliff and Luther, with all the first martyrs and reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the human frailty of erring in cases of religion, infamy to a state, no more than to a council: it had therefore been neither civil nor christianly, to derogate the honour of the state for that cause, especially when I saw the parliament itself piously and magnanimously bent to supply and reform the defects and oversights of their forefathers, which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jews were often matter of humble confessing and bewailing, not of confident asserting and maintaining. Of the state therefore I found good reason to speak all honourable things, and to join in petition with good men that petitioned: but against the prelates, who were the only seducers and misleaders of the state to constitute the government of the church not rightly, methought I had not vehemence enough. And thus, readers, by the example which he hath set me, I have given ye two or three notes of him out of his titlepage; by which his firstlings fear not to guess boldly at his whole lump, for that guess will not fail ye; and although I tell him keen truth, yet he may bear with me, since I am like to chase him into some good knowledge, and others, I trust, shall not mispend their leisure. For this my aim is, if I am forced to be unpleasing to him whose fault it is, I shall not forget at the same time to be useful in something to the stander-by.

As therefore he began in the title, so in the next leaf he makes it his first business to tamper with his reader by sycophanting and misnaming the work of his adversary. He calls it "a mime thrust forth upon the stage, to make up the breaches of those solemn scenes between the prelates and the Smectymnuans." Wherein while he is so over-greedy to fix a name of ill sound upon another, note how stupid he is to expose himself or his own friends to the same ignominy; likening those grave controversies to a piece of stagery, or scenework, where his own Remonstrant, whether in buskin or sock, must of all right be counted the chief player, be it boasting Thraso, or Davus that troubles all things, or one who can shift into any shape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath resembled the whole argument to a comedy, for "tragical," he says, "were too ominous." Nor yet doth he tell us what a mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers, except some fragments, which contain many acute and wise sentences. And this we know in Laertius, that the mimes of Sophron were of such reckoning with Plato, as to take them nightly to read on, and after make them his pillow. Scaliger describes a mime to be a poem intimating any action to stir up laughter. But this being neither poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abusively taxed to be a mime? For if every book, which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, must be termed thus, then may the dialogues of Plato, who for those his writings hath obtained the surname of divine, be esteemed as they are by that detractor in Athenæus, no better than mimes. Because there is scarce one of them, especially wherein some notable sophister lies sweating and turmoiling under the inevitable and merciless dilemmas of Socrates, but that he who reads, were it Saturn himself, would be often robbed of more than a smile. And whereas he tells us, that "scurrilous Mime was a personated grim lowering fool," his foolish language unwittingly writes fool upon his own friend, for he who was there personated was only the Remonstrant; the author is ever distinguished from the person he introduces. But in an ill hour hath this unfortunate rashness stumbled upon the mention of miming, that he might at length cease, which he hath not yet since he stepped in, to gall and hurt him whom he would aid. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he so uncircumspect as not to foresee, that no sooner would that word mime be set eye on in the paper, but it would bring to mind that wretched pilgrimage over Minshew's dictionary called "Mundus alter et idem," the idlest and the paltriest mime that ever mounted upon bank? Let him ask "the author of those toothless satires," who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that universal foolery, who he was, who like that other principal of the Manichees the arch evil one, when he had looked upon all that he had made and mapped out, could say no other but contrary to the divine mouth, that it was all very foolish. That grave and noble invention, which the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, Plato in Critias, and our two famous countrymen, the one in his "Utopia," the other in his "New Atlantis," chose, I may not say as a field, but as a mighty continent, wherein to display the largeness of their spirits, by teaching this our world better and exacter things than were yet known or used: this petty prevaricator of America, the zany of Columbus, (for so he must be till his world's end,) having rambled over the huge topography of his own vain thoughts, no marvel if he brought us home nothing but a mere tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for stews. Certainly, he that could endure with a sober pen to sit and devise laws for drunkards to carouse by, I doubt me whether the very soberness of such a one, like an un-

liquored Silenus, were not stark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriously with the name of Mime, being himself the loosest and most extravagant Mime that hath been heard of, whom no less than almost half the world could serve for stage-room to play the Mime in. And let him advise again with sir Francis Bacon, whom he cites to confute others, what it is "to turn the sins of christendom into a mimical mockery, to rip up the saddest vices with a laughing countenance," especially where neither reproof nor better teaching is adjoined. Nor is my meaning, readers, to shift off a blame from myself, by charging the like upon my accuser, but shall only desire, that sentence may be respited, till I can come to some instance whereto I may give answer.

Thus having spent his first onset, not in confuting, but in a reasonless defaming of the book, the method of his malice hurries him to attempt the like against the author; not by proofs and testimonies, but "having no certain notice of me," as he professes, "further than what he gathers from the animadversions," blunders at me for the rest, and flings out stray crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a serpent, suck from any thing that I have written, but from his own stuffed magazine, and hoard of slanderous inventions, over and above that which he converted to venom in the drawing. To me, readers, it happens as a singular contentment; and let it be to good men no light satisfaction, that the slanderer here confesses, he has "no further notice of me than his own conjecture." Although it had been honest to have inquired, before he uttered such infamous words, and I am credibly informed he did inquire; but finding small comfort from the intelligence which he received, whereon to ground the falsities which he had provided, thought it his likeliest course under a pretended ignorance to let drive at random, lest he should lose his odd ends, which from some penurious book of characters he had been culling out and would fain apply. Not caring to burden me with those vices, whereof, among whom my conversation hath been, I have been ever least suspected; perhaps not without some subtlety to cast me into envy, by bringing on me a necessity to enter into mine own praises. In which argument I know every wise man is more unwillingly drawn to speak, than the most repining ear can be averse to hear. Nevertheless, since I dare not wish to pass this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally praised is woeful, I shall rely on his promise to free the innocent from causeless aspersions: whereof nothing sooner can assure me, than if I shall feel him now assisting me in the just vindication of myself, which yet I could defer, it being more meet, that to those other matters of public debatement in this book I should give attendance first, but that I fear it would but harm the truth for me to reason in her behalf, so long as I should suffer my honest estimation to lie unpurged from these insolent suspicions. And if I shall be large, or unwonted in justifying myself to those who know me not, for else it would be needless, let them consider that a short slander will oft-times reach further than a long apology; and that he who will do justly to all men, must begin from knowing how, if it so happen, to be not unjust to himself. I must be thought, if this libeller (for now he shews himself to be so) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the university, to have been at length "vomited out thence." For which commodious lie, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary favour and respect, which I found above any of my equals at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I spent some years: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me. Which being likewise propense to all such as were for their studious and civil life worthy of esteem, I could not wrong their judgments, and upright intentions, so much as to think I had that regard from them for other cause, than that I might be still encouraged to proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which they apprehended I had given good proof. And to those ingenuous and friendly men, who were ever the countenancers of virtuous and hopeful wits, I wish the best and happiest things, that friends in absence wish one to another. As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteem or disesteem myself, or any other the more for that; too simple and too credulous is the confuter, if he think to obtain with me, or any right discerner. Of small practice were that physician, who could not judge by what both she or her sister hath of long time vomited, that the worser stuff she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever kecking at, and is queasy. She vomits now out of sickness; but ere it will be well with her, she must vomit by strong physic. In the mean time that suburb sink, as this rude scavenger calls it, and more than scurrilously taunts it with the plague, having a worse plague in his middle entrail, that suburb wherein I dwell shall be in my account a more honourable place than his university. Which as in the time of her better health, and mine own younger judgment, I never greatly admired, so now much less. But he follows me to the city, still usurping and forging beyond his book notice, which only he affirms to have had; "and where my morning haunts are, he wisses not." It is wonder, that being so rare an alchymist of slander, he could not extract that, as well as the university vomit, and the suburb sink which his art could distil so cunningly; but because his limbec fails him, to give him and envy the more vexation, I will tell him. Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good au-

thors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught: then with useful and generous labours preserving the body's health and hardiness to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the inforcement of a slavish life. These are the morning practices: proceed now to the afternoon; "in playhouses," he says, "and the bordelloes." Your intelligence, unfaithful spy of Canaan? He gives in his evidence, that "there he hath traced me." Take him at his word, readers, but let him bring good sureties ere ye dismiss him, that while he pretended to dog others, he did not turn in for his own pleasure: for so much in effect he concludes against himself, not contented to be caught in every other gin, but he must be such a novice, as to be still hampered in his own hemp. In the animadversions, saith he, I find the mention of old cloaks, false beards, nightwalkers, and salt lotion; therefore the animadverter haunts playhouses and bordelloes; for if he did not, how could he speak of such gear? Now that he may know what it is to be a child, and yet to meddle with edged tools, I turn his antistrophon upon his own head; the confuter knows that these things are the furniture of playhouses and bordelloes, therefore by the same reason "the confuter himself hath been traced in those places." Was it such a dissolute speech, telling of some politicians who were wont to eavesdrop in disguises, to say they were often liable to a nightwalking cudgeller, or the emptying of a urinal? What if I had writ as your friend the author of the aforesaid mime, "Mundus alter et idem," to have been ravished like some young Cephalus or Hylas, by a troop of camping housewifes in Viraginea, and that he was there forced to swear himself an uxorious varlet; then after a long servitude to have come into Aphrodisia that pleasant country, that gave such a sweet smell to his nostrils among the shameless courtezans of Desvergonia? Surely he would have then concluded me as constant at the bordello, as the galley-slave at his oar. But since there is such necessity to the hearsay of a tire, a periwig, or a vizard, that plays must have been seen, what difficulty was there in that? when in the colleges so many of the young divines, and those in next aptitude to divinity, have been seen so often upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds; prostituting the shame of that ministry, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies, with their grooms and mademoiselles. There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I misliked; and to make up the atticism, they were out, and I hissed. Judge now whether so many good text-men were not sufficient to instruct me of false beards and vizards, without more expositors; and how can this confuter take the face to object to me the seeing of that, which his reverend prelates allow, and incite their young disciples to act? For if it be unlawful to sit and behold a mercenary comedian personating that which is least unseemly for a hireling to do, how much more blameful is it to endure the sight of as vile things acted by persons either entered, or presently to enter into the ministry; and how much more foul and ignominious for them to be the actors!

But because as well by this upbraiding to me the bordelloes, as by other suspicious glancings in his book, he would seem privily to point me out to his readers, as one whose custom of life were not honest, but licentious; I shall intreat to be born with, though I digress; and in a way not often trod, acquaint ye with the sum of my thoughts in this matter, through the course of my years and studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the nose of the envious, as it were in skirmish to change the compact order, and instead of outward actions, to bring inmost thoughts into front. And I must tell ye, readers, that by this sort of men I have been already bitten at; yet shall they not for me know how slightly they are esteemed, unless they have so much learning as to read what in Greek ἀπειροκαλία is, which, together with envy, is the common disease of those who censure books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whose outward garment hath been injured and illbedighted; for having no other shift, what help but to turn the inside outwards, especially if the lining be of the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better? So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I must make trial, if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can: wherein of two purposes both honest, and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not miss; although I fail to gain belief with others, of being such as my perpetual thoughts shall here disclose me, I may yet not fail of success in persuading some to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more than what I fain. I had my time, readers, as others have, who have good learning bestowed upon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was, it might be soonest attained; and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave orators and historians, whose matter methought I loved indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them; others were the smooth elegiac poets, whereof the schools are not scarce, whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easy, and most agreeable to nature's part in me, and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allured to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome: for that it was then those years with me which are excused, though they be least severe, I may be saved the labour to remember ye. Whence having observed them to account it the chief glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to love those high perfections, which under one or other name they took to

celebrate; I thought with myself by every instinct and presage of nature, which is not wont to be false, that what emboldened them to this task, might with such diligence as they used embolden me; and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my share, would herein best appear, and best value itself, by how much more wisely, and with more love of virtue I should choose (let rude ears be absent) the object of not unlike praises: for albeit these thoughts to some will seem virtuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle; yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious. Nor blame it, readers, in those years to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferred: whereof not to be sensible when good and fair in one person meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgment, and withal an ungentle, and swainish breast: for by the firm settling of these persuasions, I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves, or unchaste of those names which before they had extolled; this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplored; and above them all, preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men, or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy. These reasonings, together with a certain niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness, and self-esteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envy call pride,) and lastly that modesty, whereof though not in the titlepage, yet here I may be excused to make some beseeming profession; all these uniting the supply of their natural aid together, kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to salable and unlawful prostitutions. Next, (for hear me out now, readers,) that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wandered; I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantoes the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he should defend to the expense of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befel him, the honour and chastity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn; and if I found in the story afterward, any of them, by word or deed, breaking that oath, I judged it the same fault of the poet, as that which is attributed to *Homer*, to have written indecent things of the gods: only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder to stir him up both by his counsel and his arms, to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So that even these books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of that virtue which abhors the society of bordelloes. Thus from the laureat fraternity of poets, riper years and the ceaseless round of study and reading led me to the shady spaces of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato, and his equal Xenophon: where, if I should tell ye what I learnt of chastity and love, I mean that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only virtue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy; (the rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion, which a certain sorceress, the abuser of love's name, carries about;) and how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her divine generation, knowledge and virtue: with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listening, readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time, when there shall be no chiding; not in these noises, the adversary, as ye know, barking at the door, or searching for me at the bordelloes, where it may be he has lost himself, and raps up without pity the sage and rheumatic old prelatess, with all her young Corinthian laity, to inquire for such a one. Last of all, not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained in the precepts of christian religion: this that I have hitherto related, hath been to shew, that though christianity had been but slightly taught me, yet a certain reservedness of natural disposition, and moral discipline, learnt out of the noblest philosophy, was enough to keep me in disdain of far less incontinences than this of the bordello. But having had the doctrine of Holy Scripture unfolding those chaste and high mysteries, with timeliest care infused, that "the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body;" thus also I argued to myself, that if unchastity in a woman, whom St. Paul terms the glory of man, be such a scandal and dishonour, then certainly in a man, who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflowering and dishonourable; in that he sins both against his own body, which is the perfecter sex, and his own glory, which is in the woman; and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God, which is in himself. Nor did I slumber over that place, expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with those celestial songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defiled with women, which doubtless means fornication; for marriage must not be called a defilement. Thus large I have purposely been,

that if I have been justly taxed with this crime, it may come upon me, after all this my confession, with a tenfold shame: but if I have hitherto deserved no such opprobrious word, or suspicion, I may hereby engage myself now openly to the faithful observation of what I have professed. I go on to shew you the unbridled impudence of this loose railer, who, having once begun his race, regards not how far he flies out beyond all truth and shame; who from the single notice of the Animadversions, as he protests, will undertake to tell ye the very clothes I wear, though he be much mistaken in my wardrobe: and like a son of Belial, without the hire of Jezebel, charges me "of blaspheming God and the king," as ordinarily as he imagines "me to drink sack and swear," merely because this was a shred in his commonplace book, and seemed to come off roundly, as if he were some empiric of false accusations, to try his poisons upon me, whether they would work or no. Whom what should I endeavour to refute more, whenas that book, which is his only testimony, returns the lie upon him; not giving him the least hint of the author to be either a swearer or a sack drinker. And for the readers, if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleged, to be of life and purpose neither dishonest nor unchaste, they will be easily induced to think me sober both of wine and of word; but if I have been already successless in persuading them, all that I can further say, will be but vain; and it will be better thrift to save two tedious labours, mine of excusing, and theirs of needless hearing.

Proceeding further, I am met with a whole ging of words and phrases not mine, for he hath maimed them, and, like a sly depraver, mangled them in this his wicked limbo, worse than the ghost of Deiphobus appeared to his friend Æneas. Here I scarce know them, and he that would, let him repair to the place in that book where I set them: for certainly this tormentor of semicolons is as good at dismembering and slitting sentences, as his grave fathers the prelates have been at stigmatizing and slitting noses. By such handicraft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour, which being his own must needs offend his sense of smelling, since he will needs bestow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he wears a sock, I shall endeavour it may be offenceless to other men's ears. The Remonstrant having to do with grave and reverend men his adversaries, thought it became him to tell them in scorn, that "the bishop's foot had been in their book and confuted it;" which when I saw him arrogate, to have done that with his heels that surpassed the best consideration of his head, to spurn a confutation among respected men, I questioned not the lawfulness of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odour a sock would have in such painful business. And this may have chanced to touch him more nearly than I was aware, for indeed a bishop's foot that hath all his toes maugre the gout, and a linen sock over it, is the aptest emblem of the prelate himself; who being a pluralist, may under one surplice, which is also linen, hide four benefices, besides the metropolitan toe, and sends a fouler stench to heaven, than that which this young queasiness retches at. And this is the immediate reason here why our enraged confuter, that he may be as perfect a hypocrite as Caiaphas, ere he be a high-priest, cries out, "Horrid blasphemy!" and, like a recreant Jew, calls for stones. I beseech ye, friends, ere the brickbats fly, resolve me and yourselves, is it blasphemy, or any whit disagreeing from christian meekness, whenas Christ himself, speaking of unsavoury traditions, scruples not to name the dunghill and the jakes, for me to answer a slovenly wincer of a confutation, that if he would needs put his foot to such a sweaty service, the odour of his sock was like to be neither musk nor benjamin? Thus did that foolish monk in a barbarous declamation accuse Petrarch of blasphemy for dispraising the French wines. But this which follows is plain bedlam stuff, this is the demoniac legion indeed, which the Remonstrant feared had been against him, and now he may see is for him. "You that love Christ," saith he, "and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity." What thinks the Remonstrant? does he like that such words as these should come out of his shop, out of his Trojan horse? To give the watch-word like a Guisian of Paris to a mutiny or massacre; to proclaim a croisade against his fellow-christian now in this troublous and divided time of the kingdom? If he do, I shall say that to be the Remonstrant, is no better than to be a Jesuit; and that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in Ireland to the protestants, they would do in England the same to them that would no prelates. For a more seditious and butcherly speech no cell of Loyola could have belched against one who in all his writing spake not, that any man's skin should be raised. And yet this cursing Shimei, a hurler of stones, as well as a railer, wants not the face instantly to make as though he "despaired of victory, unless a modest defence would get it him." Did I err at all, readers, to foretel ye, when first I met with his title, that the epithet of modest there was a certain red portending sign, that he meant ere long to be most tempestuously bold and shameless? Nevertheless, "he dares not say but there may be hid in his nature as much venomous atheism and profanation, as he thinks hath broke out at his adversary's lips; but he hath not the sore running upon him," as he would intimate I have. Now trust me not, readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing this sea-gull, so open he lies to strokes, and never offers at another, but brings home the dorre upon himself. For if the sore be running upon me, in all judgment I have escaped the disease; but he who hath as much hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confessed, and cannot expel it, because he is dull, (for venomous atheism were no treasure to be kept within him else,) let him take the part he hath chosen, which must needs follow, to swell and burst with his own inward venom.

SECT. I.

But mark, readers, there is a kind of justice observed among them that do evil, but this man loves injustice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abused the good name of his adversary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonstrant, if they be not both one person, or as I am told, father and son, yet after all this he calls for satisfaction, whenas he himself hath already taken the utmost farthing. "Violence hath been done," says he, "to the person of a holy and religious prelate." To which, something in effect to what St. Paul answered of Ananias, I answer, "I wist not, brethren, that he was a holy and religious prelate;" for evil is written of those who would be prelates. And finding him thus in disguise without his superscription or phylactery either of holy or prelate, it were no sin to serve him as Longchamp bishop of Ely was served in his disguise at Dover: he hath begun the measure nameless, and when he pleases we may all appear as we are. And let him be then what he will, he shall be to me so as I find him principled. For neither must prelate or archprelate hope to exempt himself from being reckoned as one of the vulgar, which is for him only to hope whom true wisdom and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Psalms, that he who is in honour and understandeth not, is as the beasts that perish. And now first "the manner of handling that cause," which I undertook, he thinks is suspicious, as if the wisest and the best words were not ever to some or other suspicious. But where is the offence, the disagreement from christian meekness, or the precept of Solomon in answering folly? When the Remonstrant talks of froth and scum, I tell him there is none, and bid him spare his ladle: when he brings in the mess with keal, beef, and brewess, what stomach in England could forbear to call for flanks and briskets? Capon and white broth having been likely sometimes in the same room with Christ and his apostles, why does it trouble him, that it should be now in the same leaf, especially where the discourse is not continued, but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to say grace, doth he not then name holiest names over the steam of costliest superfluities? Does he judge it foolish or dishonest, to write that among religious things, which, when he talks of religious things, he can devoutly chew? Is he afraid to name Christ where those things are written in the same leaf, whom he fears not to name while the same things are in his mouth? Doth not Christ himself teach the highest things by the similitude of old bottles and patched clothes? Doth he not illustrate best things by things most evil? his own coming to be as a thief in the night, and the righteous man's wisdom to that of an unjust steward? He might therefore have done better to have kept in his canting beggars, and heathen altar, to sacrifice his threadbare criticism of Bomolochus to an unseasonable goddess fit for him called Importunity, and have reserved his Greek derivation till he lecture to his freshmen, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.

But to the end that nothing may be omitted, which may farther satisfy any conscionable man, who, notwithstanding what I could explain before the Animadversions, remains yet unsatisfied concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter, whom it pinches, utterly disapproves; I shall assay once again, and perhaps with more success. If therefore the question were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation or scorn upon an object that merits it, were among the aptest ideas of speech to be allowed, it were my work, and that an easy one, to make it clear both by the rules of best rhetoricians, and the famousest examples of the Greek and Roman orations. But since the religion of it is disputed, and not the art, I shall make use only of such reasons and authorities, as religion cannot except against. It will be harder to gainsay, than for me to evince, that in the teaching of men diversely tempered, different ways are to be tried. The Baptist, we know, was a strict man, remarkable for austerity and set order of life. Our Saviour, who had all gifts in him, was Lord to express his indoctrinating power in what sort him best seemed; sometimes by a mild and familiar converse; sometimes with plain and impartial home-speaking, regardless of those whom the auditors might think he should have had in more respect; otherwhile, with bitter and ireful rebukes, if not teaching, yet leaving excuseless those his wilful impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his church; some to be severe and ever of a sad gravity, that they may win such, and check sometimes those who be of nature over-confident and jocund; others were sent more cheerful, free, and still as it were at large, in the midst of an untrespassing honesty; that they who are so tempered, may have by whom they might be drawn to salvation, and they who are too scrupulous, and dejected of spirit, might be often strengthened with wise consolations and revivings: no man being forced wholly to dissolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the sanguine to empty out all his sociable liveliness, the choleric to expel quite the unsinning predominance of his anger; but that each radical humour and passion, wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every man's peculiar gifts and virtues. Some also were indued with a staid moderation and soundness of argument, to teach and convince the rational and soberminded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching, for in times of opposition, when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reformed, this cool unpassionate mildness of positive wisdom is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of carnal and false doctors, then (that I may have leave to soar awhile as the poets use) Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond, ascends his fiery chariot drawn with two blazing meteors, figured like beasts, but of a higher breed than any the zodiac yields, resembling two of those four which Ezekiel and St. John

saw; the one visaged like a lion, to express power, high authority, and indignation; the other of countenance like a man, to cast derision and scorn upon perverse and fraudulent seducers: with these the invincible warrior, Zeal, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates, and such as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true prophets of old combat with the false; thus Christ himself, the fountain of meekness, found acrimony enough to be still galling and vexing the prelatical pharisees. But ye will say, these had immediate warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I say, so much the plainer is it proved, that there may be a sanctified bitterness against the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think inspiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other virtue, of moral and general observation, the example of Luther may stand for all, whom God made choice of before others to be of highest eminence and power in reforming the church; who, not of revelation, but of judgment, writ so vehemently against the chief defenders of old untruths in the Romish church, that his own friends and favourers were many times offended with the fierceness of his spirit; yet he being cited before Charles the Fifth to answer for his books, and having divided them into three sorts, whereof one was of those which he had sharply written, refused, though upon deliberation given him, to retract or unsay any word therein, as we may read in Sleidan. Yea, he defends his eagerness, as being "of an ardent spirit, and one who could not write a dull style:" and affirmed, "he thought it God's will, to have the inventions of men thus laid open, seeing that matters quietly handled were quickly forgot." And herewithal how useful and available God hath made his tart rhetoric in the church's cause, he often found by his own experience. For when he betook himself to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reaped nothing but contempt both from Cajetan and Erasmus, from Cocleus, from Ecchius, and others; insomuch that blaming his friends, who had so counselled him, he resolved never to run into the like errour: if at other times he seem to excuse his vehemence, as more than what was meet, I have not examined through his works, to know how far he gave way to his own fervent mind; it shall suffice me to look to mine own. And this I shall easily aver, though it may seem a hard saying, that the Spirit of God, who is purity itself, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civil at other times to be spoken. Omitting that place in Numbers at the killing of Zimri and Cosbi; done by Phineas in the height of zeal, related, as the rabbins expound, not without an obscene word; we may find in Deuteronomy and three of the prophets, where God, denouncing bitterly the punishments of idolaters, tells them in a term immodest to be uttered in cool blood, that their wives shall be defiled openly. But these, they will say, were honest words in that age when they were spoken. Which is more than any rabbin can prove; and certainly had God been so minded, he could have picked such words as should never have come into abuse. What will they say to this? David going against Nabal, in the very same breath when he had just before named the name of God, he vows not "to leave any alive of Nabal's house that pisseth against the wall." But this was unadvisedly spoken, you will answer, and set down to aggravate his infirmity. Turn then to the first of Kings, where God himself uses the phrase, "I will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall." Which had it been an unseemly speech in the heat of an earnest expression, then we must conclude that Jonathan or Onkelos the targumists were of cleaner language than he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, "I will cut off all who are at years of discretion," that is to say, so much discretion as to hide nakedness. Whereas God, who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plain word might have easily been forborn: which the masoreths and rabbinical scholiasts, not well attending, have often used to blur the margent with Keri instead of Ketiv, and gave us this insulse rule out of their Talmud, "That all words which in the law are written obscenely, must be changed to more civil words:" fools, who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation against men and their actions notoriously bad hath leave and authority ofttimes to utter such words and phrases, as in common talk were not so mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the historian speaks, "that all those things for which men plough, build, or sail, obey virtue," but that all words, and whatsoever may be spoken, shall at some time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purposes.

Now that the confutant may also know as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in laughter; I shall return him in short, that laughter being one way of answering "a fool according to his folly," teaches two sorts of persons, first, the fool himself "not to be wise in his own conceit," as Solomon affirms; which is certainly a great document to make an unwise man know himself. Next, it teacheth the hearers, in as much as scorn is one of those punishments, which belong to men carnally wise, which is oft in Scripture declared; for when such are punished, "the simple are thereby made wise," if Solomon's rule be true. And I would ask, to what end Eliah mocked the false prophets? was it to shew his wit, or to fulfil his humour? Doubtless we cannot imagine that great servant of God had any other end, in all which he there did, but to teach and instruct the poor misled people. And we may frequently read, that many of the martyrs in the midst of their troubles were not sparing to deride and scoff their superstitious persecutors. Now may the confutant advise again with Sir Francis Bacon, whether Eliah and the martyrs did well to turn religion into a comedy or satire; "to rip up the wounds of idolatry and superstition with a laughing countenance:" so that for pious gravity the author here is matched and overmatched, and for wit and morality in one that follows:

"——— laughing to teach the truth
What hinders? as some teachers give to boys
Junkets and knacks that they may learn apace."

Thus Flaccus in his first satire, and his tenth:

"——— Jesting decides great things
Stronglier and better oft than earnest can."

I could urge the same out of Cicero and Seneca, but he may content him with this. And henceforward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds and objects of laughter and vehement reproof, as he hath known hitherto how to deserve them both. But lest some may haply think, or thus expostulate with me after this debatement, who made you the busy almoner to deal about this dole of laughter and reprehension, which no man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that man I should answer much after this sort: that I, friend objecter, having read of heathen philosophers, some to have taught, that whosoever would but use his ear to listen, might hear the voice of his guiding genius ever before him, calling, and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the stoics, to account reason, which they call the Hegemonicon, to be the common Mercury conducting without errour those that give themselves obediently to be led accordingly: having read this, I could not esteem so poorly of the faith which I profess, that God had left nothing to those who had forsaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witness and warrant of what they have to do, as that they should need to measure themselves by other men's measures, how to give scope or limit to their proper actions; for that were to make us the most at a stand, the most uncertain and accidental wanderers in our doings, of all religions in the world. So that the question ere while moved, who is he that spends thus the benevolence of laughter and reproof so liberally upon such men as the prelates, may return with a more just demand, who he is not of place and knowledge never so mean, under whose contempt and jerk these men are not deservedly fallen? Neither can religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the prelates, since religion and they surely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes must heal her. I might also tell them, what Electra in Sophocles, a wise virgin, answered her wicked mother, who thought herself too violently reproved by her the daughter:

'Tis you that say it, not I; you do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds find me the words.

If therefore the Remonstrant complain of libels, it is because he feels them to be right aimed. For I ask again, as before in the Animadversions, how long is it since he hath disrelished libels? We never heard the least mutter of his voice against them while they flew abroad without control or check, defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but Lysimachus Nicanor, and "that he misliked and censured." No more but of one can the Remonstrant remember? What if I put him in mind of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonstrant in many likelihoods may be thought the author? Did he never see a pamphlet intitled after his own fashion, "A Survey of that foolish, seditious, scandalous, prophane Libel, the Protestation protested?" The child doth not more expressly refigure the visage of his father, than that book resembles the style of the Remonstrant, in those idioms of speech, wherein he seems most to delight: and in the seventeenth page three lines together are taken out of the Remonstrance word for word, not as a citation, but as an author borrows from himself. Whoever it be, he may as justly be said to have libelled, as he against whom he writes: there ye shall find another man than is here made shew of, there he bites as fast as this whines. "Vinegar in the ink" is there "the antidote of vipers." Laughing in a religious controversy is there "a thrifty physic to expel his melancholy." In the mean time the testimony of Sir Francis Bacon was not misalleged, complaining that libels on the bishops' part were uttered openly; and if he hoped the prelates had no intelligence with the libellers, he delivers it but as his favourable opinion. But had he contradicted himself, how could I assoil him here, more than a little before, where I know not how, by entangling himself, he leaves an aspersion upon Job, which by any else I never heard laid to his charge? For having affirmed that "there is no greater confusion than the confounding of jest and earnest," presently he brings the example of Job, "glancing at conceits of mirth, when he sat among the people with the gravity of a judge upon him." If jest and earnest be such a confusion, then were the people much wiser than Job, for "he smiled, and they believed him not." To defend libels, which is that whereof I am next accused, was far from my purpose. I had not so little share in good name, as to give another that advantage against myself. The sum of what I said was, that a more free permission of writing at some times might be profitable, in such a question especially wherein the magistrates are not fully resolved; and both sides have equal liberty to write, as now they have. Not as when the prelates bore sway, in whose time the books of some men were confuted, when they who should have answered were in close prison, denied the use of pen or paper. And the divine right of episcopacy was then valiantly asserted, when he who would have been respondent must have bethought himself withal how he could refute the Clink or the Gatehouse. If now therefore they be pursued with bad words, who persecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to lessen tumult rather than to increase it; whenas anger thus freely vented spends itself ere it break out into action, though Machiavel, whom he cites, or any other Machiavelian priest, think the contrary.

SECT. III.

Now, readers, I bring ye to his third section; wherein very cautiously and no more than needs, lest I should take him for some chaplain at hand, some squire of the

body to his prelate, one that serves not at the altar only, but at the court cupboard, he will bestow on us a pretty model of himself; and sobs me out of half a dozen phthisical mottoes wherever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion-fits; in which labour the agony of his wit having escaped narrowly, instead of well-sized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumb-ring posies. "He has a fortune therefore good, because he is content with it." This is a piece of sapience not worth the brain of a fruit trencher; as if content were the measure of what is good or bad in the gift of fortune. For by this rule a bad man may have a good fortune, because he may be ofttimes content with it for many reasons which have no affinity with virtue, as love of ease, want of spirit to use more, and the like. "And therefore content," he says, "because it neither goes before, nor comes behind his merit." Belike then if his fortune should go before his merit, he would not be content, but resign, if we believe him, which I do the less, because he implies, that if it came behind his merit, he would be content as little. Whereas if a wise man's content should depend upon such a therefore, because his fortune came not behind his merit, how many wise men could have content in this world? In his next pithy symbol I dare not board him, for he passes all the seven wise masters of Greece, attributing to himself that which on my life Solomon durst not: "to have affections so equally tempered, that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth before it be fully examined, nor too lazily afterward." Which, unless he only were exempted out of the corrupt mass of Adam, born without sin original, and living without actual, is impossible. Had Solomon, (for it behoves me to instance in the wisest, dealing with such a transcendant sage as this,) had Solomon affections so equally tempered, as "not adhering too lazily to the truth," when God warned him of his halting in idolatry? do we read that he repented hastily? did not his affections lead him hastily from an examined truth, how much more would they lead him slowly to it? Yet this man, beyond a stoic apathy, sees truth as in a rapture, and cleaves to it; not as through the dim glass of his affections, which, in this frail mansion of flesh, are ever unequally tempered, pushing forward to errour, and keeping back from truth ofttimes the best of men. But how far this boaster is from knowing himself, let his preface speak. Something I thought it was that made him so quicksighted to gather such strange things out of the Animadversions, whereof the least conception could not be drawn from thence, of "suburb-sinks," sometimes "out of wit and clothes," sometimes "in new serge, drinking sack, and swearing;" now I know it was this equal temper of his affections, that gave him to see clearer than any fennel-rubbed serpent. Lastly, he has resolved "that neither person nor cause shall improper him." I may mistake his meaning, for the word ye hear is "improper." But whether if not a person, yet a good parsonage or impropriation bought out for him, would not "improper" him, because there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a canonist to resolve.

SECT. IV.

And thus ends this section, or rather dissection, of himself, short ye will say both in breadth and extent, as in our own praises it ought to be, unless wherein a good name hath been wrongfully attainted. Right; but if ye look at what he ascribes to himself, "that temper of his affections," which cannot any where be but in Paradise, all the judicious panegyrics in any language extant are not half so prolix. And that well appears in his next removal. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this description of himself, and what with adventuring presently to stand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margin, which is the sluice most commonly that feeds the drought of his text, he comes so lazily on in a simile, with his "armfull of weeds," and demeans himself in the dull expression so like a dough-kneaded thing, that he has not spirit enough left him so far to look to his syntax, as to avoid nonsense. For it must be understood there that the stranger, and not he who brings the bundle, would be deceived in censuring the field, which this hipshot grammarian cannot set into right frame of construction, neither here in the similitude, nor in the following reddition thereof; which being to this purpose, that "the faults of the best picked out, and presented in gross, seem monstrous, this," saith he, "you have done, in pinning on his sleeve the faults of others;" as if to pick out his own faults, and to pin the faults of others upon him, were to do the same thing. To answer therefore how I have culled out the evil actions of the Remonstrant from his virtues, I am acquitted by the dexterity and conveyance of his nonsense, losing that for which he brought his parable. But what of other men's faults I have pinned upon his sleeve, let him shew. For whether he were the man who termed the martyrs Foxian confessors, it matters not; he that shall step up before others to defend a church-government, which wants almost no circumstance, but only a name, to be a plain popedom, a government which changes the fatherly and ever-teaching discipline of Christ into that lordly and uninstructing jurisdiction, which properly makes the pope Antichrist, makes himself an accessory to all the evil committed by those, who are armed to do mischief by that undue government; which they, by their wicked deeds, do, with a kind of passive and unwitting obedience to God, destroy; but he, by plausible words and traditions against the Scripture, obstinately seeks to maintain. They, by their own wickedness ruining their own unjust authority, make room for good to succeed; but he, by a shew of good upholding the evil which in them undoes itself, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifest crimes serve to bring forth an ensuing good, and hasten a remedy against themselves; and his seeming good tends to reinforce their self-punishing crimes and his own, by doing his best to delay all redress. Shall not all the mischief which other men do be laid to his charge, if they do it by that unchurch-like power which he defends? Christ saith, "he that is not with

me, is against me; and he that gathers not with me, scatters." In what degree of enmity to Christ shall we place that man then, who so is with him, as that it makes more against him; and so gathers with him, that it scatters more from him? Shall it avail that man to say he honours the martyrs' memory, and treads in their steps? No; the pharisees confessed as much of the holy prophets. Let him, and such as he, when they are in their best actions, even at their prayers, look to hear that which the pharisees heard from John the Baptist when they least expected, when they rather looked for praise from him; "generation of vipers, who hath warned ye to flee from the wrath to come?" Now that ye have started back from the purity of Scripture, which is the only rule of reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions; now that ye have either troubled or leavened the people of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, with scandalous ceremonies and mass-borrowed liturgies, do ye turn the use of that truth which ye profess, to countenance that falsehood which ye gain by? We also reverence the martyrs, but rely only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to rely upon the martyrs, I shall be content with such reasons as my confuter himself affords me; who is, I must needs say for him, in that point as officious an adversary as I would wish to any man. For, "first," saith he, "there may be a martyr in a wrong cause, and as courageous in suffering as the best; sometimes in a good cause with a forward ambition displeasing to God. Other whiles they that story of them out of blind zeal or malice, may write many things of them untruly." If this be so, as ye hear his own confession, with what safety can the Remonstrant rely upon the martyrs as "patrons of his cause," whenas any of those who are alleged for the approvers of our liturgy or prelaty, might have been, though not in a wrong cause, martyrs? Yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not misreported or misunderstood in those their opinions, God only knows. The testimony of what we believe in religion must be such as the conscience may rest on to be infallible and incorruptible, which is only the word of God.

SECT. V.

His fifth section finds itself aggrieved that the Remonstrant should be taxed with the illegal proceeding of the high commission, and oath ex officio: and first, "whether they were illegal or no, it is more than he knows." See this malevolent fox! that tyranny which the whole kingdom cried out against as stung with adders and scorpions, that tyranny which the parliament, in compassion of the church and commonwealth, hath dissolved and fetched up by the roots, for which it hath received the public thanks and blessings of thousands; this obscure thorn-eater of malice and detraction as well as of quodlibets and sophisms, knows not whether it were illegal or not. Evil, evil would be your reward, ye worthies of the parliament, if this sophister and his accomplices had the censuring or the sounding forth of your labours. And that the Remonstrant cannot wash his hands of all the cruelties exercised by the prelates, is past doubting. They scourged the confessors of the gospel, and he held the scourgers' garments. They executed their rage; and he, if he did nothing else, defended the government with the oath that did it, and the ceremonies which were the cause of it; does he think to be counted guiltless?

SECT. VI.

In the following section I must foretel ye, readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the baiting of a satire. And if the work seem more trivial or boisterous than for this discourse, let the Remonstrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word pass, but he must make all this blaze of it. I had said, that because the Remonstrant was so much offended with those who were tart against the prelates, sure he loved toothless satires, which I took were as improper as a toothed sleekstone. This champion from behind the arras cries out, that those toothless satires were of the Remonstrant's making; and arms himself here tooth and nail, and horn to boot, to supply the want of teeth, or rather of gums in the satires. And for an onset tells me, that the simile of a sleekstone "shews I can be as bold with a prelate as familiar with a laundress." But does it not argue rather the lascivious promptness of his own fancy, who, from the harmless mention of a sleekstone, could neigh out the remembrance of his old conversation among the viraginian trollops? For me, if he move me, I shall claim his own oath, the oath ex officio against any priest or prelate in the kingdom, to have ever as much hated such pranks as the best and chastest of them all. That exception which I made against toothless satires, the confuter hopes I had from the satirist, but is far deceived: neither have I ever read the hobbling distich which he means. For this good hap I had from a careful education, to be inured and seasoned betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an ear that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating: rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling versifier. Whence lighting upon this title of "toothless satires," I will not conceal ye what I thought, readers, that sure this must be some sucking satire, who might have done better to have used his coral, and made an end of breeding, ere he took upon him to wield a satire's whip. But when I heard him talk of "scowering the rusty swords of elvish knights," do not blame me, if I changed my thought, and concluded him some desperate cutler. But why "his scornful muse could never abide with tragic shoes her ancles for to hide," the pace of the verse told me that her mawkin knuckles were never shapen to that

royal buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth satire of his second book, I was confirmed; where having begun loftily "in Heaven's universal alphabet," he falls down to that wretched poorness and frigidity, as to talk of "Bridge street in Heaven, and the Ostler of Heaven," and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, (for certain he was in the frozen zone miserably benummed,) with thoughts lower than any beadle betakes him to whip the signposts of Cambridge alehouses, the ordinary subject of freshmen's tales, and in a strain as pitiful. Which for him who would be counted the first English satire, to abase himself to, who might have learned better among the Latin and Italian satirists, and in our own tongue from the "Vision and Creed of Pierce Plowman," besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak and unexamined shoulders. For a satire as it was born out of a tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creep into every-blind tap-house, that fears a constable more than a satire. But that such a poem should be toothless, I still affirm it to be a bull, taking away the essence of that which it calls itself. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a satire? And if it bite either, how is it toothless? So that toothless satires are as much as if he had said toothless teeth. What we should do therefore with this learned comment upon teeth and horns, which hath brought this confutant into his pedantic kingdom of Cornucopia, to reward him for glossing upon horns even to the Hebrew root, I know not; unless we should commend him to be lecturer in East-cheap upon St. Luke's day, when they send their tribute to that famous haven by Deptford. But we are not like to escape him so. For now the worm of criticism works in him, he will tell us the derivation of "German rutters, of meat, and of ink," which doubtless, rightly applied with some gall in it, may prove good to heal this tetter of pedagogism that bespreads him, with such a tenesmus of originating, that if he be an Arminian, and deny original sin, all the etymologies of his book shall witness, that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

SECT. VII.

His seventh section labours to cavil out the flaws which were found in the Remonstrant's logic; who having laid down for a general proposition, that "civil polity is variable and arbitrary," from whence was inferred logically upon him, that he had concluded the polity of England to be arbitrary, for general includes particular; here his defendant is not ashamed to confess, that the Remonstrant's proposition was sophistical by a fallacy called ad plures interrogationes: which sounds to me somewhat strange, that a Remonstrant of that pretended sincerity should bring deceitful and double-dealing propositions to the parliament. The truth is, he had let slip a shrewd passage ere he was aware, not thinking the conclusion would turn upon him with such a terrible edge, and not knowing how to wind out of the briars, he, or his substitute, seems more willing to lay the integrity of his logic to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his own major, where none is, than to be forced to uphold the inference. For that distinction of possible, and lawful, is ridiculous to be sought for in that proposition; no man doubting that it is possible to change the form of civil polity; and that it is held lawful by that major, the word "arbitrary" implies. Nor will this help him, to deny that it is arbitrary "at any time, or by any undertakers," (which are the limitations invented by him since,) for when it stands as he will have it now by his second edition, "civil polity is variable, but not at any time, or by any undertakers," it will result upon him, belike then at some time, and by some undertakers it may. And so he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with something in Sir Francis Bacon; then he takes heart again, and holds his major at large. But by and by, as soon as the shadow of Sir Francis hath left him, he falls off again warping, and warping, till he come to contradict himself in diameter; and denies flatly that it is "either variable or arbitrary, being once settled." Which third shift is no less a piece of laughter: for, before the polity was settled, how could it be variable, whenas it was no polity at all, but either an anarchy or a tyranny? That limitation therefore, of after-settling, is a mere tautology. So that, in fine, his former assertion is now recanted, and "civil polity is neither variable nor arbitrary."

SECT. VIII.

Whatever else may persuade me, that this confutation was not made without some assistance or advice of the Remonstrant, yet in this eighth section that his hand was not greatly intermixed, I can easily believe. For it begins with this surmise, that "not having to accuse the Remonstrant to the king, I do it to the parliament;" which conceit of the man clearly shoves the king out of the parliament, and makes two bodies of one. Whereas the Remonstrant, in the epistle to his last "Short Answer," gives his supposal, "that they cannot be severed in the rights of their several concernments." Mark, readers, if they cannot be severed in what is several, (which casts a bull's eye to go yoke with the toothless satires,) how should they be severed in their common concernments, the welfare of the land, by due accusation of such as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonstrant to be one? And therefore if I accused him to the parliament, it was the same as to accuse him to the king. Next he casts it into the dish of I know not whom, "that they flatter some of the house, and libel others whose consciences made them vote contrary to some proceedings." Those some proceedings can be understood of nothing

else but the deputy's execution. And can this private concoctor of malecontent, at the very instant when he pretends to extol the parliament, afford thus to blur over, rather than to mention, that public triumph of their justice and constancy, so high, so glorious, so reviving to the fainted commonwealth, with such a suspicious and murmuring expression as to call it some proceedings? And yet immediately he falls to glossing, as if he were the only man that rejoiced at these times. But I shall discover to ye, readers, that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and scholastic foppery, as his meaning he himself discovers to be full of close malignity. His first encomium is, "that the sun looks not upon a braver, nobler convocation than is that of king, peers, and commons." One thing I beg of ye, readers, as ye bear any zeal to learning, to elegance, and that which is called decorum in the writing of praise, especially on such a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloistered lubber according to his deserts. Where didst thou learn to be so aguish, so pusillanimous, thou losel bachelor of art, as against all custom and use of speech to term the high and sovereign court of parliament, a convocation? Was this the flower of all the synonimas and voluminous papers, whose best folios are predestined to no better end than to make winding-sheets in lent for pilchers? Couldst thou presume thus with one word's speaking to clap as it were under hatches the king with all his peers and gentry into square caps and monkish hoods? How well dost thou now appear to be a chip of the old block, that could find "Bridge street and alehouses in heaven?" Why didst thou not, to be his perfect imitator, liken the king to the vice-chancellor, and the lords, to the doctors? Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable residence of justice and liberty, by such an odious name as now a "convocation" is become, which would be nothing injured, though it were styled the house of bondage, whereout so many cruel tasks, so many unjust burdens have been laden upon the bruised consciences of so many Christians throughout the land. But which of those worthy deeds, whereof we and our posterity must confess this parliament to have done so many and so noble, which of those memorable acts comes first into his praises? None of all, not one. What will he then praise them for? Not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chastise his lewd and insolent compriests: not that they have deferred all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind. For the rest of his oratory that follows, so just is it in the language of stall epistle nonsense, that if he who made it can understand it, I deny not but that he may deserve for his pains a cast doublet. When a man would look he should vent something of his own, as ever in a set speech the manner is with him that knows any thing, he, lest we should not take notice enough of his barren stupidity, declares it by alphabet, and refers us to odd remnants in his topics. Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margin, but he must cut out large docks and creeks into his text, to unlade the foolish frigate of his unseasonable authorities, not therewith to praise the parliament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What else there is, he jumbles together in such a lost construction, as no man, either lettered or unlettered, will be able to piece up. I shall spare to transcribe him, but if I do him wrong let me be so dealt with.

Now although it be a digression from the ensuing matter, yet because it shall not be said I am apter to blame others than to make trial myself, and that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smoother string awhile to entertain myself and him that list, with some more pleasing fit, and not the least to testify the gratitude which I owe to those public benefactors of their country, for the share I enjoy in the common peace and good by their incessant labours; I shall be so troublesome to this declaimer for once, as to shew him what he might have better said in their praise; wherein I must mention only some few things of many, for more than that to a digression may not be granted. Although certainly their actions are worthy not thus to be spoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befall me to attempt something more answerable to their great merits, I perceive how hopeless it will be to reach the height of their praises at the accomplishment of that expectation that waits upon their noble deeds, the unfinishing whereof already surpasses what others before them have left enacted with their utmost performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertain opinion, nor sudden counsels, but from mature wisdom, deliberate virtue, and dear affection to the public good; I shall begin at that which made them likeliest in the eyes of good men to effect those things for the recovery of decayed religion and the commonwealth, which they who were best minded had long wished for, but few, as the times then were desperate, had the courage to hope for. First, therefore, the most of them being either of ancient and high nobility, or at least of known and well reputed ancestry, which is a great advantage towards virtue one way, but in respect of wealth, ease, and flattery, which accompany a nice and tender education, is as much a hinderance another way: the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthiest of their progenitors; and the evil which assaulted their younger years by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usual bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remiss, through the strength of an inbred goodness, and with the help of divine grace, that had marked them out for no mean purposes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being trained up in the knowledge of learning, and sent to those places which were intended to be the seed plots of piety and the liberal arts, but were become the nurseries of superstition and empty speculation, as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idleness and superfluity, so were they happy in working off the harms of their abused studies and labours; correcting by the clearness of their own judgment the errours of their misinstruction, and were, as David was, wiser than their teachers. And although their

lot fell into such times, and to be bred in such places, where if they chanced to be taught any thing good, or of their own accord had learnt it, they might see that presently untaught them by the custom and ill example of their elders; so far in all probability was their youth from being misled by the single power of example, as their riper years were known to be unmoved with the baits of preferment, and undaunted for any discouragement and terrour which appeared often to those that loved religion and their native liberty; which two things God hath inseparably knit together, and hath disclosed to us, that they who seek to corrupt our religion, are the same that would enthral our civil liberty. Thus in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects, (some also at last not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their country,) having given proof of themselves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue, than others under the holiest precepts and best examples have been headstrong and prone to vice; and having in all the trials of a firm ingrafted honesty not oftener buckled in the conflict than given every opposition the foil; this moreover was added by favour from heaven, as an ornament and happiness to their virtue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclipsed for want of matter equal to illustrate itself; God and man consenting in joint approbation to choose them out as worthiest above others to be both the great reformers of the church, and the restorers of the commonwealth. Nor did they deceive that expectation which with the eyes and desires of their country was fixed upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy, but encountering the dazzled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and subtle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatal block; with one stroke winning again our lost liberties and charters, which our forefathers after so many battles could scarce maintain. And meeting next, as I may so resemble, with the second life of tyranny (for she was grown an ambiguous monster, and to be slain in two shapes) guarded with superstition, which hath no small power to captivate the minds of men otherwise most wise, they neither were taken with her mitred hypocrisy, nor terrified with the push of her bestial horns, but breaking them, immediately forced her to unbend the pontifical brow, and recoil; which repulse only given to the prelates (that we may imagine how happy their removal would be) was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the church, that if I should compare them with those exploits of highest fame in poems and panegyrics of old, I am certain it would but diminish and impair their worth, who are now my argument; for those ancient worthies delivered men from such tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the mind be as free as it could; but these have freed us from a doctrine of tyranny, that offered violence and corruption even to the inward persuasion. They set at liberty nations and cities of men good and bad mixed together; but these opening the prisons and dungeons, called out of darkness and bonds the elect martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer. They restored the body to ease and wealth; but these, the oppressed conscience to that freedom which is the chief prerogative of the gospel; taking off those cruel burdens imposed not by necessity, as other tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulness and wantonness of a needless and jolly persecutor called Indifference. Lastly, some of those ancient deliverers have had immortal praises for preserving their citizens from a famine of corn. But these, by this only repulse of an unholy heirarchy, almost in a moment replenished with saving knowledge their country nigh famished for want of that which should feed their souls. All this being done while two armies in the field stood gazing on, the one in reverence of such nobleness quietly gave back and dislodged; the other, spite of the unruliness, and doubted fidelity in some regiments, was either persuaded or compelled to disband and retire home. With such a majesty had their wisdom begirt itself, that whereas others had levied war to subdue a nation that sought for peace, they sitting here in peace, could so many miles extend the force of their single words, as to overawe the dissolute stoutness of an armed power secretly stirred up and almost hired against them. And having by a solemn protestation vowed themselves and the kingdom anew to God and his service, and by a prudent foresight above what their fathers thought on, prevented the dissolution and frustrating of their designs by an untimely breaking up; notwithstanding all the treasonous plots against them, all the rumours either of rebellion or invasion, they have not been yet brought to change their constant resolution, ever to think fearlessly of their own safeties, and hopefully of the commonwealth: which hath gained them such an admiration from all good men, that now they hear it as their ordinary surname, to be saluted the fathers of their country, and sit as gods among daily petitions and public thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth so little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that, with all gentle affability and courteous acceptance, they both receive and return that tribute of thanks which is tendered them; testifying their zeal and desire to spend themselves as it were piece-meal upon the grievances and wrongs of their distressed nation; insomuch that the meanest artizans and labourers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants assembling with their complaints, and that sometimes in a less humble guise than for petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meanness would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemned; nor yet their urgency distasted either by the dignity, wisdom, or moderation of that supreme senate; nor did they depart unsatisfied. And indeed, if we consider the general concourse of suppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and speedy redress in what is possible, it will not seem much otherwise, than as if some divine commission from heaven were descended to take into hearing and commiseration the long remediless afflictions of this kingdom; were

it not that none more than themselves labour to remove and divert such thoughts, lest men should place too much confidence in their persons, still referring us and our prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of public fasts and supplications. Therefore the more they seek to humble themselves, the more does God, by manifest signs and testimonies, visibly honour their proceedings; and sets them as the mediators of this his covenant, which he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily conspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing; rebellion rages in our Irish province, but, with miraculous and lossless victories of few against many, is daily discomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early pledge of God's inclining towards us, by the slackness of our needful aids. And whereas at other times we count it ample honour when God vouchsafes to make man the instrument and subordinate worker of his gracious will, such acceptation have their prayers found with him, that to them he hath been pleased to make himself the agent, and immediate performer of their desires; dissolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out ways for them where no passage could be seen; as who is there so regardless of divine Providence, that from late occurrences will not confess? If therefore it be so high a grace when men are preferred to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himself condescends, and works with his own hands to fulfil the requests of men? Which I leave with them as the greatest praise that can belong to human nature: not that we should think they are at the end of their glorious progress, but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leading, who seems to have thus covenanted with them; that if the will and the endeavour shall be theirs, the performance and the perfecting shall be his. Whence only it is that I have not feared, though many wise men have miscarried in praising great designs before the utmost event, because I see who is their assistant, who is their confederate, who hath engaged his omnipotent arm to support and crown with success their faith, their fortitude, their just and magnanimous actions, till he have brought to pass all that expected good which, his servants trust, is in his thoughts to bring upon this land in the full and perfect reformation of his church.

Thus far I have digressed, readers, from my former subject; but into such a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightful than the roadway I was in. And how to break off suddenly into those jarring notes which this confuter hath set me, I must be wary, unless I can provide against offending the ear, as some musicians are wont skilfully to fall out of one key into another, without breach of harmony. By good luck therefore his ninth section is spent in mournful elegy, certain passionate soliloquies, and two whole pages of interrogatories that praise the Remonstrant even to the sonneting of "his fresh cheek, quick eyes, round tongue, agil hand, and nimble invention."

In his tenth section he will needs erect figures, and tell fortunes; "I am no bishop," he says, "I was never born to it." Let me tell therefore this wizard, since he calculates so right, that he may know there be in the world, and I among those, who nothing admire his idol a bishopric; and hold that it wants so much to be a blessing, as that I rather deem it the merest, the falsest, the most unfortunate gift of fortune. And were the punishment and misery of being a prelate bishop terminated only in the person, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole diocese, if I would wish any thing in the bitterness of soul to mine enemy, I would wish him the biggest and fattest bishopric. But he proceeds; and the familiar belike informs him, that "a rich widow, or a lecture, or both, would content me:" whereby I perceive him to be more ignorant in his art of divining than any gipsy. For this I cannot omit without ingratitude to that Providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not been unexpensive in learning, and voyaging about; so long as it shall please him to lend me what he hath hitherto thought good, which is enough to serve me in all honest and liberal occasions, and something over besides, I were unthankful to that highest bounty, if I should make myself so poor, as to solicit needily any such kind of rich hopes as this fortune-teller dreams of. And that he may further learn how his astrology is wide all the houses of heaven in spelling marriages, I care not if I tell him thus much professedly, though it be the losing of my rich hopes, as he calls them, that I think with them who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of mean fortunes honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow. The fiend therefore, that told our Chaldean the contrary, was a lying fiend. His next venom he utters against a prayer, which he found in the Animadversions, angry it seems to find any prayers but in the service book; he dislikes it, and I therefore like it the better. "It was theatrical," he says; and yet it consisted most of Scripture language; it had no rubric to be sung in an antic cope upon the stage of a high altar. "It was bigmouthed," he says; no marvel, if it were framed as the voice of three kingdoms; neither was it a prayer so much as a hymn in prose, frequent both in the prophets, and in human authors; therefore the style was greater than for an ordinary prayer. "It was an astonishing prayer." I thank him for that confession, so it was intended to astound and to astonish the guilty prelates; and this confuter confesses, that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which follows, he does not play the soothsayer, but the diabolic slanderer of prayers. "It was made," he says, "not so much to please God, or to benefit the weal public," (how dares the viper judge that?) "but to intimate," saith he, "your good abilities to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla." How hard is it when a man meets with a fool, to keep his tongue from folly! That were miserable indeed to be a courtier of Maronilla, and withal of such a hapless invention, as that no way should be left me to present my meaning but to make myself a canting probationer of orisons. The Remonstrant, when he was as young as I, could

> "Teach each hollow grove to sound his love,
> Wearying echo with one changeless word."
>
> Toothless Satires.

And so he well might, and all his auditory besides with his "teach each."

> "Whether so me list my lovely thoughts to sing,
> Come dance ye nimble dryads by my side,
> Whiles I report my fortunes or my loves."
>
> Toothless Satires.

Delicious! he had that whole bevy at command whether in morrice or at maypole; whilst I by this figure-caster must be imagined in such distress as to sue to Maronilla, and yet left so impoverished of what to say, as to turn my liturgy into my lady's psalter. Believe it, graduate, I am not altogether so rustic, and nothing so irreligious, but as far distant from a lecturer, as the merest laic, for any consecrating hand of a prelate that shall ever touch me. Yet I shall not decline the more for that, to speak my opinion in the controversy next moved, "whether the people may be allowed for competent judges of a minister's ability." For how else can be fulfilled that which God hath promised, to pour out such abundance of knowledge upon all sorts of men in the times of the gospel? How should the people examine the doctrine which is taught them, as Christ and his apostles continually bid them do? How should they "discern and beware of false prophets, and try every spirit," if they must be thought unfit to judge of the minister's abilities? The apostles ever laboured to persuade the christian flock, that they "were called in Christ to all perfectness of spiritual knowledge, and full assurance of understanding in the mystery of God." But the non-resident and plurality-gaping prelates, the gulfs and whirlpools of benefices, but the dry pits of all sound doctrine, that they may the better preach what they list to their sheep, are still possessing them that they are sheep indeed, without judgment, without understanding, "the very beasts of mount Sinai," as this confuter calls them; which words of theirs may serve to condemn them out of their own mouths, and to shew the gross contrarieties that are in their opinions: for while none think the people so void of knowledge as the prelates think them, none are so backward and malignant as they to bestow knowledge upon them; both by suppressing the frequency of sermons, and the printed explanations of the English Bible. No marvel if the people turn beasts, when their teachers themselves, as Isaiah calls them, "are dumb and greedy dogs, that can never have enough, ignorant, blind, and cannot understand; who while they all look their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter," how many parts of the land are fed with windy ceremonies instead of sincere milk; and while one prelate enjoys the nourishment and right of twenty ministers, how many waste places are left as dark as "Galilee of the Gentiles, sitting in the region and shadow of death," without preaching minister, without light. So little care they of beasts to make them men, that by their sorcerous doctrine of formalities, they take the way to transform them out of christian men into judaizing beasts. Had they but taught the land, or suffered it to be taught, as Christ would it should have been in all plenteous dispensation of the word, then the poor mechanic might have so accustomed his ear to good teaching, as to have discerned between faithful teachers and false. But now, with a most inhuman cruelty, they who have put out the people's eyes, reproach them of their blindness; just as the Pharisees their true fathers were wont, who could not endure that the people should be thought competent judges of Christ's doctrine, although we know they judged far better than those great rabbies: yet "this people," said they, "that knows not the law is accursed." We need not the authority of Pliny brought to tell us, the people cannot judge of a minister: yet that hurts not. For as none can judge of a painter, or statuary, but he who is an artist, that is, either in the practice or theory, which is often separated from the practice, and judges learnedly without it; so none can judge of a christian teacher, but he who hath either the practice, or the knowledge of christian religion, though not so artfully digested in him. And who almost of the meanest Christians hath not heard the Scriptures often read from his childhood, besides so many sermons and lectures more in number than any student hath heard in philosophy, whereby he may easily attain to know when he is wisely taught, and when weakly? whereof three ways I remember are set down in Scripture; the one is to read often that best of books written to this purpose, that not the wise only, but the simple and ignorant, may learn by them; the other way to know of a minister is, by the life he leads, whereof the meanest understanding may be apprehensive. The last way to judge aright in this point is, when he who judges, lives a christian life himself. Which of these three will the confuter affirm to exceed the capacity of a plain artizan? And what reason then is there left, wherefore he should be denied his voice in the election of his minister, as not thought a competent discerner? It is but arrogance therefore, and the pride of a metaphysical fume, to think that "the mutinous rabble" (for so he calls the christian congregation) "would be so mistaken in a clerk of the university," that were to be their minister. I doubt me those clerks, that think so, are more mistaken in themselves; and what with truanting and debauchery, what with false grounds and the weakness of natural faculties in many of them, (it being a maxim in some men to send the simplest of their sons thither,) perhaps there would be found among them as many unsolid and corrupted judgments both in doctrine and life, as in any other two corporations of like bigness. This is undoubted, that if any carpenter, smith, or weaver, were such a bungler in his trade, as the greater number of them are in their profession, he would starve for any custom. And should he exercise his manufacture as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art; and should he mistake his tools as they do theirs, he would mar all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know to write, or speak in a pure style; much less to distinguish the ideas, and various kinds of style; in Latin barbarous, and oft not without solecisms, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous gear blown together by the four winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankness of Apuleius, Arnobius, or any modern fustianist, before the native

Latinisms of Cicero. In the Greek tongue most of them unlettered, or "unentered to any sound proficiency in those attic masters of moral wisdom and eloquence." In the Hebrew text, which is so necessary to be understood, except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcised. No less are they out of the way in philosophy, pestering their heads with the sapless dotages of old Paris and Salamanca. And that which is the main point, in their sermons affecting the comments and postils of friars and Jesuits, but scorning and slighting the reformed writers; insomuch that the better sort among them will confess it a rare matter to hear a true edifying sermon in either of their great churches; and that such as are most hummed and applauded there, would scarcely be suffered the second hearing in a grave congregation of pious Christians. Is there cause why these men should overwean, and be so queasy of the rude multitude, lest their deep worth should be undervalued for want of fit umpires? No, my matriculated confutant, there will not want in any congregation of this island, that hath not been altogether famished or wholly perverted with prelatish leaven; there will not want divers plain and solid men, that have learned by the experience of a good conscience, what it is to be well taught, who will soon look through and through both the lofty nakedness of your latinizing barbarian, and the finical goosery of your neat sermon actor. And so I leave you and your fellow "stars," as you term them, "of either horizon," meaning I suppose either hemisphere, unless you will be ridiculous in your astronomy: for the rational horizon in heaven is but one, and the sensible horizons in earth are innumerable; so that your allusion was as erroneous as your stars. But that you did well to prognosticate them all at lowest in the horizon; that is, either seeming bigger than they are through the mist and vapour which they raise, or else sinking and wasted to the snuff in their western socket.

SECT. XI.

His eleventh section intends I know not what, unless to clog us with the residue of his phlegmatic sloth, discussing with a heavy pulse the "expedience of set forms;" which no question but to some, and for some time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be usefully set forth by the church a common directory of public prayer, especially in the administration of the sacraments. But that it should therefore be enforced where both minister and people profess to have no need, but to be scandalized by it, that, I hope, every sensible Christian will deny: and the reasons of such denial the confuter himself, as his bounty still is to his adversary, will give us out of his affirmation. First saith he, "God in his providence hath chosen some to teach others, and pray for others, as ministers and pastors." Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath set apart to his ministry, are by him endued with an ability of prayer; because their office is to pray for others, and not to be the lip-working deacons of other men's appointed words. Nor is it easily credible, that he who can preach well, should be unable to pray well; whenas it is indeed the same ability to speak affirmatively, or doctrinally, and only by changing the mood, to speak prayingly. In vain therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can find utterance to preach. And if prayer be the gift of the Spirit, why do they admit those to the ministry, who want a main gift of their function, and prescribe gifted men to use that which is the remedy of another man's want; setting them their tasks to read, whom the Spirit of God stands ready to assist in his ordinance with the gift of free conceptions? What if it be granted to the infirmity of some ministers (though such seem rather to be half ministers) to help themselves with a set form, shall it therefore be urged upon the plenteous graces of others? And let it be granted to some people while they are babes, in christian gifts, were it not better to take it away soon after, as we do loitering books and interlineary translations from children; to stir up and exercise that portion of the Spirit which is in them, and not impose it upon congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troublesome and offensive, refuse it? Another reason which he brings for liturgy, is "the preserving of order, unity, and piety;" and the same shall be my reason against liturgy. For I, readers, shall always be of this opinion, that obedience to the spirit of God, rather than to the fair seeming pretences of men, is the best and most dutiful order that a Christian can observe. If the Spirit of God manifest the gift of prayer in his minister, what more seemly order in the congregation, than to go along with that man in our devoutest affections? For him to abridge himself by reading, and to forestall himself in those petitions, which he must either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the pulpit under a shew of order, is the greatest disorder. Nor is unity less broken, especially by our liturgy, though this author would almost bring the communion of saints to a communion of liturgical words. For what other reformed church holds communion with us by our liturgy, and does not rather dislike it? And among ourselves, who knows it not to have been a perpetual cause of disunion?

Lastly, it hinders piety rather than sets it forward, being more apt to weaken the spiritual faculties, if the people be not weaned from it in due time; as the daily pouring in of hot waters quenches the natural heat. For not only the body and the mind, but also the improvement of God's Spirit, is quickened by using. Whereas they who will ever adhere to liturgy, bring themselves in the end to such a pass by overmuch leaning, as to lose even the legs of their devotion. These inconveniencies and dangers follow the compelling of set forms: but that the toleration of the English liturgy now in use is more dangerous than the compelling of any other, which the reformed churches use, these reasons following may evince. To contend that it is fantastical, if not senseless in some places, were a

copious argument, especially in the Responsories. For such alternations as are there used must be by several persons; but the minister and the people cannot so sever their interests, as to sustain several persons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he presents. And if the people pray, he being silent, or they ask any one thing, and he another, it either changes the property, making the priest the people, and the people the priest, by turns, or else makes two persons and two bodies representative where there should be but one. Which, if it be nought else, must needs be a strange quaintness in ordinary prayer. The like, or worse, may be said of the litany, wherein neither priest nor people speak any intire sense of themselves throughout the whole, I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted stakes, closing up as it were the schism of a sliced prayer, they pray not in vain, for by this means they keep life between them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep down the sauciness of a continual rebounding nonsense. And hence it is, that as it hath been far from the imitation of any warranted prayer, so we all know it hath been obvious to be the pattern of many a jig. And he who hath but read in good books of devotion and no more, cannot be so either of ear or judgment unpractised to distinguish what is grave, pathetical, devout, and what not, but will presently perceive this liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of passion, or any height whereto the soul might soar upon the wings of zeal, destitute and barren; besides errours, tautologies, impertinencies, as those thanks in the woman's churching for her delivery from sunburning and moonblasting, as if she had been travailing not in her bed, but in the deserts of Arabia. So that while some men cease not to admire the incomparable frame of our liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what they think is become of judgment and taste in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a compliable matter. But when we remember this our liturgy where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, still serving to all the abominations of the antichristian temple, it may be wondered now we can demur whether it should be done away or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in using it so long. It hath indeed been pretended to be more ancient than the mass, but so little proved, that whereas other corrupt liturgies have had withal such a seeming antiquity, as that their publishers have ventured to ascribe them with their worst corruptions either to St. Peter, St. James, St. Mark, or at least to Chrysostom or Basil, ours hath been never able to find either age or author allowable, on whom to father those things therein which are least offensive, except the two creeds, for Te Deum has a smatch in it of Limbus Patrum: as if Christ had not "opened the kingdom of heaven" before he had "overcome the sharpness of death." So that having received it from the papal church as an original creature, for aught can be shewn to the contrary, formed and fashioned by workmasters ill to be trusted, we may be assured that if God loathe the best *of an idolater's prayer, much more the conceited fangle of his prayer. This confuter himself confesses that a* community of the same set form in prayers, is that which "makes church and church truly one;" we then using a liturgy far more like to the mass book than to any protestant set form, by his own words must have more communion with the Romish church, than with any of the reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curse and vengeance of their superstition, to whom we come so near in the same set form and dress of our devotion? Do we think to sift the matter finer than we are sure God in his jealousy will, who detested both the gold and the spoil of idolatrous cities, and forbid the eating of things offered to idols? Are we stronger than he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not surely because we think that prayers are no where to be had but at Rome? That were a foul scorn and indignity cast upon all the reformed churches, and our own: if we imagine that all the godly ministers of England are not able to new-mould a better and more pious liturgy than this which was conceived and infanted by an idolatrous mother, how basely were that to esteem of God's Spirit, and all the holy blessings and privileges of a true church above a false! Hark ye, prelates, is this your glorious mother of England, who, whenas Christ hath taught her to pray, thinks it not enough unless she add thereto the teaching of Antichrist? How can we believe ye would refuse to take the stipend of Rome, when ye shame not to live upon the almsbasket of her prayers? Will ye persuade us, that ye can curse Rome from your hearts, when none but Rome must teach ye to pray? Abraham disdained to take so much as a thread or a shoelatchet from the king of Sodom, though no foe of his, but a wicked king; and shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies, whose gifts are no gifts, but the instruments of our bane? Alas! that the Spirit of God should blow as an uncertain wind, should so mistake his inspiring, so misbestow his gifts promised only to the elect, that the idolatrous should find words acceptable to present God with, and abound to their neighbours, while the true professors of the gospel can find nothing of their own worth the constituting, wherewith to worship God in public! Consider if this be to magnify the church of England, and not rather to display her nakedness to all the world. Like therefore as the retaining of this Romish liturgy is a provocation to God, and a dishonour to our church, so is it by those ceremonies, those purifyings and offerings at the altar, a pollution and disturbance to the gospel itself; and a kind of driving us with the foolish Galatians to another gospel. For that which the apostles taught hath freed us in religion from the ordinances of men, and commands that "burdens be not laid" upon the redeemed of Christ; though the formalist will say, What, no decency in God's worship? Certainly, readers, the worship of God singly in itself, the very act of prayer and thanksgiving, with those free and unimposed expressions which from a sincere heart unbidden come into the outward gesture, is the greatest decency that can be imagined. Which to

dress up and garnish with a devised bravery abolished in the law, and disclaimed by the gospel, adds nothing but a deformed ugliness; and hath ever afforded a colourable pretence to bring in all those traditions and carnalities that are so killing to the power and virtue of the gospel. What was that which made the Jews, figured under the names of Aholah and Aholibah, go a whoring after all the heathen's inventions, but that they saw a religion gorgeously attired and desirable to the eye? What was all that the false doctors of the primitive church and ever since have done, but "to make a fair shew in the flesh," as St. Paul's words are? If we have indeed given a bill of divorce to popery and superstition, why do we not say as to a divorced wife, Those things which are yours take them all with you, and they shall sweep after you? Why were not we thus wise at our parting from Rome? Ah! like a crafty adulteress she forgot not all her smooth looks and enticing words at her parting; yet keep these letters, these tokens, and these few ornaments; I am not all so greedy of what is mine, let them preserve with you the memory of what I am? No, but of what I was, once fair and lovely in your eyes. Thus did those tender-hearted reformers dotingly suffer themselves to be overcome with harlot's language. And she like a witch, but with a contrary policy, did not take something of theirs, that she still might have power to bewitch them, but for the same intent left something of her own behind her. And that her whorish cunning should prevail to work upon us her deceitful ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our blindness, that we deserve. For we are deep in dotage. We cry out sacrilege and misdevotion against those who in zeal have demolished the dens and cages of her unclean wallowings. We stand for a popish liturgy as for the ark of our covenant. And so little does it appear our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the parliament, that they may still ignorantly read the prayers of other men to God. They object, that if we must forsake all that is Rome's, we must bid adieu to our creed; and I had thought our creed had been of the Apostles, for so it bears title. But if it be hers, let her take it. We can want no creed, so long as we want not the Scriptures. We magnify those who, in reforming our church, have inconsiderately and blamefully permitted the old leaven to remain and sour our whole lump. But they were martyrs; true, and he that looks well into the book of God's providence, if he read there that God for this their negligence and halting brought all that following persecution upon this church, and on themselves, perhaps will be found at the last day not to have read amiss.

SECT. XII.

But now, readers, we have the port within sight; his last section, which is no deep one, remains only to be forded, and then the wished shore. And here first it pleases him much, that he had descried me, as he conceives, to be unread in the councils. Concerning which matter it will not be unnecessary to shape him this answer; that some years I had spent in the stories of those Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily spoken; when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the church had obtained a christian emperor, I so prepared myself, as being now to read examples of wisdom and goodness among those who were foremost in the church, not elsewhere to be paralleled; but, to the amazement of what I expected, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in some very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combustion; insomuch that I could not but love the historian Socrates, who, in the proem to his fifth book professes, "he was fain to intermix affairs of state, for that it would be else an extreme annoyance to hear in a continued discourse the endless brabbles and counter-plottings of the bishops." Finding, therefore, the most of their actions in single to be weak, and yet turbulent; full of strife, and yet flat of spirit; and the sum of their best councils there collected, to be most commonly in questions either trivial and vain, or else of short and easy decision, without that great bustle which they made; I concluded that if their single ambition and ignorance was such, then certainly united in a council it would be much more; and if the compendious recital of what they there did was so tedious and unprofitable, then surely to set out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes would be a loss of time irrecoverable. Besides that which I had read of St. Martin, who for his last sixteen years could never be persuaded to be at any council of the bishops. And Gregory Nazianzen betook him to the same resolution, affirming to Procopius, "that of any council or meeting of bishops he never saw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evil in the church, but rather an increase. For," saith he, "their contentions and desire of lording no tongue is able to express." I have not therefore, I confess, read more of the councils save here and there; I should be sorry to have been such a prodigal of my time: but that which is better, I can assure this confuter, I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of Muræna was answered by Cicero to Sulpitius the lawyer. If ye provoke me (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert councilist. For, be not deceived, readers, by men that would overawe your ears with big names and huge tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cram a margin with citations Do but winnow their chaff from their wheat, ye shall see their great heap shrink and wax thin past belief. From hence he passes to inquire wherefore I should blame the vices of the prelates only, seeing the inferiour clergy is known to be as faulty. To which let him hear in brief; that those priests whose vices have been notorious, are all prelatical, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remissness of that government. We hear not of any

which are called nonconformists, that have been accused of scandalous living; but are known to be pious or at least sober men. Which is a great good argument that they are in the truth and prelates in the errour. He would be resolved next, "What the corruptions of the universities concern the prelates?" And to that let him take this, that the Remonstrant having spoken as if learning would decay with the removal of prelates, I shewed him that while books were extant and in print, learning could not readily be at a worse pass in the universities than it was now under their government. Then he seeks to justify the pernicious sermons of the clergy, as if they upheld sovereignty; whenas all christian sovereignty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their doctrine was plainly the dissolution of law, which only sets up sovereignty, and the erecting of an arbitrary sway according to private will, to which they would enjoin a slavish obedience without law; which is the known definition of a tyrant, and a tyrannised people. A little beneath he denies that great riches in the church are the baits of pride and ambition; of which errour to undeceive him, I shall allege a reputed divine authority, as ancient as Constantine, which his love to antiquity must not except against; and to add the more weight, he shall learn it rather in the words of our old poet Gower than in mine, that he may see it is no new opinion, but a truth delivered of old by a voice from heaven, and ratified by long experience.

"This Constantine which heal hath found,
"Within Rome anon let found
"Two churches which he did make
"For Peter and for Paul's sake:
"Of whom he had a vision,
"And yafe thereto possession
"Of lordship and of world's good;
"But how so that his will was good
"Toward the pope and his franchise,
"Yet hath it proved otherwise
"To see the working of the deed:
"For in cronick thus I read,
"Anon as he hath made the yeft,
"A voice was heard on high the left,
"Of which all Rome was adrad,
"And said, this day venim is shad
"In holy Church, of temporall
"That meddleth with the spiritual;
"And how it stant in that degree,
"Yet may a man the sooth see.
"God amend it whan he will,
"I can thereto none other skill."

But there were beasts of prey, saith he, before wealth was bestowed on the church. What, though, because the vultures had then but small pickings, shall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? If they for lucre use to creep into the church undiscernibly, the more wisdom will it be so to provide that no revenue there may exceed the golden mean; for so, good pastors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing withal the precept and example of Christ and his apostles, and also will be less tempted to ambition. The bad will have but small matter whereon to set their mischief awork; and the worst and subtlest heads will not come at all, when they shall see the crop nothing answerable to their capacious greediness; for small temptations allure but dribbling offenders; but a great purchase will call such as both are most able of themselves, and will be most enabled hereby to compass dangerous projects. But, saith he, "a widow's house will tempt as well as a bishop's palace." Acutely spoken! because neither we nor the prelates can abolish widows' houses, which are but an occasion taken of evil without the church, therefore we shall set up within the church a lottery of such prizes as are the direct inviting causes of avarice and ambition, both unnecessary and harmful to be proposed, and most easy, most convenient, and needful to be removed. "Yea but they are in a wise dispenser's hand." Let them be in whose hand they will, they are most apt to blind, to puff up, and pervert, the most seeming good. And how they have been kept from vultures, whatever the dispenser's care hath been, we have learned by our miseries. But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein or humour took him when he let drop into his paper; I that was ere while the ignorant, the loiterer, on the sudden by his permission am now granted "to know something." And that "such a volley of expressions" he hath met withal, "as he would never desire to have them better clothed." For me, readers, although I cannot say that I am utterly untrained in those rules which best rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongue; yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of truth: and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words (by what I can express) like so many nimble and airy servitors trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places. But now to the remainder of our discourse. Christ refused great riches and large honours at the devil's hand. But why, saith he, "as they were tendered by him from whom it was a sin to receive them." Timely remembered: why is it not therefore as much a sin to receive a liturgy of the masses' giving, were it for nothing else but for the giver? "But he could make no use of such a high estate," quoth the confuter; opportunely. For why then should the servant take upon him to use those things which his master had unfitted himself to use, that he might teach his ministers to follow his steps in the same ministry? But "they were offered him to a bad end." So they prove to the prelates, who, after their preferment, most usually change the teaching labour of the word, into the unteaching ease of lordship over consciences and purses. But he proceeds, "God enticed the Israelites with the promise of Canaan;" did not the prelates bring as slavish minds with them, as the Jews brought out of Egypt? they had left out that instance. Besides that it was then the time, whenas the best of them, as St. Paul saith, "was shut up unto the faith under the law their schoolmaster," who was

forced to entice them as children with childish enticements. But the gospel is our manhood, and the ministry should be the manhood of the gospel, not to look after, much less so basely to plead for earthly rewards. "But God incited the wisest man Solomon with these means." Ah, confuter of thyself, this example hath undone thee; Solomon asked an understanding heart, which the prelates have little care to ask. He asked no riches, which is their chief care; therefore was the prayer of Solomon pleasing to God; he gave him wisdom at his request, and riches without asking, as now he gives the prelates riches at their seeking, and no wisdom because of their perverse asking. But he gives not over yet, "Moses had an eye to the reward." To what reward, thou man that lookest with Balaam's eyes? To what reward had the faith of Moses an eye? He that had forsaken all the greatness of Egypt, and chose a troublesome journey in his old age through the wilderness, and yet arrived not at his journey's end. His faithful eyes were fixed upon that incorruptible reward, promised to Abraham and his seed in the Messiah; he sought a heavenly reward, which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to such a reward every good man may have a respect; but the prelates are eager of such rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worse. Jacob, a prince born, vowed that if God would "but give him bread to eat and raiment to put on, then the Lord should be his God." But the prelates of mean birth, and ofttimes of lowest, making shew as if they were called to the spiritual and humble ministry of the gospel, yet murmur, and think it a hard service, unless, contrary to the tenour of their profession, they may eat the bread and wear the honours of princes: so much more covetous and base they are than Simon Magus, for he proffered a reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be meanly hired to. But, saith he, "Are not the clergy members of Christ, why should not each member thrive alike?" Carnal textman! as if worldly thriving were one of the privileges we have by being in Christ, and were not a providence ofttimes extended more liberally to the Infidel than to the Christian. Therefore must the ministers of Christ not be over rich or great in the world, because their calling is spiritual, not secular; because they have a special warfare, which is not to be entangled with many impediments; because their master Christ gave them this precept, and set them this example, told them this was the mystery of his coming, by mean things and persons to subdue mighty ones: and lastly, because a middle estate is most proper to the office of teaching, whereas higher dignity teaches far less, and blinds the teacher. Nay, saith the confuter, fetching his last endeavour, "the prelates will be very loth to let go their baronies, and votes in parliament," and calls it "God's cause," with an insufferable impudence. "Not that they love the honours and the means," good men and generous! "but that they would not have their country made guilty of such a sacrilege and injustice!" A worthy patriot for his own corrupt ends. That which he imputes as sacrilege to his country, is the only way left them to purge that abominable sacrilege out of the land, which none but the prelates are guilty of; who for the discharge of one single duty, receive and keep that which might be enough to satisfy the labours of many painful ministers better deserving than themselves; who possess huge benefices for lazy performances, great promotions only for the execution of a cruel disgospelling jurisdiction; who ingross many pluralities under a nonresident and slubbering dispatch of souls; who let hundreds of parishes famish in one diocese, while they the prelates are mute, and yet enjoy that wealth that would furnish all those dark places with able supply: and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of earls, and yet hoard up; they who chase away all the faithful shepherds of the flock, and bring in a dearth of spiritual food, robbing thereby the church of her dearest treasure, and sending herds of souls starveling to hell, while they feast and riot upon the labours of hireling curates, consuming and purloining even that which by their foundation is allowed, and left to the poor, and to reparations of the church. These are they who have bound the land with the sin of sacrilege, from which mortal engagement we shall never be free, till we have totally removed with one labour, as one individual thing, prelaty and sacrilege. And herein will the king be a true defender of the faith, not by paring or lessening, but by distributing in due proportion the maintenance of the church, that all parts of the land may equally partake the plentiful and diligent preaching of the faith, the scandal of ceremonies thrown out that delude and circumvent the faith; and the usurpation of prelates laid level, who are in words the fathers, but in their deeds, the oppugners of the faith. This is that which will best confirm him in that glorious title. Thus ye have heard, readers, how many shifts and wiles the prelates have invented to save their ill-got booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetousness are the sure marks of those false prophets which are to come; then boldly conclude these to be as great seducers as any of the latter times. For between this and the judgment day do not look for any arch deceivers, who in spite of reformation will use more craft, or less shame to defend their love of the world and their ambition, than these prelates have done. And if ye think that soundness of reason, or what force of argument soever, will bring them to an ingenuous silence, ye think that which will never be. But if ye take that course which Erasmus was wont to say Luther took against the pope and monks; if ye denounce war against their mitres and their bellies, ye shall soon discern that turban of pride, which they wear upon their heads, to be no helmet of salvation, but the mere metal and hornwork of papal jurisdiction; and that they have also this gift, like a certain kind of some that are possessed, to have their voice in their bellies, which, being well drained and taken down, their great oracle, which is only there, will soon be dumb; and the divine right of episcopacy, forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and disputes.

OF EDUCATION.

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

Master Hartlib,

I am long since persuaded, that to say or do aught worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us than simply the love of God, and of mankind. Nevertheless to write now the reforming of education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes; I had not yet at this time been induced, but by your earnest entreaties and serious conjurements; as having my mind for the present half diverted in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honest living with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevailed with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions, which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island. And, as I hear, you have obtained the same repute with men of most approved wisdom, and some of the highest authority among us; not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in foreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence, which you have used in this matter both here and beyond the seas; either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I think that so reputed and so valued as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and overponderous argument; but that the satisfaction, which you profess to have received from those incidental discourses which we have wandered into, hath pressed and almost constrained you into a persuasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought nor can in conscience defer beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to try what God hath determined. I will not resist therefore whatever it is, either of divine or human obligement, that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary idea, which hath long in silence presented itself to me, of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreme need should be done sooner than spoken. To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned authors, I shall spare; and to search what many modern Januas and Didactics, more than ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowered off, and are as it were the burnishing of many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleased you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; so that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful; first, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein

so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities; partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit; besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well-continued and judicious conversing among pure authors digested, which they scarce taste: whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lessoned thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein. And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old errour of universities, not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy, (and those be such as are most obvious to the sense,) they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics; so that they having but newly left those grammatic flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity; some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to state affairs, with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery and court-shifts and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery; if, as I rather think, it be not feigned. Others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves (knowing no better) to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and the safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. *And these are the errours, and these are the fruits of mispending our prime youth at the schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned.

I shall detain you now no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but straight conduct you to a hill-side, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, than we have now to hale and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that asinine feast of sowthistles and brambles, which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call therefore a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and one and twenty, less time than is now bestowed in pure trifling at grammar and sophistry, is to be thus ordered.

First, to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an academy, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct and oversee it done. This place should be at once both school and university, not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar college of law, or physic, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from Lilly to commencing, as they term it, master of art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many edifices may be converted to this use as shall be needful in every city throughout this land, which would tend much to the increase of learning and civility every where. This number, less or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their day's work into three parts as it lies orderly; their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

For their studies; first, they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a southern tongue; but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French. Next, to make them expert in the usefullest points of grammar; and withal to season them and win them early to the love of virtue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement or vain

* Thus it is in the first edition

principle seize them wandering, some easy and delightful book of education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have store, as Cebes, Plutarch, and other Socratic discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first books of Quintilian, and some select pieces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflamed with the study of learning, and the admiration of virtue; stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childish and illtaught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal exercises; which he who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage; infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardour, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of arithmetic, and soon after the elements of geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bedtime, their thoughts would be best taken up in the easy grounds of religion, and the story of Scripture. The next step would be to the authors of agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is most easy; and if the language be difficult, so much the better, it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occasion of inciting, and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good; for this was one of Hercules's praises. Ere half these authors be read (which will soon be with plying hard and daily) they cannot choose but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern author the use of the globes, and all the maps; first with the old names, and then with the new; or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of natural philosophy. And at the same time might be entering into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescribed in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome, all the historical physiology of Aristotle and Theophrastus are open before them, and, as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to Vitruvius, to Seneca's natural questions, to Mela, Celsus, Pliny, or Solinus. And having thus passed the principles of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography, with a general compact of physics, they may descend in mathematics to the instrumental science of trigonometry, and from thence to fortification, architecture, enginery, or navigation. And in natural philosophy they may proceed leisurely from the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of physic; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity; which he who can wisely and timely do, is not only a great physician to himself and to his friends, but also may at some time or other save an army by this frugal and expenseless means only; and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline; which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the commander. To set forward all these proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in the other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists; who doubtless would be ready, some for reward, and some to favour such a hopeful seminary. And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then also those poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius, and in Latin, Lucretius, Manilius, and the rural part of Virgil.

By this time, years, and good general precepts, will have furnished them more distinctly with that act of reason which in ethics is called Proairesis; that they may with some judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound indoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice; while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, and those Locrian remnants; but still to be reduced in their nightward studies wherewith they close the day's work, under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon, or the evangels and apostolic Scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of œconomics. And either now or before this, they may have easily learned at any odd hour the Italian tongue. And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be wholesome enough to let them taste some choice comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian; those tragedies also, that treat of household matters, as Trachiniæ, Alcestis, and the like. The next removal must be to the study of politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shewn themselves, but stedfast pillars of the state. After this, they are to dive into the grounds of law, and legal justice; delivered first and with best warrant by Moses; and as far as human prudence can be trusted, in those extolled remains of Grecian lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, and thence to all the Roman edicts and tables with their Justinian; and so down to the Saxon and common laws of England, and the statutes. Sundays also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of theology, and church-history ancient and modern; and ere

this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gained, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee, and the Syrian dialect. When all these employments are well conquered, then will the choice histories, heroic poems, and attic tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous political orations, offer themselves; which if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigour of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides, or Sophocles. And now lastly will be the time, to read them with those organic arts, which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place with all her well-couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus. To which poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar; but that sublime art which in Aristotle's poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castlevetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhimers and play-writers be; and shew them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things. From hence, and not till now, will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in parliament or council, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought than what we now sit under, ofttimes to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unless they rely more upon their ancestors dead than upon themselves living. In which methodical course it is so supposed they must proceed by the steady pace of learning onward, as at convenient times, for memory's sake, to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattelling of a Roman legion. Now will be worth the seeing, what exercises and recreations may best agree, and become these studies.

THEIR EXERCISE.

The course of study hitherto briefly described is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, and such others, out of which were bred such a number of renowned philosophers, orators, historians, poets, and princes all over Greece, Italy, and Asia, besides the flourishing studies of Cyrene and Alexandria. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which Plato noted in the commonwealth of Sparta; whereas that city trained up their youth most for war, and these in their academies and Lycæum all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate shall be equally good both for peace and war. Therefore about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon should be allowed them for exercise, and due rest afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarged at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early. The exercise which I commend first, is the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling, wherein Englishmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, to grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learned; either whilst the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute or soft organ stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having followed it close under vigilant eyes, till about two hours before supper, they are by a sudden alarum or watchword, to be called out to their military motions, under sky or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then as their age permits, on horseback, to all the art of cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership, in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieg-

ing, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, tactics, and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long war come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft supplied; they would not suffer their empty and unrecruitable colonels of twenty men in a company, to quaff out, or convey into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant; yet in the mean while to be overmastered with a score or two of drunkards, the only soldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew aught of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good governors, they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own institute; besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad; in those vernal seasons of the year when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all the quarters of the land; learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea-fight. These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies with far more advantage now in this purity of christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshows. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps, then other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country.

Now lastly for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate, I suppose is out of controversy. Thus Mr. Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that, which at several times I had discoursed with you concerning the best and noblest way of education; not beginning as some have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope; many other circumstances also I could have mentioned, but this to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in, that counts himself a teacher; but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses; yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay, than it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious; howbeit, not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy, and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

AREOPAGITICA:

A SPEECH FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING.

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

Τοὐλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο, ἔι τις θελει πόλει
Χρηςόν τι βούλευμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ', ὁ χρῄζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ, τί τητων ἐςιν ἰσαιτερον πόλει ;

Euripid. Hicetid.

This is true Liberty, when freeborn men,
Having to advise the public, may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise:
Who neither can, nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a state than this?

Euripid. Hicetid

They, who to states and governors of the commonwealth direct their speech, high court of parliament! or wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the public good; I suppose them, as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little altered and moved inwardly in their minds; some with doubt of what will be the success, others with fear of what will be the censure; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I entered, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these foremost expressions now also disclose which of them swayed most, but that the very attempt of this address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, far more welcome than incidental to a preface. Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless, if it be no other, than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their country's liberty; whereof this whole discourse proposed will be a certain testimony, if not a trophy. For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth, that let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty obtained that wise men look for. To which if I now manifest, by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that we are already in good part arrived, and yet from such a steep disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles, as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery, it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God, our deliverer; next to your faithful guidance and undaunted wisdom, lords and commons of England! Neither is it in God's esteem, the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men, and worthy magistrates; which if I now first should begin to do after so fair a progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligement upon the whole realm to your indefatigable virtues, I might be justly reckoned among the tardiest and the unwillingest of them that praise ye. Nevertheless there being three principal things, without which all praising is but courtship and flattery; first, when that only is praised which is solidly worth praise; next, when greatest likelihoods are brought, that such things are truly and really in those persons, to whom they are ascribed; the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actual persuasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavoured, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits with a trivial and malignant encomium; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I so extolled I did not flatter, hath been reserved opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best covenant of his fidelity; and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kind of praising; for though I should affirm and hold by argument, that it

would fare better with truth, with learning, and the commonwealth, if one of your published orders, which I should name, were called in; yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your mild and equal government, whenas private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleased with public advice, than other statists have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial parliament, and that jealous haughtiness of prelates and cabin counsellors that usurped of late, whenas they shall observe ye in the midst of your victories and successes more gently brooking written exceptions against a voted order, than other courts, which had produced nothing worth memory but the weak ostentation of wealth, would have endured the least signified dislike at any sudden proclamation. If I should thus far presume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness, lords and commons! as what your published order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend myself with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian stateliness. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders, I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the form of democraty which was then established. Such honour was done in those days to men who professed the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and signiories heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state. Thus did Dion Prusæus, a stranger and a private orator, counsel the Rhodians against a former edict; and I abound with other like examples, which to set here would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those natural endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated, as to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior, as yourselves are superior to the most of them who received their counsel; and how far you excel them, be assured, lords and commons! there can no greater testimony appear, than when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reason, from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your predecessors.

If ye be thus resolved, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to shew both that love of truth which ye eminently profess, and that uprightness of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to yourselves; by judging over again that order which ye have ordained "to regulate printing; that no book, pamphlet, or paper, shall be henceforth printed, unless the same be first approved and licensed by such, or at least one of such, as shall be thereto appointed." For that part which preserves justly every man's copy to himself, or provides for the poor, I touch not; only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painful men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of licensing books, which we thought had died with his brother quadragesimal and matrimonial when the prelates expired, I shall now attend with such a homily, as shall lay before ye, first the inventors of it, to be those whom ye will be loth to own; next, what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever sort the books be; and that this order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended to be suppressed. Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities, in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made, both in religious and civil wisdom.

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the church and commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious lifeblood of a master spirit, imbalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the æthereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemned of introducing licence, while I oppose licensing, I refuse not the pains to be so much historical, as will serve to shew what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licensing crept out of the inquisition, was catched up by our prelates, and hath caught some of our presbyters.

In Athens, where books and wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the magistrate cared to take notice of; those either blasphemous and atheistical, or libellous. Thus the books of Protagoras were by the judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himself banished the territory for a discourse, begun with his confessing not to know, "whether there were gods, or whether not." And against defaming, it was agreed that none should be traduced by name, as was the manner of Vetus Comœdia, whereby we may guess how they censured libelling; and this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event shewed. Of other sects and opinions, though tending to voluptuousness, and the denying of divine Providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynic impudence uttered, was ever questioned by the laws. Neither is it recorded, that the writings of those old comedians were suppressed, though the acting of them were forbid; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of them all, to his royal scholar Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excused, if holy Chrysostom, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same author, and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the style of a rousing sermon. That other leading city of Greece, Lacedæmon, considering that Lycurgus their lawgiver was so addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scattered works of Homer, and sent the poet Thales from Crete to prepare and mollify the Spartan surliness with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility; it is to be wondered how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of war. There needed no licensing of books among them, for they disliked all but their own laconic apophthegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilocus out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher strain than their own soldiery, ballads, and roundels, could reach to; or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence Euripides affirms, in Andromache, that their women were all unchaste. This much may give us light after what sort of books were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages trained up only to a military roughness, resembling most the Lacedæmonian guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve tables and the pontific college with their augurs and flamins taught them in religion and law; so unacquainted with other learning, that when Carneades and Critolaus, with the stoic Diogenes, coming embassadors to Rome, took thereby occasion to give the city a taste of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no less a man than Cato the censor, who moved it in the senate to dismiss them speedily, and to banish all such Attic babblers out of Italy. But Scipio and others of the noblest senators withstood him and his old Sabin austerity; honoured and admired the men; and the censor himself at last, in his old age, fell to the study of that whereof before he was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time, Nævius and Plautus, the first Latin comedians, had filled the city with all the borrowed scenes of Menander and Philemon. Then began to be considered there also what was to be done to libellous books and authors; for Nævius was quickly cast into prison for his unbridled pen, and released by the tribunes upon his recantation; we read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punished, by Augustus. The like severity, no doubt, was used, if aught were impiously written against their esteemed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in books, the magistrate kept no reckoning. And therefore Lucretius, without impeachment, versifies his Epicurism to Memmius, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by Cicero, so great a father of the commonwealth; although himself disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the satirical sharpness or naked plainness of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for matters of state, the story of Titus Livius, though it extolled that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar, of the other faction. But that Naso was by him banished in his old age, for the wanton poems of his youth, was but a mere covert of state over some secret cause; and besides, the books were neither banished nor called in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman empire, that we may not marvel, if not so often bad as good books were silenced. I shall therefore deem to have been large enough, in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the emperors were become Christians whose discipline in this point I do not find to have been more severe than what was formerly in practice. The books of those whom they took to be grand heretics were examined, refuted, and condemned in the general councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt, by authority of the emperor. As for the writings of heathen authors, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a Carthaginian council, wherein bishops themselves were forbid to read the books of gentiles, but heresies they might read; while others long before them on the contrary scrupled more the books of heretics than of gentiles. And that the primitive councils and bishops were wont only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no further, but leaving it to each one's conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observed already by Padre Paolo the great unmasker of the Trentine council. After which time the popes of Rome, engrossing what they pleased of political rule into their own hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes, as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the books not many which they so dealt with; till Martin the fifth, by his bull, not only pro-

hibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical books; for about that time Wickliffe and Husse growing terrible, were they who first drove the papal court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which course Leo the tenth and his successors followed, until the council of Trent and the Spanish inquisition engendering together brought forth or perfected those catalogues and expurging indexes, that rake through the entrails of many an old good author, with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters heretical, but any subject that was not to their palate, they either condemned in a prohibition, or had it straight into the new Purgatory of an index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no book, pamphlet, or paper, should be printed (as if St. Peter had bequeathed them the keys of the press also as well as of Paradise) unless it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three gluttonous friars. For example:

> Let the chancellor Cini be pleased to see if in this present work be contained aught that may withstand the printing;
>
> Vincent Rabbata, vicar of Florence.

> I have seen this present work, and find nothing athwart the catholic faith and good manners; in witness whereof I have given, &c.
>
> Nicolo Cini, chancellor of Florence.

> Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this present work of Davanzati may be printed,
>
> Vincent Rabatta, &c.

> It may be printed, July 15.
>
> Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia, chancellor of the holy office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomless pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism would bar him down. I fear their next design will be to get into their custody the licensing of that which they say Claudius intended,* but went not through with. Vouchsafe to see another of their forms, the Roman stamp;

> Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend master of the holy palace, Belcastro, vicegerent.

> Imprimatur,
>
> Friar Nicholo Rodolphi, master of the holy palace.

Sometimes five imprimaturs are seen together dialogue wise in the piatza of one titlepage, complimenting and ducking each to other with their shaven reverences, whether the author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the spunge. These are the pretty responsories, these are the dear antiphonies, that so bewitched of late our prelates and their chaplains, with the goodly echo they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly imprimatur, one from Lambeth-house, another from the west end of Paul's; so apishly romanizing, that the word of command still was set down in Latin; as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it would cast no ink without Latin; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enow to spell such a dictatory presumption Englished. And thus ye have the inventors and the original of book licensing ripped up and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors elder or later; nor from the modern custom of any reformed city or church abroad; but from the most antichristian council, and the most tyrannous inquisition, that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb; no envious Juno sat crosslegged over the nativity of any man's intellectual offspring; but if it proved a monster, who denies but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the sea? But that a book, in worse condition than a peccant soul, should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of Radamanth and his colleagues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of reformation, sought out new Limboes and new Hells wherein they might include our books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsel so officiously snatched up, and so illfavouredly imitated by our inquisiturient bishops, and the attendant minorites their chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain authors of this licensing order, and that all sinister intention was far distant from your thoughts, when ye were importuned the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour truth, will clear ye readily.

But some will say, what though the inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good. It may so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious and easy for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborn to use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who took it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of reformation; I am of those who believe, it will be a harder alchymy than Lullius ever knew, to sublimate any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, until I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be

* Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi. Sueton. in Claudio.

thought in general of reading books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds.

Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel, and Paul, who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their books of all sorts, in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek poets, and one of them a tragedian; the question was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the primitive doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirmed it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceived, when Julian the Apostate, and subtlest enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning; for said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Appollinarii were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberal sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of orations, poems, dialogues, even to the calculating of a new christian grammar. But, saith the historian Socrates, the providence of God provided better than the industry of Apollinarius and his son, by taking away that illiterate law with the life of him who devised it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenic learning; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the church, than the open cruelty of Decius or Dioclesian. And perhaps it was the same politic drift that the devil whipped St. Jerom in a lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or else it was a phantasm, bred by the fever which had then seized him. For had an angel been his discipliner, unless it were for dwelling too much on Ciceronianisms, and had chastised the reading, not the vanity, it had been plainly partial; first to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurril Plautus, whom he confesses to have been reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let so many more ancient fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tutoring apparition; insomuch that Basil teaches how some good use may be made of Margites, a sportful poem, not now extant, writ by Homer; and why not then of Morgante, an Italian romance much to the same purpose? But if it be agreed we shall be tried by visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius, far ancienter than this tale of Jerom, to the nun Eustochium, and besides, has nothing of a fever in it. Dionysius Alexandrinus was, about the year 240, a person of great name in the church, for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against heretics, by being conversant in their books; until a certain presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man, loth to give offence, fell into a new debate with himself, what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from God (it is his own epistle that so avers it) confirmed him in these words: "Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter." To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the apostle to the Thessalonians; "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same author: "To the pure, all things are pure;" not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge, whether of good or evil; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled. For books are as meats and viands are; some of good, some of evil substance; and yet God in that unapocryphal vision said without exception, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat;" leaving the choice to each man's discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best books to a naughty mind are not unapplicable to occasions of evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Whereof what better witness can ye expect I should produce, than one of your own now sitting in parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, Mr. Selden; whose volume of natural and national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errours, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of man's body, (saving ever the rules of temperance,) he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing so great a trust without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabled the Jews from heaven, that omer, which was every man's daily portion of manna, is computed to have been more than might have well sufficed the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather than issue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivate under a perpetual childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which heretofore were governed only by exhortation. Solomon informs us, that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; but neither he, nor other inspired author, tells us that such or such reading is unlawful; yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful, than what was wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Paul's converts; it is replied, the books were magic, the Syriac so renders them. It was a

private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the magistrate by this example is not appointed; these men practised the books, another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds which were imposed upon Psyche as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say, of knowing good by evil. As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised, and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,) describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of errour to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger, scout into the regions of sin and falsity, than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read. But of the harm that may result hence, three kinds are usually reckoned. First, is feared the infection that may spread; but then, all human learning and controversy in religious points must remove out of the world, yea, the Bible itself; for that ofttimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against providence through all the arguments of Epicurus; in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader; and ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible itself put by the papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest fathers must be next removed, as Clement of Alexandria, and that Eusebian book of evangelic preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the gospel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerom, and others discover more heresies than they well confute, and that oft for heresy which is the truer opinion? Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen writers of greatest infection if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to instil the poison they suck, first into the courts of princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that Petronius, whom Nero called his arbiter, the master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo, dreaded and yet dear to the Italian courtiers. I name not him for posterity's sake, whom Henry the Eighth named in merriment his vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuse will find a passage to the people far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of Cataio eastward, or of Canada westward, while our Spanish licensing gags the English press never so severely. But on the other side, that infection which is from books of controversy in religion, is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned, than to the ignorant; and yet those books must be permitted untouched by the licenser. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath been ever seduced by any papistical book in English, unless it were commended and expounded to him by some of that clergy; and indeed all such tractates, whether false or true, are as the prophecy of Isaiah was to the eunuch, not to be "understood without a guide." But of our priests and doctors how many have been corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct Arminius was perverted merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute. Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, (from whom to the common people whatever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be conveyed,) and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopped, and evil doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing, and so beyond prohibiting; I am not unable to unfold, how this cautelous enterprise of licensing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly disposed, could not well avoid to liken

it to the exploit of that gallant man, who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of books, and dispreaders both of vice and errour, how shall the licensers themselves be confided in, unless we can confer upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptedness? And again, if it be true, that a wise man, like a good refiner, can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea, or without book; there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool that which being restrained will be no hinderance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactness always used to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgment of Aristotle not only, but of Solomon, and of our Saviour, not vouchsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture.

It is next alleged, we must not expose ourselves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities; but useful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong medicines, which man's life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualify and prepare these working minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hindered forcibly they cannot be, by all the licensing that sainted inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promised to deliver next: that this order of licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the ingenuity of truth, who, when she gets a free and willing hand, opens herself faster than the pace of method and discourse can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, to shew that no nation, or well instituted state, if they valued books at all, did ever use this way of licensing; and it might be answered, that this is a piece of prudence lately discovered. To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a course; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgment that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. Plato, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his laws, which no city ever yet received, fed his fancy with making many edicts to his airy burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him wish had been rather buried and excused in the genial cups of an academic night sitting. By which laws he seems to tolerate no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practical traditions, to the attainment whereof a library of smaller bulk than his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts, that no poet should so much as read to any private man what he had written, until the judges and law keepers had seen it, and allowed it; but that Plato meant this law peculiarly to that commonwealth which he had imagined, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a lawgiver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expelled by his own magistrates, both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of Sophron, Mimus, and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy; and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the tyrant Dionysius, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licensing of poems had reference and dependance to many other provisoes there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place; and so neither he himself, nor any magistrate or city ever imitated that course, which taken apart from those other collateral injunctions must needs be vain and fruitless. For if they fell upon one kind of strictness, unless their care were equal to regulate all other things of like aptness to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to shut and fortify one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and doric. There must be licensing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth, but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such Plato was provided of. It will ask more than the work of twenty licensers to examine all the lutes, the violins, and the guitars in every house; they must not be suffered to prattle as they do, but must be licensed what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers? The windows also, and the balconies must be thought on; there are shrewd books, with dangerous frontispieces, set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensers? The villages also must have their visitors to inquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebec reads, even to the ballatry and the gamut of every municipal fidler; for these are the countryman's Arcadias, and his Monte Mayors. Next, what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, than household gluttony; who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting? And what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes, that frequent those houses where drunkenness is sold and harboured? Our garments also should be referred to the licensing of some more sober workmasters, to see them cut into a less wanton garb. Who shall regulate all the mixed conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this country? Who shall still appoint what shall be discoursed, what presumed, and no further? Lastly, who shall forbid and separate all idle resort, all evil company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be least

hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a state. To sequester out of the world into Atlantic and Eutopian politics, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's licensing of books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licensing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrate; but those unwritten, or at least unconstraining laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every written statute; these they be, which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licensing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissness for certain are the bane of a commonwealth; but here the great art lies, to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things persuasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in man at ripe years were to be under pittance, prescription, and compulsion, what were virtue but a name, what praise could be then due to well doing, what gramercy to be sober, just, or continent? Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force; God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue? They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin, by removing the matter of sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from all, in such a universal thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so: such great care and wisdom is required to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue: for the matter of them both is the same: remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who, though he commands us temperance, justice, continence, yet pours out before us even to a profuseness all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books, freely permitted, are both to the trial of virtue, and the exercise of truth? It would be better done, to learn that the law must needs be frivolous, which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good and to evil. And were I the chooser, a dram of well doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hinderance of evil doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person, more than the restraint of ten vicious. And albeit, whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing, may be fitly called our book, and is of the same effect that writings are; yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftener, but weekly, that continued court-libel against the parliament and city, printed, as the wet sheets can witness, and dispersed among us for all that licensing can do? Yet this is the prime service a man would think wherein this order should give proof of itself. If it were executed, you will say. But certain, if execution be remiss or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other books? If then the order shall not be vain and frustrate, behold a new labour, lords and commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicensed books already printed and divulged; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemned, and which not; and ordain that no foreign books be delivered out of custody, till they have been read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly useful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the commonwealth of learning be not damnified. In fine, when the multitude of books increase upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the importation of their whole suspected typography. In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of Trent and Sevil, which I know ye abhor to do. Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or uncatechised in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hinderance, and preserving their doctrine unmixed for many ages, only by unwritten traditions? The christian faith, (for that was once a schism!) is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any gospel or epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitional rigour that hath been executed upon books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every licenser. It cannot be denied, but that he who is made judge to sit upon the

birth or death of books, whether they may be wafted into this world or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journeywork, a greater loss of time levied upon his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, ofttimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable, unless at certain seasons; but to be enjoined the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scarce legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest print, is an imposition which I cannot believe how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostril, should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licensers to be pardoned for so thinking; who doubtless took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easy and unlaborious to them; but that this short trial hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them, who make so many journeys to solicit their licence, are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those, who now possess the employment, by all evident signs wish themselves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours, is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a press corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remiss, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to shew, wherein this order cannot conduce to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offered to learning, and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of prelates, upon every least breath of a motion to remove pluralities, and distribute more equally church revenues, that then all learning would be for ever dashed and discouraged. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think, that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any churchman, who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loth to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise, which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those, whose published labours advance the good of mankind: then know, that so far to distrust the judgment and the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a schism, or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit, that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man, over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula, to come under the fescue of an Imprimatur? If serious and elaborate writings, as if they were no more than the theme of a grammar-lad under his pedagogue, must not be uttered without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenser? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the commonwealth wherein he was born for other than a fool or a foreigner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which done, he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expense of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of bookwriting; and if he be not repulsed, or slighted, must appear in print like a puny with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and surety, that he is no ideot or seducer; it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancy, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which not seldom happens to the best and diligentest writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenser, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; meanwhile either the press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth worse than he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befal. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a doctor in his book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser, to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humour which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantic licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a coit's distance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his

judgment? The state, sir, replies the stationer: but has a quick return, the state shall be my governors, but not my critics; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistaken in an author. This is some common stuff; and he might add from Sir Francis Bacon, that "such authorized books are but the language of the times." For though a licenser should happen to be judicious more than ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office and his commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime, and even to this day, comes to their hands for licence to be printed, or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal, (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit?) yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath been lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully published, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron-moulds as these shall have authority to gnaw out the choicest periods of exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that hapless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common stedfast dunce, will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the written labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever; much less that it should not pass except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, that it should be uncurrent without their manual stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets, and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broad cloth and our woolpacks. What is it but a servitude like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges? Had any one written and divulged erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examined by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annexed to pass his credit for him, that now he might be safely read; it could not be apprehended less than a disgraceful punishment. Whence to include the whole nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectful prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more whenas debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. Nor is it to the common people less than a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak state of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those popish places, where the laity are most hated and despised, the same strictness is used over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither: whenas those corruptions, which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other doors, which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of their proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than that after all this light of the gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipled, unedified, and laic rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the ministers, when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper without a licenser; that all the sermons, all the lectures preached, printed, vended in such numbers, and such volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other books unsaleable, should not be armour enough against one single Enchiridion, without the castle of St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.

And lest some should persuade ye, lords and commons, that these arguments of learned men's discouragement at this your order are mere flourishes, and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have sat among their learned men, (for that honour I had,) and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom, as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the

inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the franciscan and dominican licensers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happiness, that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope, that those worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgotten by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered against the inquisition, the same I should hear by as learned men at home uttered in time of parliament against an order of licensing; and that so generally, that when I had disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest quæstorship had endeared to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon learning. That this is not therefore the disburdening of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all those who had prepared their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfy. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves, and suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning: and will soon put it out of controversy, that bishops and presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those evils of prelaty which before from five or six and twenty sees were distributively charged upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us: wheuas now the pastor of a small unlearned parish, on the sudden shall be exalted archbishop over a large diocese of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mystical pluralist. He who but of late cried down the sole ordination of every novice bachelor of art, and denied sole jurisdiction over the simplest parishioner, shall now at home in his private chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books, and ablest authors that write them. This is not, ye covenants and protestations that we have made! this is not to put down prelaty; this is but to chop an episcopacy; this is but to translate the palace metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another; this is but an old canonical slight of commuting our penance. To startle thus betimes at a mere unlicensed pamphlet, will, after a while, be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every christian meeting. But I am certain, that a state governed by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in religion, that freedom of writing should be restrained by a discipline imitated from the prelates, and learned by them from the inquisition to shut us up all again into the breast of a licenser, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men: who cannot but discern the fineness of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while bishops were to be baited down, then all presses might be open; it was the people's birthright and privilege in time of parliament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the bishops abrogated and voided out of the church, as if our reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name; the episcopal arts begin to bud again; the cruise of truth must run no more oil; liberty of printing must be enthralled again under a prelatical commission of twenty; the privilege of the people nullified; and which is worse, the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters: all this the parliament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the prelates might remember them, that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: "the punishing of wits enhances their authority," saith the Viscount St. Albans; "and a forbidding writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out." This order therefore may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be a stepdame to truth: and first by disenabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his pastor says so, or the assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy. There is not any burden, that some would gladlier post off to another, than the charge and care of their religion. There be, who knows not that there be of protestants and professors, who live and die in as errant and implicit faith, as any lay papist of Loretto. A wealthy man, addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do? Fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but resolves to give over toiling, and to find himself out some factor, to whose care

and credit he may commit the whole managing of his *religious affairs; some divine of note and estimation* that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the locks and keys, into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is become a dividual movable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep; rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well-spiced bruage, and better breakfasted, than he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem, his religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his religion.

Another sort there be, who when they hear that all things shall be ordered, all things regulated and settled; nothing written but what passes through the customhouse of certain publicans that have the tonnaging and poundaging of all freespoken truth; will straight give themselves up into your hands, make them and cut them out what religion ye please: there be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes, that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken so strictly, and so unalterably into their own purveying? These are the fruits, which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wished were such an obedient unanimity as this! What a fine conformity would it starch us all into! Doubtless a staunch and solid piece of framework, as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence even among the clergy themselves: it is no new thing never heard of before, for a parochial minister, who has his reward, and is at his Hercules pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a topic folio, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduateship, a Harmony and a Catena, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks and means; out of which, as out of an alphabet or sol fa, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variously, a little bookcraft, and two hours' meditation, might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning: not to reckon up the infinite helps of interlinearies, breviaries, synopses, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of sermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. Thomas in his vestry, and add to boot St. Martin and St. Hugh, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made: so that penury he never need fear of pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazine. But if his rear and flanks be not impaled, if his back door be not secured by the rigid licenser, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinels about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduced, who also then would be better instructed, better exercised and disciplined. And God send that the fear of this diligence, which must then be used, do not make us affect the laziness of a licensing church!

For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout; what can be more fair, than when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for aught we know as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing, publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound? Christ urged it as wherewith to justify himself that he preached in public; yet writing is more public than preaching; and more easy to refutation if need be, there being so many whose business and profession merely it is to be the champions of truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth or unability?

Thus much we are hindered and disinured by this course of licensing toward the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensers themselves in the calling of their ministry, more than any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other; I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purposed to lay open, the incredible loss and detriment that this plot of licensing puts us to, more than if some enemy at sea should stop up all our havens, and ports, and creeks; it hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandise, truth: nay, it was first established and put in practice by anti-christian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of reformation, and to settle falsehood; little differing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran, by the prohibiting of printing. It is not denied, but gladly confessed, we are to send our thanks and vows to Heaven, louder than most of nations, for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the pope, with his appurtenances the prelates: but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmost prospect of reformation, that the mortal glass wherein we contemplate can shew us, till we come to beatific vision; that man by this very opinion declares, that he is yet far short of truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on: but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, lords and commons, nor ever shall do, till her master's second coming; he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyred saint. We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the sun itself, it smites us into darkness. Who can discern those planets that are oft combust, and those stars of brightest magnitude, that rise and set with the sun, until the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evening or morning? The light which we have gained, was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a priest, the unmitring of a bishop, and the removing him from off the presbyterian shoulders, that will make us a happy nation; no, if other things as great in the church, and in the rule of life both œconomical and political, be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin have beaconed up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. It is their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meekness, nor can convince, yet all must be suppressed which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces, which are yet wanting to the body of truth. To be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it, (for all her body is homogeneal, and proportional,) this is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a church; not the forced and outward union, of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and commons of England! consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient, and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and able judgment have been persuaded, that even the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian wisdom, took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agricola, who governed once here for Cæsar, preferred the natural wits of Britain, before the laboured studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transilvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this nation chosen before any other, that out of her, as out of Sion, should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wickliff, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Husse and Jerom, no nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest scholars, of whom God offered to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his church, even to the reforming of reformation itself; what does he then but reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen? I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast city: a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleagured truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrours of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and

zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding, which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men, to reassume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligencies to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth; could we but forego this prelatical tradition of crowding free consciences and christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as Pyrrhus did, admiring the Roman docility and courage; if such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a church or kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cried out against for schismatics and sectaries, as if, while the temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men, who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world: neither can every piece of the building be of one form; nay rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein Moses the great prophet may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy elders, but all the Lord's people, are become prophets. No marvel then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodness, as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weakness are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undo us. The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour; when they have branched themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches; nor will beware until he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude, honest perhaps, though overtimorous, of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me.

First, when a city shall be as it were besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumoured to be marching up, even to her walls and suburb trenches; that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of, argues first a singular good will, contentedness, and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, lords and commons; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was who, when Rome was nigh besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment. Next, it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and those in the acutest and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is; so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, by casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city? Should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, lords and commons! they who counsel ye to such a suppressing, do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon shew how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us; liberty which is the nurse of all great wits: this is that which hath rarified and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfran-

chised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that, unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law, that fathers may dispatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye and excite others? Not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advised then, if it be found so hurtful and so unequal to suppress opinions for the newness or the unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I shall only repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the church and commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him, I am sure; yet I for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him, the Lord Brook. He writing of episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with ye, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that next to his last testament, who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the parliament by him, who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal.

And now the time in special is, by privilege to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The temple of Janus with his two controversal faces might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clear knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva, framed and fabricked already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, "to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures" early and late, that another order shall enjoin us, to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of truth. For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious, those are the shifts and the defences that errour uses against her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjured into her own likeness. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes than one? What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike herself? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of "those ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to the cross?" What great purchase is this christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief strong hold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another? I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us. We stumble, and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardness to suppress, and our backwardness to recover, any enthralled piece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of "wood and hay and stubble" forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation; or

that all in a church is to be expected "gold and silver and precious stones:" it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other fry; that must be the angels' ministry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more christian, that many be tolerated rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpate, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manners, no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw itself: but those neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt the unity of spirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace. In the mean while, if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow moving reformation which we labour under, if truth have spoken to him before others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us, that we should trouble that man with asking licence to do so worthy a deed; and not consider this, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself: whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplausible than many errours; even as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a kingdom, with strong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing. But yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities, and more than common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further, and to go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of God's enlightening his church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confined, where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and assemblies, and outward callings of men; planting our faith one while in the old convocation house, and another while in the chapel at Westminster; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonized, is not sufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no, though Harry the seventh himself there, with all his liege tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly with liberal and frequent audience; if not for their sakes yet for our own? Seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armory of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the priests, nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haste of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them; no less than woe to us, while, thinking thus to defend the gospel, we are found the persecutors!

There have been not a few since the beginning of this parliament, both of the presbytery and others, who by their unlicensed books to the contempt of an imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day: I hope that none of those were the persuaders to renew upon us this bondage, which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moses gave to young Joshua, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young John, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicensed, be not enough to admonish our elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is; if neither their own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the church by this lett of licensing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will persuade and execute the most Dominican part of the inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves; whom the change of their condition hath puffed up, more than their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the press, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better than yourselves have done in that order published next before this, "That no book be printed, unless the printer's and the author's name, or at least the printer's, be registered." Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy,

that man's prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licensing books, if I have said aught, will prove the most unlicensed book itself within a short while; and was the immediate image of a star-chamber decree to that purpose made in those very times when that court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer. Whereby ye may guess what kind of state prudence, what love of the people, what care of religion or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent order so well constituted before, if we may believe those men whose profession gives them cause to inquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old patentees and monopolizers in the trade of bookselling; who under pretence of the poor in their company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his several copy, (which God forbid should be gainsaid,) brought divers glossing colours to the house, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours; men who do not therefore labour in an honest profession, to which learning is indebted, that they should be made other men's vassals. Another end is thought was aimed at by some of them in procuring by petition this order, that having power in their hands malignant books might the easier escape abroad, as the event shews. But of these sophisms and elenchs of merchandize I skill not: This I know, that errours in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident; for what magistrate may not be misinformed, and much the sooner, if liberty of printing be reduced into the power of a few? But to redress willingly and speedily what hath been erred, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more than others have done a sumptuous bride, is a virtue (honoured lords and commons!) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participate but greatest and wisest men.

THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE

OF

DIVORCE;

RESTORED TO THE GOOD OF BOTH SEXES, FROM THE BONDAGE OF CANON LAW, AND OTHER MISTAKES, TO THE TRUE MEANING OF SCRIPTURE IN THE LAW AND GOSPEL COMPARED. WHEREIN ALSO ARE SET DOWN THE BAD CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLISHING, OR CONDEMNING AS SIN, THAT WHICH THE LAW OF GOD ALLOWS, AND CHRIST ABOLISHED NOT.

NOW THE SECOND TIME REVISED, AND MUCH AUGMENTED, IN TWO BOOKS. TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, WITH THE ASSEMBLY.

MATTH. xiii. 52 "Every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven is like the master of a house, which bringeth out of his treasury things new and old."

PROV. xviii. 13 "He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him."

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TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, WITH THE ASSEMBLY.

IF it were seriously asked, (and it would be no untimely question,) renowned parliament, select assembly! who of all teachers and masters, that have ever taught, hath drawn the most disciples after him, both in religion and in manners? it might be not untruly answered, Custom. Though virtue be commended for the most persuasive in her theory, and conscience in the plain demonstration of the spirit finds most evincing; yet whether it be the secret of divine will, or the original blindness we are born in, so it happens for the most part, that custom still is silently received for the best instructor. Except it be, because her method is so glib and easy, in some manner like to that vision of Ezekiel rolling up her sudden book of implicit knowledge, for him that will to take and swallow down at pleasure; which proving but of bad nourishment in the concoction, as it was heedless in the devouring, puffs up unhealthily a certain big face of pretended learning, mistaken among credulous men for the wholesome habit of soundness and good constitution, but is indeed no other than that swoln visage of counterfeit knowledge and literature, which not only in private mars our education, but also in public is the common climber into every chair, where either religion is preached, or law reported: filling each estate of life and profession with abject and servile principles, depressing the high and heaven-born spirit of man, far beneath the condition wherein either God created him, or sin hath sunk him. To pursue the allegory, custom being but a mere face, as echo is a mere voice, rests not in her unaccomplishment, until by secret inclination she accorporate herself with errour, who being a blind and serpentine body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and supplies what her incompleteness went seeking. Hence it is, that errour supports custom, custom countenances errour: and these two between them would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of human life, were it not that God, rather than man, once in many ages calls together the prudent and religious counsels of men, deputed to repress the incroachments, and to work off the inveterate blots and obscurities wrought upon our minds by the subtle insinuating of errour and custom; who, with the numerous and vulgar train of their followers, make it their chief design to envy and cry down the industry of free reasoning, under the terms of humour and innovation; as if the womb of teeming truth were to be closed up, if she presume to bring forth aught that sorts not with their unchewed notions and suppositions. Against which notorious injury and abuse of man's free soul, to testify and oppose the utmost that study and true labour can attain, heretofore the incitement of men reputed grave hath led me among others; and now the duty and the right of an instructed Christian calls me through the chance of good or evil report, to be the sole advocate of a discountenanced truth: a high enterprise, lords and commons! a high enterprise and a hard, and such as every seventh son of a seventh son does not venture on. Nor have I amidst the clamour of so much envy and impertinence whither to appeal, but to the concourse of so much piety and wisdom here assembled. Bringing in my hands an ancient and most necessary,

most charitable, and yet most injured statute of Moses; not repealed ever by him who only had the authority, but thrown aside with much inconsiderate neglect, under the rubbish of canonical ignorance; as once the whole law was by some such like conveyance in Josiah's time. And he who shall endeavour the amendment of any old neglected grievance in church or state, or in the daily course of life, if he be gifted with abilities of mind, that may raise him to so high an undertaking, I grant he hath already much whereof not to repent him; yet let me aread him, not to be the foreman of any misjudged opinion, unless his resolutions be firmly seated in a square and constant mind, not conscious to itself of any deserved blame, and regardless of ungrounded suspicions. For this let him be sure, he shall be boarded presently by the ruder sort, but not by discreet and well-nurtured men, with a thousand idle descants and surmises. Who when they cannot confute the least joint or sinew of any passage in the book; yet God forbid that truth should be truth, because they have a boisterous conceit of some pretences in the writer. But were they not more busy and inquisitive than the apostle commends, they would hear him at least, "rejoicing so the truth be preached, whether of envy or other pretence whatsoever:" for truth is as impossible to be soiled by any outward touch, as the sunbeam; though this ill hap wait on her nativity, that she never comes into the world, but like a bastard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth; till time, the midwife rather than the mother of truth, have washed and salted the infant, declared her legitimate, and churched the father of his young Minerva, from the needless causes of his purgation. Yourselves can best witness this, worthy patriots! and better will, no doubt, hereafter: for who among ye of the foremost that have travailed in her behalf to the good of church or state, hath not been often traduced to be the agent of his own by-ends, under pretext of reformation? So much the more I shall not be unjust to hope, that however infamy or envy may work in other men to do her fretful will against this discourse, yet that the experience of your own uprightness misinterpreted will put ye in mind, to give it free audience and generous construction. What though the brood of Belial the draff of men, to whom no liberty is pleasing, but unbridled and vagabond lust without pale or partition, will laugh broad perhaps, to see so great a strength of Scripture mustering up in favour, as they suppose, of their debaucheries; they will know better when they shall hence learn, that honest liberty is the greatest foe to dishonest licence. And what though others, out of a waterish and queasy conscience, because ever crazy and never yet sound, will rail and fancy to themselves that injury and licence is the best of this book? Did not the distemper of their own stomachs affect them with a dizzy megrim, they would soon tie up their tongues, and discern themselves like that Assyrian blasphemer, all this while reproaching not man, but the Almighty, the Holy One of Israel, whom they do not deny to have belawgiven his own sacred people with this very allowance, which they now call injury and licence, and dare cry shame on, and will do yet a while, till they get a little cordial sobriety to settle their qualming zeal. But this question concerns not us perhaps: indeed man's disposition, though prone to search after vain curiosities, yet when points of difficulty are to be discussed, appertaining to the removal of unreasonable wrong and burden from the perplexed life of our brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull, and far from all fellow-feeling we are, without the spur of self-concernment. Yet if the wisdom, the justice, the purity of God be to be cleared from foulest imputations, which are not yet avoided; if charity be not to be degraded and trodden down under a civil ordinance; if matrimony be not to be advanced like that exalted perdition written of to the Thessalónians, "above all that is called God," or goodness, nay against them both; then I dare affirm, there will be found in the contents of this book that which may concern us all. You it concerns chiefly, worthies in parliament! on whom, as on our deliverers, all our grievances and cares, by the merit of your eminence and fortitude, are devolved. Me it concerns next, having with much labour and faithful diligence first found out, or at least with a fearless and communicative candour first published to the manifest good of christendom, that which, calling to witness every thing mortal and immortal, I believe unfeignedly to be true. Let not other men think their conscience bound to search continually after truth, to pray for enlightening from above, to publish what they think they have so obtained, and debar me from conceiving myself tied by the same duties. Ye have now, doubtless, by the favour and appointment of God, ye have now in your hands a great and populous nation to reform; from what corruption, what blindness in religion, ye know well; in what a degenerate and fallen spirit from the apprehension of native liberty, and true manliness, I am sure ye find; with what unbounded licence rushing to whoredoms and adulteries, needs not long inquiry: insomuch that the fears, which men have of too strict a discipline, perhaps exceed the hopes, that can be in others, of ever introducing it with any great success. What if I should tell ye now of dispensations and indulgences, to give a little the reins, to let them play and nibble with the bait a while; a people as hard of heart as that Egyptian colony that went to Canaan. This is the common doctrine that adulterous and injurious divorces were not connived only, but with eye open allowed of old for hardness of heart. But that opinion, I trust, by then this following argument hath been well read, will be left for one of the mysteries of an indulgent Antichrist, to farm out incest by, and those his other tributary pollutions. What middle way can be taken then, may some interrupt, if we must neither turn to the right, nor to the left, and that the people hate to be reformed? Mark then, judges and lawgivers, and ye whose office it is to be our teachers, for I will utter now a doctrine, if ever any other, though neglected or not understood, yet of great and powerful importance to the governing of mankind. He who wisely would restrain the reasonable soul of man within due bounds, must first himself know perfectly, how far the territory

and dominion extends of just and honest liberty. As little must he offer to bind that which God hath loosened, as to loosen that which he hath bound. The ignorance and mistake of this high point hath heaped up one huge half of all the misery that hath been since Adam. In the gospel we shall read a supercilious crew of masters, whose holiness, or rather whose evil eye, grieving that God should be so facil to man, was to set straiter limits to obedience, than God hath set, to enslave the dignity of man, to put a garrison upon his neck of empty and over-dignified precepts: and we shall read our Saviour never more grieved and troubled, than to meet with such a peevish madness among men against their own freedom. How can we expect him to be less offended with us, when much of the same folly shall be found yet remaining where it least ought, to the perishing of thousands? The greatest burden in the world is superstition, not only of ceremonies in the church, but of imaginary and scarecrow sins at home. What greater weakening, what more subtle stratagem against our christian warfare, when besides the gross body of real transgressions to encounter, we shall be terrified by a vain and shadowy menacing of faults that are not? When things indifferent shall be set to overfront us under the banners of sin, what wonder if we be routed, and by this art of our adversary, fall into the subjection of worst and deadliest offences? The superstition of the papist is, "touch not, taste not," when God bids both; and ours is, "part not, separate not," when God and charity both permits and commands. "Let all your things be done with charity," saith St. Paul; and his master saith, "She is the fulfilling of the law." Yet now a civil, an indifferent, a sometime dissuaded law of marriage, must be forced upon us to fulfil, not only without charity but against her. No place in heaven or earth, except hell, where charity may not enter: yet marriage, the ordinance of our solace and contentment, the remedy of our loneliness, will not admit now either of charity or mercy, to come in and mediate, or pacify the fierceness of this gentle ordinance, the unremedied loneliness of this remedy. Advise ye well, supreme senate, if charity be thus excluded and expulsed, how ye will defend the untainted honour of your own actions and proceedings. He who marries, intends as little to conspire his own ruin, as he that swears allegiance: and as a whole people is in proportion to an ill government, so is one man to an ill marriage. If they, against any authority, covenant, or statute, may by the sovereign edict of charity, save not only their lives but honest liberties from unworthy bondage, as well may he against any private covenant, which he never entered to his mischief, redeem himself from unsupportable disturbances to honest peace, and just contentment: And much the rather, for that to resist the highest magistrate though tyrannizing, God never gave us express allowance, only he gave us reason, charity, nature, and good example to bear us out; but in this economical misfortune thus to demean ourselves, besides the warrant of those four great directors, which doth as justly belong hither, we have an express law of God: and such a law, as whereof our Saviour with a solemn threat forbid the abrogating. For no effect of tyranny can sit more heavy on the commonwealth, than this household unhappiness on the family. And farewell all hope of true reformation in the state, while such an evil as this lies undiscerned or unregarded in the house: on the redress whereof depends not only the spiritful and orderly life of our own grown men, but the willing and careful education of our children. Let this therefore be now examined, this tenure and freehold of mankind, this native and domestic charter given us by a greater lord than that Saxon king the confessor. Let the statutes of God be turned over, be scanned anew, and considered not altogether by the narrow intellectuals of quotationists and common places, but (as was the ancient right of councils) by men of what liberal profession soever, of eminent spirit and breeding, joined with a diffuse and various knowledge of divine and human things; able to balance and define good and evil, right and wrong, throughout every state of life; able to shew us the ways of the Lord straight and faithful as they are, not full of cranks and contradictions, and pitfalling dispenses, but with divine insight and benignity measured out to the proportion of each mind and spirit, each temper and disposition created so different each from other, and yet by the skill of wise conducting, all to become uniform in virtue. To expedite these knots, were worthy a learned and memorable synod; while our enemies expect to see the expectation of the church tired out with dependencies and independencies, how they will compound, and in what calends. Doubt not, worthy senators! to vindicate the sacred honour and judgment of Moses your predecessor, from the shallow commenting of scholastics and canonists. Doubt not after him to reach out your steady hands to the misinformed and wearied life of man; to restore this his lost heritage, into the household state; wherewith be sure that peace and love, the best subsistence of a christian family, will return home from whence they are now banished; places of prostitution will be less haunted, the neighbour's bed less attempted, the yoke of prudent and manly discipline will be generally submitted to; sober and well ordered living will soon spring up in the commonwealth. Ye have an author great beyond exception, Moses; and one yet greater, he who hedged in from abolishing every smallest jot and tittle of precious equity contained in that law, with a more accurate and lasting Masoreth, than either the synagogue of Ezra or the Galilæan school at Tiberias hath left us. Whatever else ye can enact, will scarce concern a third part of the British name: but the benefit and good of this your magnanimous example, will easily spread far beyond the banks of Tweed and the Norman isles. It would not be the first or second time, since our ancient druids, by whom this island was the cathedral of philosophy to France, left off their pagan rites, that England hath had this honour vouchsafed from heaven, to give out reformation to the world. Who was it but our English Constantine that baptized the Roman empire? Who but the Northumbrian Willibrode, and Winifride of Devon,

with their followers, were the first apostles of Germany? Who but Alcuin and Wickliff our countrymen opened the eyes of Europe, the one in arts, the other in religion? Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live.

Know, worthies; and exercise the privilege of your honoured country. A greater title I here bring ye, than is either in the power or in the policy of Rome to give her monarchs; this glorious act will style ye the defenders of charity. Nor is this yet the highest inscription that will adorn so religious and so holy a defence as this: behold here the pure and sacred law of God, and his yet purer and more sacred name, offering themselves to you, first of all christian reformers to be acquitted from the long-suffered ungodly attribute of patronizing adultery. Defer not to wipe off instantly these imputative blurs and stains cast by rude fancies upon the throne and beauty itself of inviolable holiness: lest some other people more devout and wise than we bereave us this offered immortal glory, our wonted prerogative, of being the first asserters in every great vindication. For me, as far as my part leads me, I have already my greatest gain, assurance and inward satisfaction to have done in this nothing unworthy of an honest life, and studies well employed. With what event, among the wise and right understanding handful of men, I am secure. But how among the drove of custom and prejudiced this will be relished by such whose capacity, since their youth run ahead into the easy creek of a system or a medulla, sails there at will under the blown physiognomy of their unlaboured rudiments; for them, what their taste will be, I have also surety sufficient, from the entire league that hath ever been between formal ignorance and grave obstinacy. Yet when I remember the little that our Saviour could prevail about this doctrine of charity against the crabbed textuists of his time, I make no wonder, but rest confident, that whoso prefers either matrimony or other ordinance before the good of man and the plain exigence of charity, let him profess papist, or protestant, or what he will, he is no better than a Pharisee, and understands not the gospel: whom as a misinterpreter of Christ I openly protest against; and provoke him to the trial of this truth before all the world: and let him bethink him withal how he will sodder up the shifting flaws of his ungirt permissions, his venial and unvenial dispenses, wherewith the law of God pardoning and unpardoning hath been shamefully branded for want of heed in glossing, to have eluded and baffled out all faith and chastity from the marriage-bed of that holy seed, with politic and judicial adulteries. I seek not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom to answer solidly, or to be convinced. I crave it from the piety, the learning, and the prudence which is housed in this place. It might perhaps more fitly have been written in another tongue: and I had done so, but that the esteem I have of my country's judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to serve it first with what I endeavour, made me speak it thus, ere I assay the verdict of outlandish readers. And perhaps also here I might have ended nameless, but that the address of these lines chiefly to the parliament of England might have seemed ingrateful not to acknowledge by whose religious care, unwearied watchfulness, courageous and heroic resolutions, I enjoy the peace and studious leisure to remain,

The Honourer and Attendant of their noble Worth and Virtues,

JOHN MILTON.

THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE;

RESTORED TO THE GOOD OF BOTH SEXES.

BOOK I.

THE PREFACE.

That man is the occasion of his own miseries in most of those evils which he imputes to God's inflicting. The absurdity of our canonists in their decrees about divorce. The christian imperial laws framed with more equity. The opinion of Hugo Grotius and Paulus Fagius: And the purpose in general of this discourse.

MANY men, whether it be their fate or fond opinion, easily persuade themselves, if God would but be pleased a while to withdraw his just punishments from us, and to restrain what power either the devil or any earthly enemy hath to work us wo, that then man's nature would find immediate rest and releasement from all evils. But verily they who think so, if they be such as have a mind large enough to take into their thoughts a general

survey of human things, would soon prove themselves in that opinion far deceived. For though it were granted us by divine indulgence to be exempt from all that can be harmful to us from without, yet the perverseness of our folly is so bent, that we should never lin hammering out of our own hearts, as if were out of a flint, the seeds and sparkles of new misery to ourselves, till all were in a blaze again. And no marvel if out of our own hearts, for they are evil; but even out of those things which God meant us, either for a principal good, or a pure contentment, we are still hatching and contriving upon ourselves matter of continual sorrow and perplexity. What greater good to man than that revealed rule, whereby God vouchsafes to shew us how he would be worshipped? And yet that not rightly understood became the cause, that once a famous man in Israel could not but oblige his conscience to be the sacrificer; or if not, the gaoler of his innocent and only daughter: and was the cause ofttimes that armies of valiant men have given up their throats to a heathenish enemy on the sabbath day; fondly thinking their defensive resistance to be as then a work unlawful. What thing more instituted to the solace and delight of man than marriage? And yet the misinterpreting of some scripture, directed mainly against the abusers of the law for divorce given by Moses, hath changed the blessing of matrimony not seldom into a familiar and coinhabiting mischief; at least into a drooping and disconsolate household captivity, without refuge or redemption. So ungoverned and so wild a race doth superstition run us, from one extreme of abused liberty into the other of unmerciful restraint. For although God in the first ordaining of marriage taught us to what end he did it, in words expressly implying the apt and cheerful conversation of man with woman, to comfort and refresh him against the evil of solitary life, not mentioning the purpose of generation till afterwards, as being but a secondary end in dignity, though not in necessity: yet now, if any two be but once handed in the church, and have tasted in any sort the nuptial bed, let them find themselves never so mistaken in their dispositions through any errour, concealment, or misadventure, that through their different tempers, thoughts, and constitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy against loneliness, nor live in any union or contentment all their days; yet they shall, so they be but found suitably weaponed to the least possibility of sensual enjoyment, be made, spight of antipathy, to fadge together, and combine as they may to their unspeakable wearisomeness, and despair of all sociable delight in the ordinance which God established to that very end. What a calamity is this, and as the wise man, if he were alive, would sigh out in his own phrase, what a "sore evil is this under the sun!" All which we can refer justly to no other author than the canon law and her adherents, not consulting with charity, the interpreter and guide of our faith, but resting in the mere element of the text; doubtless by the policy of the devil to make that gracious ordinance become unsupportable, that what with men not daring to venture upon wedlock, and what with men wearied out of it, all inordinate licence might abound. It was for many ages that marriage lay in disgrace with most of the ancient doctors, as a work of the flesh, almost a defilement, wholly denied to priests, and the second time dissuaded to all, as he that reads Tertullian or Jerom may see at large. Afterwards it was thought so sacramental, that no adultery or desertion could dissolve it; and this is the sense of our canon courts in England to this day, but in no other reformed church else: yet there remains in them also a burden on it as heavy as the other two were disgraceful or superstitious, and of as much iniquity, crossing a law not only written by Moses, but charactered in us by nature, of more antiquity and deeper ground than marriage itself; which law is to force nothing against the faultless proprieties of nature, yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviour's words touching divorce are as it were congealed into a stony rigour, inconsistent both with his doctrine and his office; and that which he preached only to the conscience is by canonical tyranny snatched into the compulsive censure of a judicial court; where laws are imposed even against the venerable and secret power of nature's impression, to love, whatever cause be found to loath: which is a heinous barbarism both against the honour of marriage, the dignity of man and his soul, the goodness of Christianity, and all the human respects of civility. Notwithstanding that some the wisest and gravest among the christian emperors, who had about them, to consult with, those of the fathers then living, who for their learning and holiness of life are still with us in great renown, have made their statutes and edicts concerning this debate far more easy and relenting in many necessary cases, wherein the canon is inflexible. And Hugo Grotius, a man of these times, one of the best learned, seems not obscurely to adhere in his persuasion to the equity of those imperial decrees, in his notes upon the Evangelists; much allaying the outward roughness of the text, which hath for the most part been too immoderately expounded; and excites the diligence of others to inquire further into this question, as containing many points that have not yet been explained. Which ever likely to remain intricate and hopeless upon the suppositions commonly stuck to, the authority of Paulus Fagius, one so learned and so eminent in England once, if it might persuade, would straight acquaint us with a solution of these differences no less prudent than compendious. He, in his comment on the Pentateuch, doubted not to maintain that divorces might be as lawfully permitted by the magistrate to Christians, as they were to the Jews. But because he is but brief, and these things of great consequence not to be kept obscure, I shall conceive it nothing above my duty, either for the difficulty or the censure that may pass thereon, to communicate such thoughts as I also have had, and do offer them now in this general labour of reformation to the candid view both of church and magistrate: especially because I see it the hope of good men, that those irregular and unspiritual courts have spun their utmost date in this land, and some better course must now be constituted. This therefore shall be the task and period of this discourse to prove, first,

that other reasons of divorce, besides adultery, were by the law of Moses, and are yet to be allowed by the christian magistrate as a piece of justice, and that the words of Christ are not hereby contraried. Next, that to prohibit absolutely any divorce whatsoever, except those which Moses excepted, is against the reason of law, as in due place I shall shew out of Fagius with many additions. He therefore who by adventuring, shall be so happy as with success to light the way of such an expedient liberty and truth as this, shall restore the much-wronged and over-sorrowed state of matrimony, not only to those merciful and life-giving remedies of Moses, but as much as may be, to that serene and blissful condition it was in at the beginning, and shall deserve of all apprehensive men, (considering the troubles and distempers, which, for want of this insight have been so oft in kingdoms, in states, and families,) shall deserve to be reckoned among the public benefactors of civil and human life, above the inventors of wine and oil; for this is a far dearer, far nobler, and more desirable cherishing to man's life, unworthily exposed to sadness and mistake, which he shall vindicate. Not that licence, and levity, and unconsented breach of faith should herein be countenanced, but that some conscionable and tender pity might be had of those who have unwarily, in a thing they never practised before, made themselves the bondmen of a luckless and helpless matrimony. In which argument, he whose courage can serve him to give the first onset, must look for two several oppositions; the one from those who having sworn themselves to long custom, and the letter of the text, will not out of the road; the other from those whose gross and vulgar apprehensions conceit but low of matrimonial purposes, and in the work of male and female think they have all. Nevertheless, it shall be here sought by due ways to be made appear, that those words of God in the institution, promising a meet help against loneliness, and those words of Christ, "that his yoke is easy, and his burden light," were not spoken in vain: for if the knot of marriage may in no case be dissolved but for adultery, all the burdens and services of the law are not so intolerable. This only is desired of them who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be still, and hear all out, nor think it equal to answer deliberate reason with sudden heat and noise; remembering this, that many truths now of reverend esteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from singular and private thoughts, while the most of men were otherwise possessed; and had the fate at first to be generally exploded and exclaimed on by many violent opposers: yet I may err perhaps in soothing myself, that this present truth revived will deserve on all hands to be not sinisterly received, in that it undertakes the cure of an inveterate disease crept into the best part of human society; and to do this with no smarting corrosive, but with a smooth and pleasing lesson, which received hath the virtue to soften and dispel rooted and knotty sorrows, and without enchantment, if that be feared, or spell used, hath regard at once both to serious pity and upright honesty; that tends to the redeeming and restoring of none but such as are the object of compassion, having in an ill hour hampered themselves, to the utter dispatch of all their most beloved comforts and repose for this life's term. But if we shall obstinately dislike this new overture of unexpected ease and recovery, what remains but to deplore the frowardness of our hopeless condition, which neither can endure the estate we are in, nor admit of remedy either sharp or sweet. Sharp we ourselves distaste; and sweet, under whose hands we are, is scrupled and suspected as too luscious. In such a posture Christ found the Jews, who were neither won with the austerity of John the Baptist, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who sounded and proclaimed liberty and relief to all distresses: yet truth in some age or other will find her witness, and shall be justified at last by her own children.

CHAP. I.

The position proved by the law of Moses. That law expounded and asserted to a moral and charitable use, first by Paulus Fagius, next with other additions.

To remove therefore, if it be possible, this great and sad oppression, which through the strictness of a literal interpreting hath invaded and disturbed the dearest and most peaceable estate of household society, to the overburdening, if not the overwhelming of many Christians better worth than to be so deserted of the church's considerate care, this position shall be laid down, first proving, then answering what may be objected either from Scripture or light of reason.

"That indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace; is a greater reason of divorce than natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and that there be mutual consent."

This I gather from the law in Deut. xxiv. 1. "When a man hath taken a wife and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house," &c. This law, if the words

of Christ may be admitted into our belief, shall never while the world stands, for him be abrogated. First therefore I here set down what learned Fagius hath observed on this law; "the law of God," saith he, "permitted divorce for the help of human weakness. For every one that of necessity separates, cannot live single. That Christ denied divorce to his own, hinders not; for what is that to the unregenerate, who hath not attained such perfection? Let not the remedy be despised, which was given to weakness. And when Christ saith, who marries the divorced commits adultery, it is to be understood if he had any plot in the divorce." The rest I reserve until it be disputed, how the magistrate is to do herein. From hence we may plainly discern a twofold consideration in this law: first, the end of the lawgiver, and the proper act of the law, to command or to allow something just and honest, or indifferent. Secondly, his sufferance from some accidental result of evil by this allowance, which the law cannot remedy. For if this law have no other end or act but only the allowance of sin, though never to so good intention, that law is no law, but sin muffled in the robe of law, or law disguised in the loose garment of sin. Both which are too foul hypotheses, to save the phænomenon of our Saviour's answer to the Pharisees about this matter. And I trust anon by the help of an infallible guide, to perfect such Prutenic tables, as shall mend the astronomy of our wide expositors.

The cause of divorce mentioned in the law is translated "some uncleanness," but in the Hebrew it sounds "nakedness of aught, or any real nakedness:" which by all the learned interpreters is referred to the mind as well as to the body. And what greater nakedness or unfitness of mind than that which hinders ever the solace and peaceful society of the married couple; and what hinders that more than the unfitness and defectiveness of an unconjugal mind? The cause therefore of divorce expressed in the position cannot but agree with that described in the best and equallest sense of Moses's law. Which, being a matter of pure charity, is plainly moral, and more now in force than ever; therefore surely lawful. For if under the law such was God's gracious indulgence, as not to suffer the ordinance of his goodness and favour through any errour to be seared and stigmatized upon his servants to their misery and thraldom; much less will he suffer it now under the covenant of grace, by abrogating his former grant of remedy and relief. But the first institution will be objected to have ordained marriage inseparable. To that a little patience until this first part have amply discoursed the grave and pious reasons of this divorcive law; and then I doubt not but with one gentle stroking to wipe away ten thousand tears out of the life of man. Yet thus much I shall now insist on, that whatever the institution were, it could not be so enormous, nor so rebellious against both nature and reason, as to exalt itself above the end and person for whom it was instituted

CHAP. II.

The first reason of this law grounded on the prime reason of matrimony. That no covenant whatsoever obliges against the main end both of itself, and of the parties covenanting.

For all sense and equity reclaims, that any law or covenant, how solemn or strait soever, either between God and man, or man and man, though of God's joining, should bind against a prime and principal scope of its own institution, and of both or either party covenanting: neither can it be of force to engage a blameless creature to his own perpetual sorrow, mistaken for his expected solace, without suffering charity to step in and do a confessed good work of parting those, whom nothing holds together but this of God's joining, falsely supposed against the express end of his own ordinance. And what his chief end was of creating woman to be joined with man, his own instituting words declare, and are infallible to inform us what is marriage, and what is no marriage; unless we can think them set there to no purpose: "it is not good," saith he, "that man should be alone, I will make him a help meet for him." From which words, so plain, less cannot be concluded, nor is by any learned interpreter, than that in God's intention a meet and happy conversation is the chiefest and the noblest end of marriage: for we find here no expression so necessarily implying carnal knowledge, as this prevention of loneliness to the mind and spirit of man. To this, Fagius, Calvin, Pareus, Rivetus, as willingly and largely assent as can be wished. And indeed it is a greater blessing from God, more worthy so excellent a creature as man is, and a higher end to honour and sanctify the league of marriage, whenas the solace and satisfaction of the mind is regarded and provided for before the sensitive pleasing of the body. And with all generous persons married thus it is, that where the mind and person pleases aptly, there some unaccomplishment of the body's delight may be better borne with, than when the mind hangs off in an unclosing disproportion, though the body be as it ought; for there all corporal delight will soon become unsavoury and contemptible. And the solitariness of man, which God had namely and principally ordered to prevent by marriage, hath no remedy, but lies under a worse condition than the loneliest single life: for in single life the absence and remoteness of a helper might inure him to expect his own comforts out of himself, or to seek with hope; but here the continual sight of his deluded thoughts, without cure, must needs be to him, if especially his complexion incline him to melancholy, a daily trouble and pain of loss, in some degree like that which reprobates feel. Lest therefore so noble a creature as man should be shut up incurably under a worse evil by an easy mistake in that ordinance which God gave him to remedy a less evil, reaping to himself sorrow while he went to rid away solitariness, it cannot avoid to be concluded, that if the woman be naturally so of disposition, as will

not help to remove, but help to increase that same God-forbidden loneliness, which will in time draw on with it a general discomfort and dejection of mind, not beseeming either christian profession or moral conversation, unprofitable and dangerous to the commonwealth, when the household estate, out of which must flourish forth the vigour and spirit of all public enterprises, is so illcontented and procured at home, and cannot be supported; such a marriage can be no marriage, whereto the most honest end is wanting: and the aggrieved person shall do more manly, to be extraordinary and singular in claiming the due right whereof he is frustrated, than to piece up his lost contentment by visiting the stews, or stepping to his neighbour's bed; which is the common shift in this misfortune: or else by suffering his useful life to waste away, and be lost under a secret affliction of an unconscionable size to human strength. Against all which evils the mercy of this Mosaic law was graciously exhibited.

CHAP. III.

The ignorance and iniquity of canon law, providing for the right of the body in marriage, but nothing for the wrongs and grievances of the mind. An objection, that the mind should be better looked to before contract, answered.

How vain therefore is it, and how preposterous in the canon law, to have made such careful provision against the impediment of carnal performance, and to have had no care about the unconversing inability of mind so defective to the purest and most sacred end of matrimony; and that the vessel of voluptuous enjoyment must be made good to him that has taken it upon trust, without any caution; whenas the mind, from whence must flow the acts of peace and love, a far more precious mixture than the quintescence of an excrement, though it be found never so deficient and unable to perform the best duty of marriage in a cheerful and agreeable conversation, shall be thought good enough, however flat and melancholious it be, and must serve, though to the eternal disturbance and languishing of him that complains! Yet wisdom and charity, weighing God's own institution, would think that the pining of a sad spirit wedded to loneliness should deserve to be freed, as well as the impatience of a sensual desire so providently relieved. It is read to us in the liturgy, that "we must not marry to satisfy the fleshly appetite, like brute beasts, that have no understanding;" but the canon so runs, as if it dreamed of no other matter than such an appetite to be satisfied; for if it happen that nature hath stopped or extinguished the veins of sensuality, that marriage is annulled. But though all the faculties of the understanding and conversing part after trial appear to be so ill and so aversely met through nature's unalterable working, as that neither peace, nor any sociable contentment can follow, it is as nothing; the contract shall stand as firm as ever, betide what will. What is this but secretly to instruct us, that however many grave reasons are pretended to the married life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein, but the prescribed satisfaction of an irrational heat? Which cannot be but ignominious to the state of marriage, dishonourable to the undervalued soul of man, and even to christian doctrine itself: while it seems more moved at the disappointing of an impetuous nerve, than at the ingenuous grievance of a mind unreasonably yoked; and to place more of marriage in the channel of concupiscence, than in the pure influence of peace and love, whereof the soul's lawful contentment is the only fountain.

But some are ready to object, that the disposition ought seriously to be considered before. But let them know again, that for all the wariness can be used, it may yet befall a discreet man to be mistaken in his choice, and we have plenty of examples. The soberest and best governed men are least practised in these affairs; and who knows not that the bashful muteness of a virgin may ofttimes hide all the unliveliness and natural sloth which is really unfit for conversation; nor is there that freedom of access granted or presumed, as may suffice to a perfect discerning till too late; and where any indisposition is suspected, what more usual than the persuasion of friends, that acquaintance, as it increases, will amend all? And lastly, it is not strange though many, who have spent their youth chastely, are in some things not so quick-sighted, while they haste too eagerly to light the nuptial torch; nor is it therefore that for a modest errour a man should forfeit so great a happiness, and no charitable means to release him: since they who have lived most loosely, by reason of their bold accustoming, prove most successful in their matches, because their wild affections unsettling at will, have been as so many divorces to teach them experience. Whenas the sober man honouring the appearance of modesty, and hoping well of every social virtue under that veil, may easily chance to meet, if not with a body impenetrable, yet often with a mind to all other due conversation inaccessible, and to all the more estimable and superior purposes of matrimony useless and almost lifeless: and what a solace, what a fit help such a consort would be through the whole life of a man, is less pain to conjecture than to have experience.

CHAP. IV.

The second reason of this law, because without it, marriage as it happens oft is not a remedy of that which it promises, as any rational creature would expect. That marriage, if we pattern from the beginning, as our Saviour bids, was not properly the remedy of lust, but the fulfilling of conjugal love and helpfulness.

And that we may further see what a violent cruel thing it is to force the continuing of those together,

whom God and nature in the gentlest end of marriage never joined; divers evils and extremities, that follow upon such a compulsion, shall here be set in view. Of evils, the first and greatest is, that hereby a most absurd and rash imputation is fixed upon God and his holy laws, of conniving and dispensing with open and common adultery among his chosen people; a thing which the rankest politician would think it shame and disworship that his laws should countenance: how and in what manner that comes to pass I shall reserve till the course of method brings on the unfolding of many scriptures. Next, the law and gospel are hereby made liable to more than one contradiction, which I refer also thither. Lastly, the supreme dictate of charity is hereby many ways neglected and violated; which I shall forthwith address to prove. First, we know St. Paul saith, It is better to marry than to burn. Marriage therefore was given as a remedy of that trouble; but what might this burning mean? Certainly not the mere motion of carnal lust, not the mere goad of a sensitive desire: God does not principally take care for such cattle. What is it then but that desire which God put into Adam in Paradise, before he knew the sin of incontinence; that desire which God saw it was not good that man should be left alone to burn in, the desire and longing to put off an unkindly solitariness by uniting another body, but not without a fit soul to his, in the cheerful society of wedlock? Which if it were so needful before the fall, when man was much more perfect in himself, how much more is it needful now against all the sorrows and casualties of this life, to have an intimate and speaking help, a ready and reviving associate in marriage? Whereof who misses, by chancing on a mute and spiritless mate, remains more alone than before, and in a burning less to be contained than that which is fleshly, and more to be considered; as being more deeply rooted even in the faultless innocence of nature. As for that other burning, which is but as it were the venom of a lusty and over-abounding concoction, strict life and labour, with the abatement of a full diet, may keep that low and obedient enough: but this pure and more inbred desire of joining to itself in conjugal fellowship a fit conversing soul (which desire is properly called love) "is stronger than death," as the spouse of Christ thought; "many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it." This is that rational burning that marriage is to remedy, not to be allayed with fasting, nor with any penance to be subdued: which how can he assuage who by mishap hath met the most unmeet and unsuitable mind? Who hath the power to struggle with an intelligible flame, not in Paradise to be resisted, become now more ardent by being failed of what in reason it looked for; and even then most unquenched, when the importunity of a provender burning is well enough appeased; and yet the soul hath obtained nothing of what it justly desires. Certainly such a one forbidden to divorce, is in effect forbidden to marry, and compelled to greater difficulties than in a single life: for if there be not a more humane burning which marriage must satisfy, or else may be dissolved, than that of copulation, marriage cannot be honourable for the meet reducing and terminating lust between two: seeing many beasts in voluntary and chosen couples live together as unadulterously, and are as truly married in that respect. But all ingenuous men will see that the dignity and blessing of marriage is placed rather in the mutual enjoyment of that which the wanting soul needfully seeks, than of that which the plenteous body would joyfully give away. Hence it is that Plato in his festival discourse brings in Socrates relating what he feigned to have learned from the prophetess Diotima, how Love was the son of Penury, begot of Plenty in the garden of Jupiter. Which divinely sorts with that which in effect Moses tells us, that Love was the son of Loneliness, begot in Paradise by that sociable and helpful aptitude which God implanted between man and woman toward each other. The same also is that burning mentioned by St. Paul, whereof marriage ought to be the remedy: the flesh hath other mutual and easy curbs which are in the power of any temperate man. When therefore this original and sinless penury or loneliness of the soul cannot lay itself down by the side of such a meet and acceptable union as God ordained in marriage, at least in some proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth love, but remains utterly unmarried under a former wedlock, and still burns in the proper meaning of St. Paul. Then enters Hate, not that hate that sins, but that which only is natural dissatisfaction, and the turning aside from a mistaken object: if that mistake have done injury, it fails not to dismiss with recompense; for to retain still, and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury. Thence this wise and pious law of dismission now defended, took beginning: he therefore who lacking of his due in the most native and humane end of marriage, thinks it better to part than to live sadly and injuriously to that cheerful covenant, (for not to be beloved, and yet retained, is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit,) he I say, who therefore seeks to part, is one who highly honours the married life and would not stain it: and the reasons which now move him to divorce, are equal to the best of those that could first warrant him to marry; for, as was plainly shewn, both the hate which now diverts him, and the loneliness which leads him still powerfully to seek a fit help, hath not the least grain of a sin in it, if he be worthy to understand himself.

CHAP. V.

The third reason of this law, because without it, he who has happened where he finds nothing but remediless offences and discontents, is in more and greater temptations than ever before.

THIRDLY, Yet it is next to be feared, if he must be still bound without reason by a deaf rigour, that when

he perceives the just expectance of his mind defeated, he will begin even against law to cast about where he may find his satisfaction more complete, unless he be a thing heroically virtuous; and that are not the common lump of men, for whom chiefly the laws ought to be made; though not to their sins, yet to their unsinning weaknesses, it being above their strength to endure the lonely estate, which while they shunned they are fallen into. And yet there follows upon this a worse temptation: for if he be such as hath spent his youth unblamably, and laid up his chiefest earthly comforts in the enjoyments of a contented marriage, nor did neglect that furtherance which was to be obtained therein by constant prayers; when he shall find himself bound fast to an uncomplying discord of nature, or, as it oft happens, to an image of earth and phlegm, with whom he looked to be the copartner of a sweet and gladsome society, and sees withal that his bondage is now inevitable; though he be almost the strongest Christian, he will be ready to despair in virtue, and mutiny against Divine Providence: and this doubtless is the reason of those lapses, and that melancholy despair, which we see in many wedded persons, though they understand it not, or pretend other causes, because they know no remedy; and is of extreme danger: therefore when human frailty surcharged is at such a loss, charity ought to venture much, and use bold physic, lest an overtossed faith endanger to shipwreck.

CHAP. VI.

The fourth reason of this law, that God regards love and peace in the family, more than a compulsive performance of marriage, which is more broke by a grievous continuance, than by a needful divorce.

Fourthly, Marriage is a covenant, the very being whereof consists not in a forced cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfeigned love and peace: and of matrimonial love, no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient sages was thus parabled; that Love, if he be not twin born, yet hath a brother wondrous like him, called Anteros; whom while he seeks all about, his chance is to meet with many false and feigning desires, that wander singly up and down in his likeness: by them in their borrowed garb, Love, though not wholly blind, as poets wrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an archer aiming, and that eye not the quickest in this dark region here below, which is not Love's proper sphere, partly out of the simplicity and credulity which is native to him, often deceived, embraces and consorts him with these obvious and suborned striplings, as if they were his mother's own sons; for so he thinks them, while they subtilly keep themselves most on his blind side. But after a while, as his manner is, when soaring up into the high tower of his Apogæum, above the shadow of the earth, he darts out the direct rays of his then most piercing eyesight upon the impostures and trim disguises that were used with him, and discerns that this is not his genuine brother as he imagined; he has no longer the power to hold fellowship with such a personated mate: for straight his arrows lose their golden heads, and shed their purple feathers, his silken braids untwine, and slip their knots, and that original and fiery virtue given him by fate all on a sudden goes out, and leaves him undeified and despoiled of all his force; till finding Anteros at last, he kindles and repairs the almost faded ammunition of his deity by the reflection of a coequal and homogeneal fire. Thus mine author sung it to me: and by the leave of those who would be counted the only grave ones, this is no mere amatorious novel (though to be wise and skilful in these matters, men heretofore of greatest name in virtue have esteemed it one of the highest arcs, that human contemplation circling upwards can make from the globy sea whereon she stands): but this is a deep and serious verity, shewing us that love in marriage cannot live nor subsist unless it be mutual; and where love cannot be, there can be left of wedlock nothing but the empty husk of an outside matrimony, as undelightful and unpleasing to God as any other kind of hypocrisy. So far is his command from tying men to the observance of duties which there is no help for, but they must be dissembled. If Solomon's advice be not over-frolic, "live joyfully," saith he, "with the wife whom thou lovest, all thy days, for that is thy portion." How then, where we find it impossible to rejoice or to love, can we obey this precept? How miserably do we defraud ourselves of that comfortable portion, which God gives us, by striving vainly to glue an errour together, which God and nature will not join, adding but more vexation and violence to that blissful society by our importunate superstition, that will not hearken to St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. who, speaking of marriage and divorce, determines plain enough in general, that God therein "hath called us to peace, and not to bondage." Yea, God himself commands in his law more than once, and by his prophet Malachi, as Calvin and the best translations read, that "he who hates, let him divorce," that is, he who cannot love. Hence it is that the rabbins, and Maimonides, famous among the rest, in a book of his set forth by Buxtorfius, tells us, that "divorce was permitted by Moses to preserve peace in marriage, and quiet in the family." Surely the Jews had their saving peace about them as well as we, yet care was taken that this wholesome provision for household peace should also be allowed them: and must this be denied to Christians? O perverseness! that the law should be made more provident of peacemaking than the gospel! that the gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of mercy from the law, but must not have it; and that to grind in the mill of an undelighted and servile copulation, must be the only forced work of a christian marriage, ofttimes with such a yokefellow, from whom both love and peace, both nature and religion mourns to be separated. I cannot therefore be so diffident, as not se-

curely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the most important helps in marriage, being thereby disinabled to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countenance, and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no less grieved; that man ought even for love's sake and peace to move divorce upon good and liberal conditions to the divorced. And it is a less breach of wedlock to part with wise and quiet consent betimes, than still to foil and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadness and perpetual distemper: for it is not the outward continuing of marriage that keeps whole that covenant, but whatsoever does most according to peace and love, whether in marriage or in divorce, he it is that breaks marriage least; it being so often written, that "Love only is the fulfilling of every commandment."

CHAP. VII.

The fifth reason, that nothing more hinders and disturbs the whole life of a Christian, than a matrimony found to be incurably unfit, and doth the same in effect that an idolatrous match.

Fifthly, As those priests of old were not to be long in sorrow, or if they were, they could not rightly execute their function; so every true Christian in a higher order of priesthood, is a person dedicate to joy and peace, offering himself a lively sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and there is no christian duty that is not to be seasoned and set off with cheerishness; which in a thousand outward and intermitting crosses may yet be done well, as in this vale of tears: but in such a bosom affliction as this, crushing the very foundation of his inmost nature, when he shall be forced to love against a possibility, and to use a dissimulation against his soul in the perpetual and ceaseless duties of a husband; doubtless his whole duty of serving God must needs be blurred and tainted with a sad unpreparedness and dejection of spirit wherein God has no delight. Who sees not therefore how much more Christianity it would be to break by divorce, that which is more broken by undue and forcible keeping, rather than "to cover the altar of the Lord with continual tears, so that he regardeth not the offering any more," rather than that the whole worship of a christian man's life should languish and fade away beneath the weight of an immeasurable grief and discouragement? And because some think the children of a second matrimony succeeding a divorce would not be a holy seed, it hindered not the Jews from being so; and why should we not think them more holy than the offspring of a former ill-twisted wedlock, begotten only out of a bestial necessity, without any true love or contentment, or joy to their parents? So that in some sense we may call them the "children of wrath" and anguish, which will as little conduce to their sanctifying, as if they had been bastards: for nothing more than disturbance of mind suspends us from approaching to God; such a disturbance especially, as both assaults our faith and trust in God's providence, and ends, if there be not a miracle of virtue on either side, not only in bitterness and wrath, the canker of devotion, but in a desperate and vicious carelessness, when he sees himself, without fault of his, trained by a deceitful bait into a snare of misery, betrayed by an alluring ordinance, and then made the thrall of heaviness and discomfort by an undivorcing law of God, as he erroneously thinks, but of man's iniquity, as the truth is: for that God prefers the free and cheerful worship of a Christian, before the grievance and exacted observance of an unhappy marriage, besides that the general maxims of religion assure us, will be more manifest by drawing a parallel argument from the ground of divorcing an idolatress, which was, lest he should alienate his heart from the true worship of God: and what difference is there whether she pervert him to superstition by her enticing sorcery, or disenable him in the whole service of God through the disturbance of her unhelpful and unfit society; and so drive him at last, through murmuring and despair, to thoughts of atheism? Neither doth it lessen the cause of separating, in that the one willingly allures him from the faith, the other perhaps unwillingly drives him; for in the account of God it comes all to one, that the wife loses him a servant: and therefore by all the united force of the Decalogue she ought to be disbanded, unless we must set marriage above God and charity, which is the doctrine of devils, no less than forbidding to marry.

CHAP. VIII.

That an idolatrous heretic ought to be divorced, after a convenient space given to hope of conversion. That place of 1 Cor. vii. *restored from a twofold erroneous exposition; and that the common expositors flatly contradict the moral law.*

And here by the way, to illustrate the whole question of divorce, ere this treatise end, I shall not be loth to spend a few lines in hope to give a full resolve of that which is yet so much controverted; whether an idolatrous heretic ought to be divorced. To the resolving whereof we must first know, that the Jews were commanded to divorce an unbelieving Gentile for two causes: First, because all other nations, especially the Canaanites, were to them unclean. Secondly, to avoid seducement. That other nations were to the Jews impure, even to the separating of marriage, will appear out of Exod. xxxiv. 16, Deut. vii. 3, 6, compared with Ezra ix. 2, also chap. x. 10, 11, Neh. xiii. 30. This was the ground of that doubt raised among the Corinthians by some of the circumcision; whether an unbeliever were not still to be counted an unclean thing, so as that they ought to divorce from such a person. This doubt of theirs St. Paul removes by an evangelical reason, having respect to that vision of St. Peter, wherein the distinction of clean and unclean being abolished,

all living creatures were sanctified to a pure and christian use, and mankind especially, now invited by a general call to the covenant of grace. Therefore saith St. Paul, "The unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband;" that is, made pure and lawful to his use, so that he need not put her away for fear lest her unbelief should defile him; but that if he found her love still towards him, he might rather hope to win her. The second reason of that divorce was to avoid seducement, as is proved by comparing those two places of the law to that which Ezra and Nehemiah did by divine warrant in compelling the Jews to forego their wives. And this reason is moral and perpetual in the rule of christian faith without evasion; therefore saith the apostle, 2 Cor. vi. "Misyoke not together with infidels," which is interpreted of marriage in the first place. And although the former legal pollution be now done off, yet there is a spiritual contagion in idolatry as much to be shunned; and though seducement were not to be feared, yet where there is no hope of converting, there always ought to be a certain religious aversation and abhorring, which can no way sort with marriage: Therefore saith St. Paul, "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? What communion hath light with darkness? What concord hath Christ with Belial? What part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" And in the next verse but one he moralizes, and makes us liable to that command of Isaiah; "Wherefore come out from among them, and be separate, saith the Lord; touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive ye." And this command thus gospelized to us, hath the same force with that whereon Ezra grounded the pious necessity of divorcing. Neither had he other commission for what he did, than such a general command in Deut. as this, nay not so direct; for he is bid there not to marry, but not bid to divorce, and yet we see with what a zeal and confidence he was the author of a general divorce between the faithful and the unfaithful seed. The gospel is more plainly on his side, according to three of the evangelists, than the words of the law; for where the case of divorce is handled with such severity, as was fittest to aggravate the fault of unbounded licence; yet still in the same chapter, when it comes into question afterwards, whether any civil respect, or natural relation which is dearest, may be our plea to divide, or hinder or but delay our duty to religion, we hear it determined that father, and mother, and wife also, is not only to be hated, but forsaken, if we mean to inherit the great reward there promised. Nor will it suffice to be put off by saying we must forsake them only by not consenting or not complying with them, for that were to be done, and roundly too, though being of the same faith, they should but seek out of a fleshly tenderness to weaken our christian fortitude with worldly persuasions, or but to unsettle our constancy with timorous and softening suggestions; as we may read with what a vehemence Job, the patientest of men, rejected the desperate counsels of his wife; and Moses, the meekest, being thoroughly offended with the prophane speeches of Zippora, sent her back to her father. But if they shall perpetually, at our elbow, seduce us from the true worship of God, or defile and daily scandalize our conscience by their hopeless continuance in misbelief; then even in the due progress of reason, and that ever equal proportion which justice proceeds by, it cannot be imagined that his cited place commands less than a total and final separation from such an adherent; at least that no force should be used to keep them together; while we remember that God commanded Abraham to send away his irreligious wife and her son for the offences which they gave in a pious family. And it may be guessed that David for the like cause disposed of Michal in such a sort, as little differed from a dismission. Therefore against reiterated scandals and seducements, which never cease, much more can no other remedy or retirement be found but absolute departure. For what kind of matrimony can that remain to be, what one duty between such can be performed as it should be from the heart, when their thoughts and spirits fly asunder as far as heaven and hell; especially if the time that hope should send forth her expected blossoms, be past in vain? It will easily be true, that a father or a brother may be hated zealously, and loved civilly or naturally; for those duties may be performed at distance, and do admit of any long absence: but how the peace and perpetual cohabitation of marriage can be kept, how that benevolent and intimate communion of body can be held, with one that must be hated with a most operative hatred, must be forsaken and yet continually dwelt with and accompanied; he who can distinguish, hath the gift of an affection very oddly divided and contrived: while others both just and wise, and Solomon among the rest, if they may not hate and forsake as Moses enjoins, and the gospel imports, will find it impossible not to love otherwise than will sort with the love of God, whose jealousy brooks no corrival. And whether is more likely, that Christ bidding to forsake wife for religion, meant it by divorce as Moses meant it, whose law, grounded on moral reason, was both his office and his essence to maintain; or that he should bring a new morality into religion, not only new, but contrary to an unchangeable command, and dangerously derogating from our love and worship of God? As if when Moses had bid divorce absolutely, and Christ had said, hate and forsake, and his apostle had said, no communication with Christ and Belial; yet that Christ after all this could be understood to say, divorce not, ne not for religion, seduce, or seduce not. What mighty and invisible remora is this in matrimony, able to demur and to contemn all the divorcive engines in heaven or earth! both which may now pass away, if this be true, for more than many jots or tittles, a whole moral law is abolished. But if we dare believe it is not, then in the method of religion, and to save the honour and dignity of our faith, we are to retreat and gather up ourselves from the observance of an inferior and civil ordinance, to the strict maintaining of a general and religious command, which is written, "Thou shalt make no covenant with them," Deut. vii, 2, 3: and that covenant which cannot be lawfully made, we have

directions and examples lawfully to dissolve. Also 2 Chron. ii. 19, "Shouldest thou love them that hate the Lord?" No, doubtless; for there is a certain scale of duties, there is a certain hierarchy of upper and lower commands, which for want of studying in right order, all the world is in confusion.

Upon these principles I answer, that a right believer ought to divorce an idolatrous heretic, unless upon better hopes: however, that it is in the believer's choice to divorce or not.

The former part will be manifest thus first, that an apostate idolater, whether husband or wife seducing, was to die by the decree of God, Deut. xiii. 6, 9; that marriage therefore God himself disjoins: for others born idolaters, the moral reason of their dangerous keeping, and the incommunicable antagony that is between Christ and Belial, will be sufficient to enforce the commandment of those two inspired reformers Ezra and Nehemiah, to put an idolater away as well under the gospel.

The latter part, that although there be no seducement feared, yet if there be no hope given, the divorce is lawful, will appear by this; that idolatrous marriage is still hateful to God, therefore still it may be divorced by the pattern of that warrant that Ezra had, and by the same everlasting reason: neither can any man give an account wherefore, if those whom God joins no man can separate, it should not follow, that whom he joins not, but hates to join, those men ought to separate. But saith the lawyer, "That which ought not to have been done, once done, avails." I answer, "this is but a crotchet of the law, but that brought against it is plain Scripture." As for what Christ spake concerning divorce, it is confessed by all knowing men, he meant only between them of the same faith. But what shall we say then to St. Paul, who seems to bid us not divorce an infidel willing to stay? We may safely say thus, that wrong collections have been hitherto made out of those words by modern divines. His drift, as was heard before, is plain; not to command our stay in marriage with an infidel, that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and moral law; but to inform the Corinthians, that the body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his desire to live in christian wedlock shewed any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith; and therefore advises to forbear departure so long till nothing have been neglected to set forward a conversion: this I say he advises, and that with certain cautions, not commands, if we can take up so much credit for him, as to get him believed upon his own word: for what is this else but his counsel in a thing indifferent, "to the rest speak I, not the Lord?" for though it be true, that the Lord never spake it, yet from St. Paul's mouth we should have took it as a command, had not himself forewarned us, and disclaimed; which notwithstanding if we shall still avouch to be a command, he palpably denying it, this is not to expound St. Paul, but to outface him. Neither doth it follow, that the apostle may interpose his judgment in a case of christian liberty, without the guilt of adding to God's word. *How do we know marriage or* single life to be of choice, but by such like words as these, "I speak this by permission, not of commandment; I have no command of the Lord, yet I give my judgment." Why shall not the like words have leave to signify a freedom in this our present question, though Beza deny? Neither is the Scripture hereby less inspired, because St. Paul confesses to have written therein what he had not of command: for we grant that the Spirit of God led him thus to express himself to christian prudence, in a matter which God thought best to leave uncommanded. Beza therefore must be warily read, when he taxes St. Austin of blasphemy, for holding that St. Paul spake here as of a thing indifferent. But if it must be a command, I shall yet the more evince it to be a command that we should herein be left free; and that out of the Greek word used in the 12th ver., which instructs us plainly, there must be a joint assent and good liking on both sides: he that will not deprave the text must thus render it; "If a brother have an unbelieving wife, and she join in consent to dwell with him," (which cannot utter less to us than a mutual agreement,) let him not put her away from the mere surmise of judaical uncleanness: and the reason follows, for the body of an infidel is not polluted, neither to benevolence, nor to procreation. Moreover, this note of mutual complacency forbids all offer of seducement, which to a person of zeal cannot be attempted without great offence: if therefore seducement be feared, this place hinders not divorce. Another caution was put in this supposed command, of not bringing the believer into 'bondage' hereby, which doubtless might prove extreme, if christian liberty and conscience were left to the humour of a pagan staying at pleasure to play with, and to vex and wound with a thousand scandals and burdens, above strength to bear. If therefore the conceived hope of gaining a soul come to nothing, then charity commands that the believer be not wearied out with endless waiting under many grievances sore to his spirit; but that respect be had rather to the present suffering of a true Christian, than the uncertain winning of an obdurate heretic. The counsel we have from St. Paul to hope, cannot countermand the moral and evangelic charge we have from God to fear seducement, to separate from the misbeliever, the unclean, the obdurate. The apostle wisheth us to hope; but does not send us a wool-gathering after vain hope; he saith, "How knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?" that is, till he try all due means, and set some reasonable time to himself, after which he may give over washing an Ethiop, if he will hear the advice of the gospel; "Cast not pearls before swine," saith Christ himself. "Let him be to thee as a heathen. Shake the dust off thy feet." If this be not enough, "hate and forsake" what relation soever. And this also that follows must appertain to the precept, "Let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with God," v. 24, that is, so walking in his inferior calling of marriage, as not by dangerous subjection to that ordinance, to hinder and disturb the higher calling of his Christianity. Last, and never too oft remembered, whether this be a command, or

an advice, we must look that it be so understood as not to contradict the least point of moral religion that God hath formerly commanded; otherwise what do we but set the moral law and the gospel at civil war together? and who then shall be able to serve these two masters?

CHAP. IX.

That adultery is not the greatest breach of matrimony: that there may be other violations as great.

Now whether idolatry or adultery be the greatest violation of marriage, if any demand let him thus consider, that among christian writers touching matrimony, there be three chief ends thereof agreed on: godly society, next civil, and thirdly, that of the marriage-bed. Of these the first in name to be the highest and most excellent, no baptized man can deny, nor that idolatry smites directly against this prime end; nor that such as the violated end is, such is the violation: but he who affirms adultery to be the highest breach, affirms the bed to be the highest of marriage, which is in truth a gross and boorish opinion, how common soever: as far from the countenance of Scripture, as from the light of all clean philosophy or civil nature. And out of the question the cheerful help that may be in marriage toward sanctity of life, is the purest, and so the noblest end of that contract: but if the particular of each person be considered, then of those three ends which God appointed, that to him is greatest which is most necessary; and marriage is then most broken to him when he utterly wants the fruition of that which he most sought therein, whether it were religious, civil, or corporal society. Of which wants to do him right by divorce only for the last and meanest is a perverse injury, and the pretended reason of it as frigid as frigidity itself, which the code and canon are only sensible of. Thus much of this controversy. I now return to the former argument. And having shewn that disproportion, contrariety, or numbness of mind may justly be divorced, by proving already the prohibition thereof opposes the express end of God's institution, suffers not marriage to satisfy that intellectual and innocent desire which God himself kindled in man to be the bond of wedlock, but only to remedy a sublunary and bestial burning, which frugal diet, without marriage, would easily chasten. Next, that it drives many to transgress the conjugal bed, while the soul wanders after that satisfaction which it had hope to find at home, but hath missed; or else it sits repining, even to atheism, finding itself hardly dealt with, but misdeeming the cause to be in God's law, which is in man's unrighteous ignorance. I have shewn also how it unties the inward knot of marriage, which is peace and love, (if that can be untied which was never knit,) while it aims to keep fast the outward formality: how it lets perish the christian man, to compel impossibly the married man.

CHAP. X.

The sixth reason of this law; that to prohibit divorce sought for natural cases, is against nature.

The sixth place declares this prohibition to be as respectless of human nature, as it is of religion, and therefore is not of God. He teaches, that an unlawful marriage may be lawfully divorced: and that those who have thoroughly discerned each other's disposition, which ofttimes cannot be till after matrimony, shall then find a powerful reluctance and recoil of nature on either side, blasting all the content of their mutual society, that such persons are not lawfully married, (to use the apostle's words,) "Say I these things as a man, or saith not the law also the same? For it is written, Deut. xxii. Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with different seeds, lest thou defile both. Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together;" and the like. I follow the pattern of St. Paul's reasoning; "Doth God care for asses and oxen," how ill they yoke together, "or is it not said altogether for our sakes? for our sakes no doubt this is written." Yea the apostle himself, in the forecited 2 Cor. vi. 14. alludes from that place of Deut. to forbid misyoking marriage, as by the Greek word is evident; though he instance but in one example of mismatching with an infidel, yet next to that, what can be a fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend secret of nature, than to force a mixture of minds that cannot unite, and to sow the sorrow of man's nativity with seed of two incoherent and incombining dispositions? which act being kindly and voluntary, as it ought, the apostle in the language he wrote called eunoia, and the Latins, benevolence, intimating the original thereof to be in the understanding, and the will; if not, surely there is nothing which might more properly be called a malevolence rather; and is the most injurious and unnatural tribute that can be extorted from a person endued with reason, to be made pay out the best substance of his body, and of his soul too, as some think, when either for just and powerful causes he cannot like, or from unequal causes finds not recompense. And that there is a hidden efficacy of love and hatred in man as well as in other kinds, not moral but natural, which though not always in the choice, yet in the success of marriage will ever be most predominant; besides daily experience, the author of Ecclesiasticus, whose wisdom hath set him next the Bible, acknowledges, xiii. 16, "A man, saith he, will cleave to his like." But what might be the cause, whether each one's allotted Genius or proper star, or whether the supernal* influence of schemes and angular aspects, or this elemental crasis here below; whether all these jointly or singly meeting friendly, or unfriendly in either party, I dare not, with the men I am like to clash, appear so much a philosopher as to conjecture. The ancient proverb in Homer less abstruse, entitles this work of leading each like person to his like, peculiarly to God himself: which is plain enough also by his naming of a meet or like help in the first espousal instituted; and that every woman is

* The first edition has *supernatural*.

meet for every man, none so absurd as to affirm. Seeing then there is a twofold seminary, or stock in nature, from whence are derived the issues of love and hatred, distinctly flowing through the whole mass of created things, and that God's doing ever is to bring the due likenesses and harmonies of his works together, except when out of two contraries met to their own destruction, he moulds a third existence; and that it is errour, or some evil angel which either blindly or maliciously hath drawn together, in two persons ill embarked in wedlock, the sleeping discords and enmities of nature, lulled on purpose with some false bait, that they may wake to agony and strife, later than prevention could have wished, if from the bent of just and honest intentions beginning what was begun and so continuing, all that is equal, all that is fair and possible hath been tried, and no accommodation likely to succeed; what folly is it still to stand combating and battering against invincible causes and effects, with evil upon evil, till either the best of our days be lingered out, or ended with some speeding sorrow! The wise Ecclesiasticus advises rather, xxxvii. 27, "My son, prove thy soul in thy life, see what is evil for it, and give not that unto it." Reason he had to say so; for if the noisomeness or disfigurement of body can soon destroy the sympathy of mind to wedlock duties, much more will the annoyance and trouble of mind infuse itself into all the faculties and acts of the body, to render them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy against the fundamental law book of nature, which Moses never thwarts, but reverences: therefore he commands us to force nothing against sympathy or natural order, no not upon the most abject creatures; to shew that such an indignity cannot be offered to man without an impious crime. And certainly those divine meditating words of finding out a meet and like help to man, have in them a consideration of more than the indefinite likeness of womanhood; nor are they to be made waste paper on, for the dulness of canon divinity: no, nor those other allegoric precepts of beneficence fetched out of the closet of nature, to teach us goodness and compassion in not compelling together unmatchable societies; or if they meet through mischance, by all consequence to disjoin them, as God and nature signifies, and lectures to us not only by those recited decrees, but even by the first and last of all his visible works; when by his divorcing command the world first rose out of chaos, nor can be renewed again out of confusion, but by the separating of unmeet consorts.

CHAP. XI.

The seventh reason, that sometimes continuance in marriage may be evidently the shortening or endangering of life to either party; both law and divinity concluding, that life is to be preferred before marriage, the intended solace of life.

Seventhly, The canon law and divines consent, that if either party be found contriving against another's life, they may be severed by divorce: for a sin against the life of marriage is greater than a sin against the bed; the one destroys, the other but defiles. The same may be said touching those persons who being of a pensive nature and course of life, have summed up all their solace in that free and lightsome conversation which God and man intends in marriage; whereof when they see themselves deprived by meeting an unsociable consort, they ofttimes resent one another's mistake so deeply, that long it is not ere grief end one of them. When therefore this danger is foreseen, that the life is in peril by living together, what matter is it whether helpless grief or wilful practice be the cause? This is certain, that the preservation of life is more worth than the compulsory keeping of marriage; and it is no less than cruelty to force a man to remain in that state as the solace of his life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the disheartening of his life. And what is life without the vigour and spiritual exercise of life? How can it be useful either to private or public employment? Shall it therefore be quite dejected, though never so valuable, and left to moulder away in heaviness, for the superstitious and impossible performance of an ill-driven bargain? Nothing more inviolable than vows made to God; yet we read in Numbers, that if a wife had made such a vow, the mere will and authority of her husband might break it: how much more then may he break the error of his own bonds with an unfit and mistaken wife, to the saving of his welfare, his life, yea his faith and virtue, from the hazard of overstrong temptations? For if man be lord of the sabbath, to the curing of a fever, can he be less than lord of marriage in such important causes as these?

CHAP. XII.

The eighth reason, It is probable, or rather certain, that every one who happens to marry, hath not the calling; and therefore upon unfitness found and considered, force ought not to be used.

Eighthly, It is most sure that some even of those who are not plainly defective in body, yet are destitute of all other marriageable gifts, and consequently have not the calling to marry, unless nothing be requisite thereto but a mere instrumental body; which to affirm, is to that unanimous covenant a reproach: yet it is as sure that many such, not of their own desire, but by the persuasion of friends, or not knowing themselves, do often enter into wedlock; where finding the difference at length between the duties of a married life, and the gifts of a single life, what unfitness of mind, what wearisomeness, scruples, and doubts, to an incredible offence and displeasure, are like to follow between, may be soon imagined; whom thus to shut up, and immure, and shut up together, the one with a mischosen mate, the other in a mistaken calling, is not a course that christian wisdom and tender-

ness ought to use. As for the custom that some parents and guardians have of forcing marriages, it will be better to say nothing of such a savage inhumanity, but only thus; that the law which gives not all freedom of divorce to any creature endued with reason so assassinated, is next in cruelty.

CHAP. XIII.

The ninth reason; because marriage is not a mere carnal coition, but a human society: where that cannot reasonably be had, there can be no true matrimony. Marriage compared with all other covenants and vows warrantably broken for the good of man. Marriage the Papists' sacrament, and unfit marriage the Protestants' idol.

NINTHLY, I suppose it will be allowed us that marriage is a human society, and that all human society must proceed from the mind rather than the body, else it would be but a kind of animal or beastish meeting: if the mind therefore cannot have that due company by marriage that it may reasonably and humanly desire, that marriage can be no human society, but a certain formality; or gilding over of little better than a brutish congress, and so in very wisdom and pureness to be dissolved.

But marriage is more than human, "the covenant of God," Prov. ii. 17, therefore man cannot dissolve it. I answer, if it be more than human, so much the more it argues the chief society thereof to be in the soul rather than in the body, and the greatest breach thereof to be unfitness of mind rather than defect of body: for the body can have least affinity in a covenant more than human, so that the reason of dissolving holds good the rather. Again, I answer, that the sabbath is a higher institution, a command of the first table, for the breach whereof God hath far more and oftener testified his anger than for divorces, which from Moses to Malachi he never took displeasure at, nor then neither if we mark the text; and yet as oft as the good of man is concerned, he not only permits, but commands to break the sabbath. What covenant more contracted with God and less in man's power, than the vow which hath once passed his lips? yet if it be found rash, if offensive, if unfruitful either to God's glory or the good of man, our doctrine forces not error and unwillingness irksomely to keep it, but counsels wisdom and better thoughts boldly to break it; therefore to enjoin the indissoluble keeping of a marriage found unfit against the good of man both soul and body, as hath been evidenced, is to make an idol of marriage, to advance it above the worship of God and the good of man, to make it a transcendent command, above both the second and first table; which is a most prodigious doctrine.

Next, whereas they cite out of the Proverbs, that it is the covenant of God, and therefore more than human, that consequence is manifestly false: for so the covenant which Zedekiah made with the infidel king of Babel, is called the Covenant of God, Ezek. xvii. 19, which would be strange to hear counted more than a human covenant. So every covenant between man and man, bound by oath, may be called the covenant of God, because God therein is attested. So of marriage he is the author and the witness; yet hence will not follow any divine astriction more than what is subordinate to the glory of God, and the main good of either party: for as the glory of God and their esteemed fitness one for the other, was the motive which led them both at first to think without other revelation that God had joined them together; so when it shall be found by their apparent unfitness, that their continuing to be man and wife is against the glory of God and their mutual happiness, it may assure them that God never joined them; who hath revealed his gracious will not to set the ordinance above the man for whom it was ordained; not to canonize marriage either as a tyranness or a goddess over the enfranchised life and soul of man; for wherein can God delight, wherein be worshipped, wherein be glorified by the forcible continuing of an improper and ill-yoking couple? He that loved not to see the disparity of several cattle at the plough, cannot be pleased with vast unmeetness in marriage. Where can be the peace and love which must invite God to such a house? May it not be feared that the not divorcing of such a helpless disagreement will be the divorcing of God finally from such a place? But it is a trial of our patience, say they: I grant it; but which of Job's afflictions were sent him with that law, that he might not use means to remove any of them if he could? And what if it subvert our patience and our faith too? Who shall answer for the perishing of all those souls, perishing by stubborn expositions of particular and inferior precepts against the general and supreme rule of charity? They dare not affirm that marriage is either a sacrament or a mystery, though all those sacred things give place to man; and yet they invest it with such an awful sanctity, and give it such adamantine chains to bind with, as if it were to be worshipped like some Indian deity, when it can confer no blessing upon us, but works more and more to our misery. To such teachers the saying of St. Peter at the council of Jerusalem will do well to be applied: "Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the necks of" Christian men, which neither the Jews, God's ancient people, "nor we are able to bear;" and nothing but unwary expounding hath brought upon us?

CHAP. XIV.

Considerations concerning Familism, Antinomianism; and why it may be thought that such opinions may proceed from the undue restraint of some just liberty, than which no greater cause to contemn discipline.

To these considerations this also may be added as no improbable conjecture, seeing that sort of men who

follow Anabaptism, Familism, Antinomianism, and other fanatic dreams, (if we understand them not amiss,) be such most commonly as are by nature addicted to religion, of life also not debauched, and that their opinions having full swing, do end in satisfaction of the flesh; it may be come with reason into the thoughts of a wise man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not chiefly, from the restraint of some lawful liberty, which ought to be given men, and is denied them? As by physic we learn in menstruous bodies, where nature's current hath been stopped, that the suffocation and upward forcing of some lower part affects the head and inward sense with dotage and idle fancies. And on the other hand, whether the rest of vulgar men not so religiously professing, do not give themselves much the more to whoredom and adulteries, loving the corrupt and venial discipline of clergy-courts, but hating to hear of perfect reformation; whenas they foresee that then fornication shall be austerely censured, adultery punished, and marriage, the appointed refuge of nature, though it hap to be never so incongruous and displeasing, must yet of force be worn out, when it can be to no other purpose but of strife and hatred, a thing odious to God? This may be worth the study of skilful men in theology, and the reason of things. And lastly, to examine whether some undue and ill grounded strictness upon the blameless nature of man, be not the cause in those places where already reformation is, that the discipline of the church, so often, and so unavoidably broken, is brought into contempt and derision? And if it be thus, let those who are still bent to hold this obstinate literality, so prepare themselves, as to share in the account for all these transgressions, when it shall be demanded at the last day, by one who will scan and sift things with more than a literal wisdom of equity: for if these reasons be duly pondered, and that the gospel is more jealous of laying on excessive burdens than ever the law was, lest the soul of a Christian, which is inestimable, should be overtempted and cast away; considering also that many properties of nature, which the power of regeneration itself never alters, may cause dislike of conversing, even between the most sanctified; which continually grating in harsh tune together, may breed some jar and discord, and that end in rancour and strife, a thing so opposite both to marriage and to Christianity, it would perhaps be less scandal to divorce a natural disparity, than to link violently together an unchristian dissension, committing two insnared souls inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of love, but with a hatred irreconcileable; who, were they dissevered, would be straight friends in any other relation. But if an alphabetical serviiity must be still urged, it may so fall out, that the true church may unwittingly use as much cruelty in forbidding to divorce, as the church of Antichrist doth wilfully in forbidding to marry.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The ordinance of sabbath and marriage compared. Hyperbole no unfrequent figure in the gospel. Excess cured by contrary excess. Christ neither did nor could abrogate the law of divorce, but only reprieve the abuse thereof.

HITHERTO the position undertaken has been declared, and proved by a law of God, that law proved to be moral, and unabolishable, for many reasons equal, honest, charitable, just, annexed thereto. It follows now, that those places of Scripture, which have a seeming to revoke the prudence of Moses, or rather that merciful decree of God, be forthwith explained and reconciled. For what are all these reasonings worth, will some reply, whenas the words of Christ are plainly against all divorce, "except in case of fornication?" to whom he whose mind were to answer no more but this, "except also in case of charity," might safely appeal to the more plain words of Christ in defence of so excepting. "Thou shalt do no manner of work," saith the commandment of the sabbath. Yes, saith Christ, works of charity. And shall we be more severe in paraphrasing the considerate and tender gospel, than he was in expounding the rigid and peremptory law? What was ever in all appearance less made for man, and more for God alone, than the sabbath? yet when the good of man comes into the scales, we hear that voice of infinite goodness and benignity, that "sabbath was made for man, and not man for sabbath." What thing ever was more made for man alone, and less for God, than marriage? And shall we load it with a cruel and senseless bondage utterly against both the good of man, and the glory of God? Let whoso will now listen, I want neither pall nor mitre, I stay neither for ordination nor induction; but in the firm faith of a knowing Christian, which is the best and truest endowment of the keys, I pronounce, the man, who shall bind so cruelly a good and gracious ordinance of God, hath not in that the spirit of Christ. Yet that every text of Scripture seeming opposite may be attended with a due exposition, this other part ensues, and makes account to find no slender arguments

for this assertion, out of those very scriptures, which are commonly urged against it.

First therefore let us remember, as a thing not to be denied, that all places of Scripture, wherein just reason of doubt arises from the letter, are to be expounded by considering upon what occasion every thing is set down, and by comparing other texts. The occasion, which induced our Saviour to speak of divorce, was either to convince the extravagance of the Pharisees in that point, or to give a sharp and vehement answer to a tempting question. And in such cases, that we are not to repose all upon the literal terms of so many words, many instances will teach us: wherein we may plainly discover how Christ meant not to be taken word for word, but like a wise physician, administering one excess against another, to reduce us to a permiss; where they were too remiss, he saw it needful to seem most severe: in one place he censures an unchaste look to be adultery already committed; another time he passes over actual adultery with less reproof than for an unchaste look; not so heavily condemning secret weakness, as open malice: so here he may be justly thought to have given this rigid sentence against divorce, not to cut off all remedy from a good man, who finds himself consuming away in a disconsolate and uninjoined matrimony, but to lay a bridle upon the bold abuses of those overweening rabbies; which he could not more effectually do, than by a countersway of restraint curbing their wild exorbitance almost in the other extreme; as when we bow things the contrary way, to make them come to their natural straightness. And that this was the only intention of Christ is most evident, if we attend but to his own words and protestation made in the same sermon, not many verses before he treats of divorcing, that he came not to abrogate from the law "one jot or tittle," and denounces against them that shall so teach.

But St. Luke, the verse immediately foregoing that of divorce, inserts the same caveat, as if the latter could not be understood without the former; and as a witness to produce against this our wilful mistake of abrogating, which must needs confirm us, that whatever else in the political law of more special relation to the Jews might cease to us; yet that of those precepts concerning divorce, not one of them was repealed by the doctrine of Christ, unless we have vowed not to believe his own cautious and immediate profession; for if these our Saviour's words inveigh against all divorce, and condemn it as adultery, except it be for adultery, and be not rather understood against the abuse of those divorces permitted in the law, then is that law of Moses, Deut. xxiv. 1, not only repealed and wholly annulled against the promise of Christ, and his known profession not to meddle in matters judicial; but that which is more strange, the very substance and purpose of that law is contradicted, and convinced both of injustice and impurity, as having authorized and maintained legal adultery by statute. Moses also cannot scape to be guilty of unequal and unwise decrees punishing one act of secret adultery by death, and permitting a whole life of open adultery by law. And albeit lawyers write, that some political edicts, though not approved, are yet allowed to the scum of the people, and the necessity of the times; these excuses have but a weak pulse: for first, we read, not that the scoundrel people, but the choicest, the wisest, the holiest of that nation have frequently used these laws, or such as these, in the best and holiest times. Secondly, be it yielded, that in matters not very bad or impure, a human lawgiver may slacken something of that which is exactly good, to the disposition of the people and the times: but if the perfect, the pure, the righteous law of God, (for so are all his statutes and his judgments,) be found to have allowed smoothly, without any certain reprehension, that which Christ afterward declares to be adultery, how can we free this law from the horrible indictment of being both impure, unjust, and fallacious?

CHAP. II.

How divorce was permitted for hardness of heart, cannot be understood by the common exposition. That the law cannot permit, much less enact a permission of sin.

Neither will it serve to say this was permitted for the hardness of their hearts, in that sense as it is usually explained: for the law were then but a corrupt and erroneous schoolmaster, teaching us to dash against a vital maxim of religion, by doing foul evil in hope of some certain good.

This only text is not to be matched again throughout the whole Scripture, whereby God in his perfect law should seem to have granted to the hard hearts of his holy people, under his own hand, a civil immunity and free charter to live and die in a long successive adultery, under a covenant of works, till the Messiah, and then that indulgent permission to be strictly denied by a covenant of grace; besides, the incoherence of such a doctrine cannot, must not be thus interpreted, to the raising of a paradox never known till then, only hanging by the twined thread of one doubtful scripture, against so many other rules and leading principles of religion, of justice, and purity of life. For what could be granted more either to the fear, or to the lust of any tyrant or politician, than this authority of Moses thus expounded; which opens him a way at will to dam up justice, and not only to admit of any Romish or Austrian dispenses, but to enact a statute of that which he dares not seem to approve, even to legitimate vice, to make sin itself, the ever alien and vassal sin, a free citizen of the commonwealth, pretending only these or these plausible reasons? And well he might, all the while that Moses shall be alleged to have done as much without shewing any reason at all. Yet this could not enter into the heart of David, Psal. xciv. 20, how any such authority, as endeavours to "fashion wickedness by a law," should derive itself from God.

And Isaiah says, "Wo upon them that decree unrighteous decrees," chap. x. 1. Now which of these two is the better lawgiver, and which deserves most a wo, he that gives out an edict singly unjust, or he that confirms to generations a fixed and unmolested impunity of that which is not only held to be unjust, but also unclean, and both in a high degree; not only as they themselves affirm, an injurious expulsion of one wife, but also an unclean freedom by more than a patent to wed another adulterously? How can we therefore with safety thus dangerously confine the free simplicity of our Saviour's meaning to that which merely amounts from so many letters, whenas it can consist neither with its former and cautionary words, nor with other more pure and holy principles, nor finally with a scope of charity, commanding by his express commission in a higher strain? But all rather of necessity must be understood as only against the abuse of that wise and ingenuous liberty, which Moses gave, and to terrify a roving conscience from sinning under that pretext.

CHAP. III.

That to allow sin by law, is against the nature of law, the end of the lawgiver, and the good of the people. Impossible therefore in the law of God. That it makes God the author of sin more than any thing objected by the Jesuits or Arminians against predestination.

But let us yet further examine upon what consideration a law of licence could be thus given to a holy people for their hardness of heart. I suppose all will answer, that for some good end or other. But here the contrary shall be proved. First, that many ill effects, but no good end of such a sufferance can be shewn; next, that a thing unlawful can, for no good end whatever, be either done or allowed by a positive law. If there were any good end aimed at, that end was then good either to the law or to the lawgiver licensing; or as to the person licensed. That it could not be the end of the law, whether moral or judicial, to license a sin, I prove easily out of Rom. v. 20, "The law entered, that the offence might abound,' that is, that sin might be made abundantly manifest to be heinous and displeasing to God, that so his offered grace might be the more esteemed. Now if the law, instead of aggravating and terrifying sin, shall give out licence, it foils itself and turns recreant from its own end: it forestalls the pure grace of Christ, which is through righteousness, with impure indulgences, which are through sin. And instead of discovering sin, for "by the law is the knowledge thereof," saith St. Paul; and that by certain and true light for men to walk in safety, it holds out false and dazzling fires to stumble men; or, like those miserable flies, to run into with delight and be burnt: for how many souls might easily think that to be lawful which the law and magistrate allowed them? Again, we read, 1 Tim. i. 5, "The end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." But never could that be charity, to allow a people what they could not use with a pure heart, but with conscience and faith both deceived, or else despised. The more particular end of the judicial law is set forth to us clearly, Rom. xiii. That God hath given to that "law a sword not in vain, but to be a terrour to evil works, a revenge to execute wrath upon him that doth evil." If this terrible commission should but forbear to punish wickedness, were it other to be accounted than partial and unjust? but if it begin to write indulgence to vulgar uncleanness, can it do more to corrupt and shame the end of its own being? Lastly, if the law allow sin, it enters into a kind of covenant with sin; and if it do, there is not a greater sinner in the world than the law itself. The law, to use an allegory something different from that in Philo-Judæus concerning Amalek, though haply more significant, the law is the Israelite, and hath this absolute charge given it, Deut. xxv. "To blot out the memory of sin, the Amalekite, from under heaven, not to forget it." Again, the law is the Israelite, and hath this express repeated command, "to make no covenant with sin, the Canaanite," but to expel him lest he prove a snare. And to say truth, it were too rigid and reasonless to proclaim such an enmity between man and man, were it not the type of a greater enmity between law and sin. I speak even now, as if sin were condemned in a perpetual villanage never to be free by law, never to be manumitted: but sure sin can have no tenure by law at all, but is rather an eternal outlaw, and in hostility with law past all atonement: both diagonal contraries, as much allowing one another, as day and night together in one hemisphere. Or if it be possible, that sin with his darkness may come to composition, it cannot be without a foul eclipse and twilight to the law, whose brightness ought to surpass the noon. Thus we see how this unclean permittance defeats the sacred and glorious end both of the moral and judicial law.

As little good can the lawgiver propose to equity by such a lavish remissness as this: if to remedy hardness of heart, Paræus and other divines confess it more increases by this liberty, than is lessened: and how is it probable, that their hearts were more hard in this, that it should be yielded to, than in any other crime? Their hearts were set upon usury, and are to this day, no nation more; yet that which was the endamaging only of their estates was narrowly forbid; this which is thought the extreme injury and dishonour of their wives and daughters, with the defilement also of themselves, is bounteously allowed. Their hearts were as hard under their best kings to offer in high places, though to the true God: yet that, but a small thing, it strictly forewarned; this, accounted a high offence against one of the greatest moral duties, is calmly permitted and established. How can it be evaded, but that the heavy censure of Christ should fall worse upon

this lawgiver of theirs, than upon all the scribes and Pharisees? For they did but omit judgment and mercy to trifle in mint and cummin, yet all according to law; but this their lawgiver, altogether as punctual in such niceties, goes marching on to adulteries, through the violence of divorce by law against law. If it were such a cursed act of Pilate a subordinate judge to Cæsar, overswayed by those hard hearts, with much ado to suffer one transgression of law but once, what is it then with less ado to publish a law of transgression for many ages? Did God for this come down and cover the mount of Sinai with his glory, uttering in thunder those his sacred ordinances out of the bottomless treasures of his wisdom and infinite pureness, to patch up an ulcerous and rotten commonwealth with strict and stern injunctions, to wash the skin and garments for every unclean touch; and such easy permission given to pollute the soul with adulteries by public authority, without disgrace or question? No, it had been better that man had never known law or matrimony, than that such foul iniquity should be fastened upon the Holy One of Israel, the Judge of all the earth; and such a piece of folly as Belzebub would not commit, to divide against himself, and prevent his own ends: or if he, to compass more certain mischief, might yield perhaps to feign some good deed, yet that God should enact a licence of certain evil for uncertain good against his own glory and pureness, is abominable to conceive. And as it is destructive to the end of law, and blasphemous to the honour of the lawgiver licensing, so is it as pernicious to the person licensed. If a private friend admonish not, the Scripture saith, "he hates his brother, and lets him perish;" but if he soothe him and allow his faults, the Proverbs teach us "he spreads a net for his neighbour's feet, and worketh ruin." If the magistrate or prince forget to administer due justice, and restrain not sin, Eli himself could say, "it made the Lord's people to transgress." But if he countenance them against law by his own example, what havoc it makes both in religion and virtue among the people may be guessed, by the anger it brought upon Hophni and Phineas not to be appeased "with sacrifice nor offering for ever." If the law be silent to declare sin, the people must needs generally go astray, for the apostle himself saith, "he had not known lust but by the law:" and surely such a nation seems not to be under the illuminating guidance of God's law, but under the horrible doom rather of such as despise the gospel; "he that is filthy, let him be filthy still." But where the law itself gives a warrant for sin, I know not what condition of misery to imagine miserable enough for such a people, unless that portion of the wicked, or rather of the damned, on whom God threatens, in Psal. xi. "to rain snares;" but that questionless cannot be by any law, which the apostle saith is "a ministry ordained of God for our good," and not so many ways and in so high a degree to our destruction, as we have now been graduating. And this is all the good can come to the person licensed in his hardness of heart.

I am next to mention that, which because it is a ground in divinity, Rom. iii. will save the labour of demonstrating, unless her given axioms be more doubted than in other hearts, (although it be no less firm in precepts of philosophy,) that a thing unlawful can for no good whatsoever be done, much less allowed by a positive law. And this is the matter why interpreters upon that passage in Hosea will not consent it to be a true story, that the prophet took a harlot to wife: because God, being a pure spirit, could not command a thing repugnant to his own nature, no not for so good an end as to exhibit more to the life a wholesome and perhaps a converting parable to many an Israelite. Yet that he commanded the allowance of adulterous and injurious divorces for hardness of heart, a reason obscure and in a wrong sense, they can very favourably persuade themselves; so tenacious is the leaven of an old conceit. But they shift it; he permitted only. Yet silence in the law is consent, and consent is accessory: why then is not the law being silent, or not active against a crime, accessory to its own conviction, itself judging? For though we should grant, that it approves not, yet it wills: and the lawyers' maxim is, that "the will compelled is yet the will." And though Aristotle in his ethics calls this "mixed action," yet he concludes it to be voluntary and inexcusable, if it be evil. How justly then might human law and philosophy rise up against the righteousness of Moses, if this be true which our vulgar divinity fathers upon him, yea upon God himself, not silently, and only negatively to permit, but in his law to divulge a written and general privilege to commit and persist in unlawful divorces with a high hand, with security and no ill fame? for this is more than permitting and contriving, this is maintaining: this is warranting, this is protecting, yea this is doing evil, and such an evil as that reprobate lawgiver did, whose lasting infamy is engraven upon him like a surname, "he who made Israel to sin." This is the lowest pitch contrary to God that public fraud and injustice can descend.

If it be affirmed, that God, as being Lord, may do what he will, ye we must know, that God hath not two wills, but one will, much less two contrary. If he once willed adultery should be sinful, and to be punished with death, all his omnipotence will not allow him, to will the allowance that his holiest people might as it were by his own antinomy, or counterstatute, live unreproved in the same fact as he himself esteemed it, according to our common explainers. The hidden ways of his providence we adore and search not, but the law is his revealed will, his complete, his evident and certain will: herein he appears to us as it were in human shape, enters into covenant with us, swears to keep it, binds himself like a just lawgiver to his own prescriptions, gives himself to be understood by men, judges and is judged, measures and is commensurate to right reason; cannot require less of us in one cantle of his law than in another, his legal justice cannot be so fickle and so variable, sometimes like a devouring fire, and by and by connivent in the embers, or, if I may so say, oscitant and supine. The vigour of his law could no

more remit, than the hallowed fire upon his altar could be let go out. The lamps that burned before him might need snuffing, but the light of his law never. Of this also more beneath, in discussing a solution of Rivetus.

The Jesuits, and that sect among us which is named of Arminius, are wont to charge us of making God the author of sin, in two degrees especially, not to speak of his permission: 1. because we hold, that he hath decreed some to damnation, and consequently to sin, say they; next, because those means, which are of saving knowledge to others, he makes to them an occasion of greater sin. Yet considering the perfection wherein man was created, and might have stood, no degree necessitating his freewill, but subsequent, though not in time, yet in order to causes, which were in his own power; they might methinks be persuaded to absolve both God and us. Whenas the doctrine of Plato and Chrysippus, with their followers, the Academics and the Stoics, who knew not what a consummate and most adorned Pandora was bestowed upon Adam, to be the nurse and guide of his arbitrary happiness and perseverance, I mean his native innocence and perfection, which might have kept him from being our true Epimetheus; and though they taught of virtue and vice to be both the gift of divine destiny, they could yet give reasons not invalid, to justify the councils of God and fate from the insulsity of mortal tongues: that man's own freewill self-corrupted, is the adequate and sufficient cause of his disobedience besides fate; as Homer also wanted not to express, both in his Iliad and Odyssee. And Manilius the poet, although in his fourth book he tells of some "created both to sin and punishment;" yet without murmuring, and with an industrious cheerfulness, he acquits the Deity. They were not ignorant in their heathen lore, that it is most godlike to punish those who of his creatures became his enemies with the greatest punishment; and they could attain also to think, that the greatest, when God himself throws a man furthest from him; which then they held he did, when he blinded, hardened, and stirred up his offenders, to finish and pile up their desperate work since they had undertaken it. To banish for ever into a local hell, whether in the air or in the centre, or in that uttermost and bottomless gulf of chaos, deeper from holy bliss than the world's diameter multiplied; they thought not a punishing so proper and proportionate for God to inflict, as to punish sin with sin. Thus were the common sort of Gentiles wont to think, without any wry thoughts cast upon divine governance. And therefore Cicero, not in his Tusculan or Campanian retirements among the learned wits of that age, but even in the senate to a mixed auditory, (though he were sparing otherwise to broach his philosophy among statists and lawyers,) yet as to this point, both in his oration against Piso, and in that which is about the answers of the soothsayers against Clodius, he declares it publicly as no paradox to common ears, that God cannot punish man more, nor make him more miserable, than still by making him more sinful. Thus we see how in this controversy the justice of God stood upright even among heathen disputers. But if any one be truly, and not pretendedly zealous for God's honour, here I call him forth before men and angels, to use his best and most advised skill, lest God more unavoidably than ever yet, and in the guiltiest manner, be made the author of sin: if he shall not only deliver over and incite his enemies by rebuke to sin as a punishment, but shall by patent under his own broad seal allow his friends whom he would sanctify and save, whom he would unite to himself and not disjoin, whom he would correct by wholesome chastening, and not punish as he doth the damned by lewd sinning; if he shall allow these in his law, the perfect rule of his own purest will, and our most edified conscience, the perpetrating of an odious and manifold sin without the least contesting. It is wondered how there can be in God a secret and revealed will; and yet what wonder, if there be in man two answerable causes. But here there must be two revealed wills grappling in a fraternal war with one another without any reasonable cause apprehended. This cannot be less, than to ingraft sin into the substance of the law, which law is to provoke sin by crossing and forbidding, not by complying with it. Nay this is, which I tremble in uttering, to incarnate sin into the unpunishing and well-pleased will of God. To avoid these dreadful consequences, that tread upon the heels of those allowances to sin, will be a task of far more difficulty, than to appease those minds, which perhaps out of a vigilant and wary conscience except against predestination. Thus finally we may conclude, that a law wholly giving licence cannot upon any good consideration be given to a holy people, for hardness of heart in the vulgar sense.

CHAP. IV.

That if divorce be no command, no more is marriage. That divorce could be no dispensation, if it were sinful. The solution of Rivetus, that God dispensed by some unknown way, ought not to satisfy a christian mind.

Others think to evade the matter by not granting any law of divorce, but only a dispensation, which is contrary to the words of Christ, who himself calls it a 'Law,' Mark x. 5: or if we speak of a command in the strictest definition, then marriage itself is no more a command than divorce, but only a free permission to him who cannot contain. But as to dispensation, I affirm the same as before of the law, that it can never be given to the allowance of sin: God cannot give it, neither in respect of himself, nor in respect of man; not in respect of himself, being a most pure essence, the just avenger of sin; neither can he make that cease to be a sin, which is in itself unjust and impure, as all divorces they say were, which were not for adultery. Not in respect of man, for then it must be either to his good, or to his evil. Not to his good; for how

can that be imagined any good to a sinner, whom nothing but rebuke and due correction can save, to hear the determinate oracle of divine law louder than any reproof dispensing and providing for the impunity and convenience of sin; to make that doubtful, or rather lawful, which the end of the law was to make most evidently hateful? Nor to the evil of man can a dispense be given; for if "the law were ordained unto life," Rom. vii. 10, how can the same God publish dispenses against that law, which must needs be unto death? Absurd and monstrous would that dispense be, if any judge or law should give it a man to cut his own throat, or to damn himself. Dispense therefore presupposes full pardon, or else it is not a dispense, but a most baneful and bloody snare. And why should God enter covenant with a people to be holy, as "the command is holy, and just, and good," Rom. vii. 12, and yet suffer an impure and treacherous dispense, to mislead and betray them under the vizard of law to a legitimate practice of uncleanness? God is no covenant-breaker; he cannot do this.

Rivetus, a diligent and learned writer, having well weighed what hath been written by those founders of dispense, and finding the small agreement among them, would fain work himself aloof these rocks and quicksands, and thinks it best to conclude, that God certainly did dispense, but by some way to us unknown, and so to leave it. But to this I oppose, that a Christian by no means ought to rest himself in such an ignorance; whereby so many absurdities will straight reflect both against the purity, justice, and wisdom of God, the end also both of law and gospel, and the comparison of them both together. God indeed in some ways of his providence is high and secret, past finding out: but in the delivery and execution of his law, especially in the managing of a duty so daily and so familiar as this is whereof we reason, hath plain enough revealed himself, and requires the observance thereof not otherwise, than to the law of nature and equity imprinted in us seems correspondent. And he hath taught us to love and extol his laws, not only as they are his, but as they are just and good to every wise and sober understanding. Therefore Abraham, even to the face of God himself, seemed to doubt of divine justice, if it should swerve from the irradiation wherewith it had enlightened the mind of man, and bound itself to observe its own rule; "wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? that be far from thee; shall not the judge of the earth do right?" Thereby declaring, that God hath created a righteousness in right itself, against which he cannot do. So David, Psalm cxix. "the testimonies which thou hast commanded are righteous and very faithful; thy word is very pure, therefore thy servant loveth it." Not only then for the author's sake, but for its own purity. 'He is faithful,' saith St. Paul, "he cannot deny himself;" that is, cannot deny his own promises, cannot but be true to his own rules. He often pleads with men the uprightness of his ways by their own principles. How should we imitate him else, to "be perfect as he is perfect?" If at pleasure he can dispense with golden poetic ages of such pleasing licence, as in the fabled reign of old Saturn, and this perhaps before the law might have some covert; but under such an undispensing covenant as Moses made with them, and not to tell us why and wherefore, indulgence cannot give quiet to the breast of an intelligent man? We must be resolved how the law can be pure and perspicuous, and yet throw a polluted skirt over these Eleusinian mysteries, that no man can utter what they mean: worse in this than the worst obscenities of heathen superstition; for their filthiness was hid, but the mystic reason thereof known to their sages. But this Jewish imputed filthiness was daily and open, but the reason of it is not known to our divines. We know of no design the gospel can have to impose new righteousness upon works, but to remit the old by faith without works, if we mean justifying works: we know no mystery our Saviour could have to lay new bonds upon marriage in the covenant of grace which himself had loosened to the severity of law. So that Rivetus may pardon us, if we cannot be contented with his nonsolution, to remain in such a peck of uncertainties and doubts, so dangerous and ghastly to the fundamentals of our faith.

CHAP. V.

What a Dispensation is.

THEREFORE to get some better satisfaction, we must proceed to inquire as diligently as we can what a dispensation is, which I find to be either properly so called, or improperly. Improperly so called, is rather a particular and exceptive law, absolving and disobliging from a more general command for some just and reasonable cause. As Numb. ix. they who were unclean, or in a journey, had leave to keep the passover in the second month, but otherwise ever in the first. As for that in Leviticus of marrying the brother's wife, it was a penal statute rather than a dispense; and commands nothing injurious or in itself unclean, only prefers a special reason of charity before an institutive decency, and perhaps is meant for lifetime only, as is expressed beneath in the prohibition of taking two sisters. What other edict of Moses, carrying but the semblance of a law in any other kind, may bear the name of a dispense, I have not readily to instance. But a dispensation most properly is some particular accident rarely happening, and therefore not specified in the law, but left to the decision of charity, even under the bondage of Jewish rites, much more under the liberty of the gospel. Thus did "David enter into the house of God and did eat the shewbread, he and his followers, which was" ceremonially "unlawful." Of such dispenses as these it was that Verdune the French divine so gravely disputed in the council of Trent against friar Adrian, who held that the pope might dispense with any thing. "It is a fond persuasion," saith Verdune, "that dispensing is a favour; nay, it is as good distributive justice

as what is most, and the priest sins if he gives it not, for it is nothing else but a right interpretation of law." Thus far that I can learn touching this matter wholesomely decreed. But that God, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, Jam. i. should give out a rule and directory to sin by, should enact a dispensation as longlived as a law, whereby to live in privileged adultery for hardness of heart, (and this obdurate disease cannot be conceived how it was the more amended by this unclean remedy,) is the most deadly and scorpionlike gift, that the enemy of mankind could have given to any miserable sinner, and is rather such a dispense as that was, which the serpent gave to our first parents. God gave quails in his wrath, and kings in his wrath, yet neither of these things evil in themselves: but that he whose eyes cannot behold impurity, should in the book of his holy covenant, his most unpassionate law, give licence and statute for uncontrolled adultery, although it go for the received opinion, I shall ever dissuade my soul from such a creed, such an indulgence as the shop of Antichrist never forged a baser.

CHAP. VI.

That the Jew had no more right to this supposed dispense than the Christian hath, and rather not so much.

But if we must needs dispense, let us for a while so far dispense with truth, as to grant that sin may be dispensed; yet there will be copious reason found to prove, that the Jew had no more right to such a supposed indulgence than the Christian; whether we look at the clear knowledge wherein he lived, or the strict performance of works whereto he was bound. Besides visions and prophecies, they had the law of God, which in the Psalms and Proverbs is chiefly praised for sureness and certainty, both easy and perfect to the enlightening of the simple. How could it be so obscure then, or they so sottishly blind in this plain, moral, and household duty? They had the same precepts about marriage; Christ added nothing to their clearness, for that had argued them imperfect; he opens not the law, but removes the pharisaic mists raised between the law and the people's eyes: the only sentence which he adds, "What God hath joined let no man put asunder," is as obscure as any clause fetched out of Genesis, and hath increased a yet undecided controversy of clandestine marriages. If we examine over all his sayings, we shall find him not so much interpreting the law with his words, as referring his own words to be interpreted by the law, and oftener obscures his mind in short, and vehement, and compact sentences, to blind and puzzle them the more, who would not understand the law. The Jews therefore were as little to be dispensed with for lack of moral knowledge as we.

Next, none I think will deny, but that they were as much bound to perform the law as any Christian. That severe and rigorous knife not sparing the tender foreskin of any male infant, to carve upon his flesh the mark of that strict and pure covenant whereinto he entered, might give us to understand enough against the fancy of dispensing. St. Paul testifies, that every "circumcised man is a debtor to the whole law," Gal. v. or else "circumcision is in vain," Rom. ii. 25. How vain then, and how preposterous must it needs be to exact a circumcision of the flesh from an infant into an outward sign of purity, and to dispense an uncircumcision in the soul of a grown man to an inward and real impurity! How vain again was that law, to impose tedious expiations for every slight sin of ignorance and errour, and to privilege without penance or disturbance an odious crime whether of ignorance or obstinacy! How unjust also inflicting death and extirpation for the mark of circumstantial pureness omitted, and proclaiming all honest and liberal indemnity to the act of a substantial impureness committed, making void the covenant that was made against it! Thus if we consider the tenour of the law, to be circumcised and to perform all, not pardoning so much as the scapes of errour and ignorance, and compare this with the condition of the gospel, "believe and be baptized," I suppose it cannot be long ere we grant, that the Jew was bound as strictly to the performance of every duty, as was possible; and therefore could not be dispensed with more than the Christian, perhaps not so much.

CHAP. VII.

That the Gospel is apter to dispense than the Law. Paræus answered.

If then the law will afford no reason, why the Jew should be more gently dealt with than the Christian, then surely the gospel can afford as little, why the Christian should be less gently dealt with than the Jew. The gospel indeed exhorts to highest perfection, but bears with weakest infirmity more than the law. Hence those indulgences, "all cannot receive this saying, every man hath his proper gift," with express charges not "to lay on yokes, which our fathers could not bear." The nature of man still is as weak, and yet as hard; and that weakness and hardness as unfit and as unteachable to be harshly used as ever. Ay but, saith Paræus, there is a greater portion of spirit poured upon the gospel, which requires from us perfecter obedience. I answer, this does not prove, that the law might give allowance to sin more than the gospel; and if it were no sin, we know it were the work of the spirit to "mortify our corrupt desires and evil concupiscence;" but not to root up our natural affections and disaffections, moving to and fro even in wisest men upon just and necessary reasons, which

were the true ground of that Mosaic dispense, and is the utmost extent of our pleading. What is more or less perfect we dispute not, but what is sin or no sin. And in that I still affirm the law required as perfect obedience as the gospel: besides that the prime end of the gospel is not so much to exact our obedience, as to reveal grace, and the satisfaction of our disobedience. What is now exacted from us, it is the accusing law that does it, even yet under the gospel; but cannot be more extreme to us now than to the Jews of old; for the law ever was of works, and the gospel ever was of grace.

Either then the law by harmless and needful dispenses, which the gospel is now made to deny, must have anticipated and exceeded the grace of the gospel, or else must be found to have given politic and superficial graces without real pardon, saying in general, "do this and live," and yet deceiving and damning underhand with unsound and hollow permissions; which is utterly abhorring from the end of all law, as hath been shewed. But if those indulgences were safe and sinless, out of tenderness and compassion, as indeed they were, and yet shall be abrogated by the gospel; then the law, whose end is by rigour to magnify grace, shall itself give grace, and pluck a fair plume from the gospel; instead of hastening us thither, alluring us from it. And whereas the terrour of the law was a servant to amplify and illustrate the mildness of grace; now the unmildness of evangelic grace shall turn servant to declare the grace and mildness of the rigorous law. The law was harsh to extol the grace of the gospel, and now the gospel by a new affected strictness of her own shall extenuate the grace which herself offers. For by exacting a duty which the law dispensed, if we perform it, then is grace diminished, by how much performance advance, unless the apostle argue wrong: if we perform it not, and perish for not performing, then are the conditions of grace harder than those of rigour. If through faith and repentance we perish not, yet grace still remains the less, by requiring that which rigour did not require, or at least not so strictly. Thus much therefore to Paræus; that if the gospel require perfecter obedience than the law as a duty, it exalts the law and debases itself, which is dishonourable to the work of our redemption. Seeing therefore that all the causes of any allowance, that the Jews might have, remain as well to the Christians; this is a certain rule, that so long as the causes remain, the allowance ought. And having thus at length inquired the truth concerning law and dispense, their ends, their uses, their limits, and in what manner both Jew and Christian stand liable to the one or capable of the other; we may safely conclude, that to affirm the giving of any law or law-like dispense to sin for hardness of heart, is a doctrine of that extravagance from the sage principles of piety, that whoso considers thoroughly cannot but admire how this hath been digested all this while.

CHAP. VIII.

The true sense how Moses suffered divorce for hardness of heart.

What may we do then to salve this seeming inconsistence? I must not dissemble, that I am confident it can be done no other way than this:

Moses, Deut. xxiv. 1, established a grave and prudent law, full of moral equity, full of due consideration towards nature, that cannot be resisted, a law consenting with the wisest men and civilest nations; that when a man hath married a wife, if it come to pass, that he cannot love her by reason of some displeasing natural quality or unfitness in her, let him write her a bill of divorce. The intent of which law undoubtedly was this, that if any good and peaceable man should discover some helpless disagreement or dislike either of mind or body, whereby he could not cheerfully perform the duty of a husband without the perpetual dissembling of offence and disturbance to his spirit; rather than to live uncomfortably and unhappily both to himself and to his wife; rather than to continue undertaking a duty, which he could not possibly discharge, he might dismiss her whom he could not tolerably and so not conscionably retain. And this law the Spirit of God by the mouth of Solomon, Prov. xxx. 21, 23, testifies to be a good and a necessary law, by granting it that "a hated woman," (for so the Hebrew word signifies, rather than "odious," though it come all to one,) that "a hated woman, when she is married, is a thing that the earth cannot bear." What follows then, but that the charitable law must remedy what nature cannot undergo? Now that many licentious and hard-hearted men took hold of this law to cloke their bad purposes, is nothing strange to believe. And these were they, not for whom Moses made the law, (God forbid!) but whose hardness of heart taking ill-advantage by this law he held it better to suffer as by accident, where it could not be detected, rather than good men should lose their just and lawful privilege of remedy; Christ therefore having to answer these tempting Pharisees, according as his custom was, not meaning to inform their proud ignorance what Moses did in the true intent of the law, which they had ill cited, suppressing the true cause for which Moses gave it, and extending it to every slight matter, tells them their own, what Moses was forced to suffer by their abuse of his law. Which is yet more plain, if we mark that our Saviour, in Matt. v. cites not the law of Moses, but the pharisaical tradition falsely grounded upon that law. And in those other places, chap. xix. and Mark x. the Pharisees cite the law, but conceal the wise and humane reason there expressed; which our Saviour corrects not in them, whose pride deserved not his instruction, only returns them what is proper to them: "Moses for the hardness of your heart suffered you," that is, such as you, "to put away your wives; and to you he wrote this precept for that cause," which ("to you") must be read with an impression, and un-

derstood limitedly of such as covered ill purposes under that law; for it was seasonable, that they should hear their own unbounded licence rebuked, but not seasonable for them to hear a good man's requisite liberty explained. But us he hath taught better, if we have ears to hear. He himself acknowledged it to be a law, Mark x. and being a law of God, it must have an undoubted "end of charity, which may be used with a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned," as was heard: it cannot allow sin, but is purposely to resist sin, as by the same chapter to Timothy appears. There we learn also, "that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully." Out of doubt then there must be a certain good in this law, which Moses willingly allowed, and there might be an unlawful use made thereof by hypocrites; and that was it which was unwillingly suffered, foreseeing it in general, but not able to discern it in particulars. Christ therefore mentions not here what Moses and the law intended; for good men might know that by many other rules; and the scornful Pharisees were not fit to be told, until they could employ that knowledge they had less abusively. Only he acquaints them with what Moses by them was put to suffer.

CHAP. IX.

The Words of the institution how to be understood; and of our Saviour's Answer to his Disciples.

And to entertain a little their overweening arrogance as best befitted, and to amaze them yet further, because they thought it no hard matter to fulfil the law, he draws them up to that unseparable institution, which God ordained in the beginning before the fall, when man and woman were both perfect, and could have no cause to separate: just as in the same chapter he stands not to contend with the arrogant young man, who boasted his observance of the whole law, whether he had indeed kept it or not, but screws him up higher to a task of that perfection, which no man is bound to imitate. And in like manner, that pattern of the first institution he set before the opinionative Pharisees, to dazzle them, and not to bind us. For this is a solid rule, that every command, given with a reason, binds our obedience no otherwise than that reason holds. Of this sort was that command in Eden; "therefore shall a man cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh;" which we see is no absolute command, but with an inference "therefore:" the reason then must be first considered, that our obedience be not misobedience. The first is, for it is not single, because the wife is to the husband, "flesh of his flesh," as in the verse going before. But this reason cannot be sufficient of itself: for why then should he for his wife leave his father and mother, with whom he is far more "flesh of flesh, and bone of bone," as being made of their substance? and besides, it can be but a sorry and ignoble society of life, whose inseparable injunction depends merely upon flesh and bones. Therefore we must look higher, since Christ himself recalls us to the beginning, and we shall find, that the primitive reason of never divorcing was that sacred and not vain promise of God to remedy man's loneliness by "making him a meet help for him," though not now in perfection, as at first; yet still in proportion as things now are. And this is repeated, verse 20, when all other creatures were fitly associated and brought to Adam, as if the Divine Power had been in some care and deep thought, because "there was not yet found any help meet for man." And can we so slightly depress the all-wise purpose of a deliberating God, as if his consultation had produced no other good for man, but to join him with an accidental companion of propagation, which his sudden word had already made for every beast? nay a far less good to man it will be found, if she must at all adventures be fastened upon him individually. And therefore even plain sense and equity, and, which is above them both, the all-interpreting voice of charity herself cries aloud, that this primitive reason, this consulted promise of God, "to make a meet help," is the only cause that gives authority to this command of not divorcing, to be a command. And it might be further added, that if the true definition of a wife were asked at good earnest, this clause of being "a meet help" would shew itself so necessary and so essential, in that demonstrative argument, that it might be logically concluded: therefore she who naturally and perpetually is no "meet help," can be no wife; which clearly takes away the difficulty of dismissing such a one. If this be not thought enough, I answer yet further, that marriage, unless it mean a fit and tolerable marriage, is not inseparable neither by nature nor institution. Not by nature, for then Mosaic divorces had been against nature, if separable and inseparable be contraries, as who doubts they be? and what is against nature is against law, if soundest philosophy abuse us not: by this reckoning Moses should be most unmosaic, that is, most illegal, not to say most unnatural. Nor is it inseparable by the first institution; for then no second institution of the same law for so many causes could dissolve it; it being most unworthy a human, (as Plato's judgment is in the fourth book of his laws,) much more a divine lawgiver, to write two several decrees upon the same thing. But what would Plato have deemed, if one of these were good, and the other evil to be done? Lastly, suppose it to be inseparable by institution, yet in competition with higher things, as religion and charity in mainest matters, and when the chief end is frustrate for which it was ordained, as hath been shewn; if still it must remain inseparable, it holds a strange and lawless propriety from all other works of God under heaven. From these many considerations, we may safely gather, that so much of the first institution as our Saviour mentions, for he mentions not all, was but to quell and put to nonplus the tempting Pharisees, and to lay open their ignorance and shallow understanding of the Scriptures. For, saith he, "have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said, for this cause shall a man cleave to his

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But if it be thought, that the disciples, offended at the rigour of Christ's answer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former sentence pronounced to the Pharisees, it may be fully answered, that our Saviour continues the same reply to his disciples, as men leavened with the same customary licence which the Pharisees maintained, and displeased at the removing of a traditional abuse, whereto they had so long not unwillingly been used: it was no time then to contend with their slow and prejudicial belief, in a thing wherein an ordinary measure of light in Scripture, with some attention, might afterwards inform them well enough. And yet ere Christ had finished this argument, they might have picked out of his own concluding words an answer more to their minds, and in effect the same with that which hath been all this while intreating audience: "All men," saith he, "cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given; he that is able to receive it, let him receive it." What saying is this which is left to a man's choice to receive, or not receive? what but the married life? Was our Saviour so mild and so favourable to the weakness of a single man, and is he turned on the sudden so rigorous and inexorable, to the distresses and extremities of an ill-wedded man? Did he so graciously give leave to change the better single life for the worse married life? Did he open so to us this hazardous and accidental door of marriage, to shut upon us like the gate of death, without retracting or returning, without permitting to change the worst, most insupportable, most unchristian mischance of marriage, for all the mischiefs and sorrows that can ensue, being an ordinance which was especially given as a cordial and exhilarating cup of solace, the better to bear our other crosses and afflictions? Questionless this was a hard-heartedness of divorcing, worse than that in the Jews, which they say extorted the allowance from Moses, and is utterly dissonant from all the doctrine of our Saviour. After these considerations therefore, to take a law out of Paradise given in time of original perfection, and to take it barely without those just and equal inferences and reasons which mainly establish it, nor so much as admitting those needful and safe allowances, wherewith Moses himself interprets it to the fallen condition of man; argues nothing in us but rashness and contempt of those means that God left us in his pure and chaste law, without which it will not be possible for us to perform the strict imposition of this command: or if we strive beyond our strength, we shall strive to obey it otherwise than God commands it. And lamented experience daily teaches the bitter and vain fruits of this our presumption, forcing men in a thing wherein we are not able to judge either of their strength or their sufferance. Whom neither one voice nor other by natural addiction, but only marriage ruins, which doubtless is not the fault of that ordinance, for God gave it as a blessing, nor always of man's mischoosing, it being an errour above wisdom to prevent, as examples of wisest men so mistaken manifest: it is the fault therefore of a perverse opinion, that will have it continued in despite of nature and reason, when indeed it was never so truly joined. All those expositors upon the fifth Matthew confess the law of Moses to be the law of the Lord, wherein no addition or diminution hath place; yet coming to the point of divorce, as if they feared not to be called least in the kingdom of heaven, any slight evasion will content them, to reconcile those contradictions, which they make between Christ and Moses, between Christ and Christ.

CHAP. X.

The vain shift of those who make the law of divorce to be only the premises of a succeeding law.

Some will have it no law, but the granted premises of another law following, contrary to the words of Christ, Mark x. 5, and all other translations of gravest authority, who render it in form of a law, agreeably to Mal. ii. 16, as it is most anciently and modernly expounded. Besides, the bill of divorce, and the particular occasion therein mentioned, declares it to be orderly and legal. And what avails this to make the matter more righteous, if such an adulterous condition shall be mentioned to build a law upon without either punishment or so much as forbidding? They pretend it is implicitly reproved in these words, Deut. xxiv. 4, "after she is defiled;" but who sees not that this defilement is only in respect of returning to her former husband after an intermixed marriage? else why was not the defiling condition first forbidden, which would have saved the labour of this after-law? Nor is it seemly or piously attributed to the justice of God and his known hatred of sin, that such a heinous fault as this through all the law should be only wiped with an implicit and oblique touch, (which yet is falsely supposed,) and that his peculiar people should be let wallow in adulterous marriages almost two thousand years, for want of a direct law to prohibit them: it is rather to be confidently assumed, that this was granted to appa-

derstood limitedly of such as covered ill purposes under that law; for it was seasonable, that they should hear their own unbounded licence rebuked, but not seasonable for them to hear a good man's requisite liberty explained. But us he hath taught better, if we have ears to hear. He himself acknowledged it to be a law, Mark x. and being a law of God, it must have an undoubted "end of charity, which may be used with a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned," as was heard: it cannot allow sin, but is purposely to resist sin, as by the same chapter to Timothy appears. There we learn also, "that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully." Out of doubt then there must be a certain good in this law, which Moses willingly allowed, and there might be an unlawful use made thereof by hypocrites; and that was it which was unwillingly suffered, foreseeing it in general, but not able to discern it in particulars. Christ therefore mentions not here what Moses and the law intended; for good men might know that by many other rules; and the scornful Pharisees were not fit to be told, until they could employ that knowledge they had less abusively. Only he acquaints them with what Moses by them was put to suffer.

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rent necessities, as being of unquestionable right and reason in the law of nature, in that it still passes without inhibition, even when the greatest cause is given to us to expect it should be directly forbidden.

CHAP. XI.

The other shift of saying divorce was permitted by law, but not approved. More of the institution.

But it was not approved. So much the worse that it was allowed; as if sin had over-mastered the word of God, to conform her steady and straight rule to sin's crookedness, which is impossible. Besides, what needed a positive grant of that which was not approved? It restrained no liberty to him that could but use a little fraud; it had been better silenced, unless it were approved in some case or other. But still it was not approved. Miserable excusers! he who doth evil, that good may come thereby, approves not what he doth; and yet the grand rule forbids him, and counts his damnation just if he do it. The sorceress Medea did not approve her own evil doings, yet looked not to be excused for that: and it is the constant opinion of Plato in Protagoras; and other of his dialogues, agreeing with that proverbial sentence among the Greeks, that "no man is wicked willingly." Which also the Peripatetics do rather distinguish than deny. What great thank then if any man, reputed wise and constant, will neither do, nor permit others under his charge to do, that which he approves not, especially in matter of sin? but for a judge, but for a magistrate the shepherd of his people, to surrender up his approbation against law, and his own judgment, to the obstinacy of his herd; what more unjudgelike, unmagistratelike, and in war more uncommanderlike? Twice in a short time it was the undoing of the Roman state, first when Pompey, next when Marcus Brutus, had not magnanimity enough but to make so poor a resignation of what they approved, to what the boisterous tribunes and soldiers bawled for. Twice it was the saving of two of the greatest commonwealths in the world, of Athens by Themistocles at the seafight of Salamis, of Rome by Fabius Maximus in the Punic war; for that these two matchless generals had the fortitude at home against the rashness and the clamours of their own captains and confederates, to withstand the doing or permitting of what they could not approve in their duty of their great command. Thus far of civil prudence. But when we speak of sin, let us look again upon the old reverend Eli; who in his heavy punishment found no difference between the doing and permitting of what he did not approve. If hardness of heart in the people may be an excuse, why then is Pilate branded through all memory? He approved not what he did, he openly protested, he washed his hands, and laboured not a little ere he would yield to the hard hearts of a whole people, both princes and plebians, importuning and tumulting even to the fear of a revolt. Yet is there any will undertake his cause? If therefore Pilate for suffering but one act of cruelty against law, though with much unwillingness testified, at the violent demand of a whole nation, shall stand so black upon record to all posterity; alas for Moses! what shall we say for him, while we are taught to believe he suffered not one act only both of cruelty and uncleanliness in one divorce, but made it a plain and lasting law against law, whereby ten thousand acts accounted both cruel and unclean might be daily committed, and this without the least suit or petition of the people, that we can read of?

And can we conceive without vile thoughts, that the majesty and holiness of God could endure so many ages to gratify a stubborn people in the practice of a foul polluting sin? and could he expect they should abstain, he not signifying his mind in a plain command, at such time especially when he was framing their laws and them to all possible perfection? But they were to look back to the first institution; nay rather why was not that individual institution brought out of Paradise, as was that of the sabbath, and repeated in the body of the law, that men might have understood it to be a command? For that any sentence that bears the resemblance of a precept, set there so out of place in another world, at such a distance from the whole law, and not once mentioned there, should be an obliging command to us, is very disputable; and perhaps it might be denied to be a command without further dispute: however, it commands not absolutely, as hath been cleared, but only with reference to that precedent promise of God, which is the very ground of his institution: if that appear not in some tolerable sort, how can we affirm such a matrimony to be the same which God instituted? in such an accident it will best behoove our soberness to follow rather what moral Sinai prescribes equal to our strength, than fondly to think within our strength all that lost Paradise relates.

CHAP. XII.

The third shift of them who esteem it a mere judicial law. Proved again to be a law of moral equity.

Another while it shall suffice them, that it was not a moral but a judicial law, and so was abrogated: nay rather not abrogated because judicial; which law the ministry of Christ came not to deal with. And who put it in man's power to exempt, where Christ speaks in general of not abrogating "the least jot or tittle," and in special not that of divorce, because it follows among those laws which he promised expressly not to abrogate, but to vindicate from abusive traditions? which is most evidently to be seen in the 16th of Luke, where this caution of not abrogating is inserted immediately, and not otherwise than purposely, when no other point of the law is touched but that of divorce.

And if we mark the 31st verse of Matt. v. he there cites not the law of Moses, but the licentious gloss which traduced the law; that therefore which he cited, that he abrogated, and not only abrogated, but disallowed and flatly condemned; which could not be the law of Moses, for that had been foully to the rebuke of his great servant. To abrogate a law made with God's allowance, had been to tell us only that such a law was now to cease: but to refute it with an ignominious note of civilizing adultery, casts the reproof, which was meant only to the Pharisees, even upon him that made the law. But yet if that be judicial, which belongs to a civil court, this law is less judicial than nine of the ten commandments: for antiquaries affirm, that divorces proceeded among the Jews without knowledge of the magistrate, only with hands and seals under the testimony of some rabbies to be then present. Perkins, in a "Treatise of Conscience," grants, that what in the judicial law is of common equity binds also the Christian: and how to judge of this, prescribes two ways: if wise nations have enacted the like decree; or if it maintain the good of a family, church, or commonwealth. This therefore is a pure moral œconomical law, too hastily imputed of tolerating sin; being rather so clear in nature and reason, that it was left to a man's own arbitrement to be determined between God and his own conscience; not only among the Jews, but in every wise nation: the restraint whereof, who is not too thick-sighted, may see how hurtful and distractive it is to the house, the church, and commonwealth. And that power which Christ never took from the master of a family, but rectified only to a right and wary use at home; that power the undiscerning canonist hath improperly usurped in his court-leet, and bescribbled with a thousand trifling impertinences, which yet have filled the life of man with serious trouble and calamity. Yet grant it were of old a judicial law, it need not be the less moral for that, being conversant as it is about virtue or vice. And our Saviour disputes not here the judicature, for that was not his office, but the morality of divorce, whether it be adultery or no; if therefore he touch the law of Moses at all, he touches the moral part thereof, which is absurd to imagine, that the covenant of grace should reform the exact and perfect law of works, eternal and immutable; or if he touch not the law at all, then is not the allowance thereof disallowed to us.

CHAP. XIII.

The ridiculous opinion, that divorce was permitted from the custom in Egypt. That Moses gave not this law unwillingly. Perkins confesses this law was not abrogated.

OTHERS are so ridiculous as to allege, that this licence of divorcing was given them because they were so accustomed in Egypt. As if an ill custom were to be kept to all posterity; for the dispensation is both universal and of time unlimited, and so indeed no dispensation at all: for the overdated dispensation of a thing unlawful, serves for nothing but to increase hardness of heart, and makes men but wax more incorrigible; which were a great reproach to be said of any law or allowance that God should give us. In these opinions it would be more religion to advise well, lest we make ourselves juster than God, by censuring rashly that for sin, which his unspotted law without rebuke allows, and his people without being conscious of displeasing him have used: and if we can think so of Moses, as that the Jewish obstinacy could compel him to write such impure permissions against the word of God and his own judgment; doubtless it was his part to have protested publicly what straits he was driven to, and to have declared his conscience, when he gave any law against his mind: for the law is the touchstone of sin and of conscience, and must not be intermixed with corrupt indulgences; for then it loses the greatest praise it has of being certain, and infallible, not leading into errour as the Jews were led by this connivance of Moses, if it were a connivance. But still they fly back to the primitive institution, and would have us re-enter Paradise against the sword that guards it. Whom I again thus reply to, that the place in Genesis contains the description of a fit and perfect marriage, with an interdict of ever divorcing such a union: but where nature is discovered to have never joined indeed, but vehemently seeks to part, it cannot be there conceived that God forbids it; nay, he commands it both in the law and in the prophet Malachi, which is to be our rule. And Perkins upon this chapter of Matthew deals plainly, that our Saviour here confutes not Moses's law, but the false glosses that depraved the law; which being true, Perkins must needs grant, that something then is left to that law which Christ found no fault with; and what can that be but the conscionable use of such liberty, as the plain words import? so that by his own inference, Christ did not absolutely intend to restrain all divorces to the only cause of adultery. This therefore is the true scope of our Saviour's will, that he who looks upon the law concerning divorce, should also look back upon the institution, that he may endeavour what is perfectest: and he that looks upon the institution shall not refuse as sinful and unlawful those allowances, which God affords him in his following law, lest he make himself purer than his Maker, and presuming above strength, slip into temptations irrecoverably. For this is wonderful, that in all those decrees concerning marriage, God should never once mention the prime institution to dissuade them from divorcing, and that he should forbid smaller sins as opposite to the hardness of their hearts, and let this adulterous matter of divorce pass ever unreproved.

This is also to be marvelled, that seeing Christ did not condemn whatever it was that Moses suffered, and that thereupon the christian magistrate permits usury and open stews, and here with us adultery to be so slightly punished, which was punished by death to

these hard-hearted Jews; why we should strain thus at the matter of divorce, which may stand so much with charity to permit, and make no scruple to allow usury esteemed to be so much against charity? But this it is to embroil ourselves against the righteous and all-wise judgments and statutes of God; which are not variable and contrarious as we would make them, one while permitting, and another while forbidding, but are most constant and most harmonious each to other. For how can the uncorrupt and majestic law of God, bearing in her hand the wages of life and death, harbour such a repugnance *within herself*, as to require an unexempted and impartial obedience to all her decrees, either from us or from our Mediator, and yet debase herself to faulter so many ages with circumcised adulteries by unclean and slubbering permissions?

CHAP. XIV.

That Beza's opinion of regulating sin by apostolic law cannot be found.

Yet Beza's opinion is, that a politic law (but what politic law I know not, unless one of Machiavel's) may regulate sin; may bear indeed, I grant, with imperfection for a time, as those canons of the apostles did in ceremonial things: but as for sin, the essence of it cannot consist with rule; and if the law fail to regulate sin, and not to take it utterly away, it necessarily confirms and establishes sin. To make a regularity of sin by law, either the law must straighten sin into no sin, or sin must crook the law into no law. The judicial law can serve to no other end than to be the protector and champion of religion and honest civility, as is set down plainly, Rom. xiii. and is but the arm of moral law, which can no more be separate from justice, than justice from virtue. Their office also, in a different manner, steers the same course; the one teaches what is good by precept, the other unteaches what is bad by punishment. But if we give way to politic dispensations of lewd uncleanness, the first good consequence of such a relax will be the justifying of papal stews, joined with a toleration of epidemic whoredom. Justice must revolt from the end of her authority, and become the patron of that whereof she was created the punisher. The example of usury, which is commonly alleged, makes against the allegation which it brings, as I touched before. Besides that usury, so much as is permitted by the magistrate, and demanded with common equity, is neither against the word of God, nor the rule of charity; as hath been often discussed by men of eminent learning and judgment. There must be therefore some other example found out to shew us wherein civil policy may with warrant from God settle wickedness by law, and make that lawful which is lawless. Although I doubt not but, upon deeper consideration, that which is true in physic will be found as true in policy, that as of bad pulses those that beat most in order, are much worse than those that keep the most inordinate circuit; so of popular vices those that may be committed legally will be more pernicious, than those that are left to their own course at peril, not under a stinted privilege to sin orderly and regularly, which is an implicit contradiction, but under due and fearless execution of punishment.

The political law, since it cannot regulate vice, is to restrain it by using all means to root it out. But if it suffer the weed to grow up to any pleasurable or contented height upon what pretext soever, it fastens the root, it prunes and dresses vice, as if it were a good plant. Let no man doubt therefore to affirm, that it is not so hurtful or dishonourable to a commonwealth, nor so much to the hardening of hearts, when those worse faults pretended to be feared are committed, by who so dares under strict and executed penalty, as when those less faults tolerated for fear of greater harden their faces, not their hearts only, under the protection of public authority. For what less indignity were this, than as if justice herself, the queen of virtues, (descending from her sceptred royalty,) instead of conquering, should compound and treat with sin, her eternal adversary and rebel, upon ignoble terms? or as if the judicial law were like that untrusty steward in the gospel, and instead of calling in the debts of his moral master, should give out subtile and sly acquittances to keep himself from begging? or let us person him like some wretched itinerary judge, who to gratify his delinquents before him, would let them basely break his head, lest they should pull him from the bench, and throw him over the bar. Unless we had rather think both moral and judicial, full of malice and deadly purpose, conspired to let the debtor Israelite, the seed of Abraham, run on upon a bankrupt score, flattered with insufficient and ensnaring discharges, that so he might be haled to a more cruel forfeit for all the indulgent arrears which those judicial acquittances had engaged him in. No, no, this cannot be, that the law whose integrity and faithfulness is next to God, should be either the shameless broker of our impunities, or the intended instrument of our destruction. The method of holy correction, such as became the commonwealth of Israel, is not to bribe sin with sin, to capitulate and hire out one crime with another; but with more noble and graceful severity than Popilius the Roman legate used with Antiochus, to limit and level out the direct way from vice to virtue, with straightest and exactest lines on either side, not winding or indenting so much as to the right hand of fair pretences. Violence indeed and insurrection may force the law to suffer what it cannot mend; but to write a decree in allowance of sin, as soon can the hand of justice rot off. Let this be ever concluded as a truth that will outlive the faith of those that seek to bear it down.

CHAP. XV.

That divorce was not given for wives only, as Beza and Paræus write. More of the institution.

LASTLY, if divorce were granted, as Beza and others say, not for men, but to release afflicted wives; certainly, it is not only a dispensation, but a most merciful law; and why it should not yet be in force, being wholly as needful, I know not what can be in cause but senseless cruelty. But yet to say, divorce was granted for relief of wives rather than of husbands, is but weakly conjectured, and is manifestly the extreme shift of a huddled exposition. Whenas it could not be found how hardness of heart should be lessened by liberty of divorce, a fancy was devised to hide the flaw, by commenting that divorce was permitted only for the help of wives. Palpably uxorious! who can be ignorant, that woman was created for man, and not man for woman, and that a husband may be injured as insufferably in marriage as a wife? What an injury is it after wedlock not to be beloved! what to be slighted! what to be contended with in point of house-rule who shall be the head; not for any parity of wisdom, for that were something reasonable, but out of a female pride! "I suffer not," saith St. Paul, "the woman to usurp authority over the man." If the apostle could not suffer it, into what mould is he mortified that can? Solomon saith, "that a bad wife is to her husband as rottenness to his bones, a continual dropping. Better dwell in the corner of a house-top, or in the wilderness," than with such a one. "Whoso hideth her, hideth the wind, and one of the four mischiefs which the earth cannot bear." If the Spirit of God wrote such aggravations as these, and (as may be guessed by these similitudes) counsels the man rather to divorce than to live with such a colleague; and yet on the other side expresses nothing of the wife's suffering with a bad husband: is it not most likely that God in his law had more pity towards man thus wedlocked, than towards the woman that was created for another? The same Spirit relates to us the course, which the Medes and Persians took by occasion of Vashti, whose mere denial to come at her husband's sending, lost her the being queen any longer, and set up a wholesome law, "that every man should bear rule in his own house." And the divine relater shews us not the least sign of disliking what was done; how should he, if Moses long before was nothing less mindful of the honour and pre-eminence due to man? So that to say divorce was granted for woman rather than man, was but fondly invented. Esteeming therefore to have asserted thus an injured law of Moses, from the unwarranted and guilty name of a dispensation, to be again a most equal and requisite law, we have the word of Christ himself, that he came not to alter the least tittle of it; and signifies no small displeasure against him that shall teach to do so. On which relying, I shall not much waver to affirm, that those words, which are made to intimate as if they forbad all divorce, but for adultery, (though Moses have constituted otherwise,) those words taken circumscriptly, without regard to any precedent law of Moses, or attestation of Christ himself, or without care to preserve those his fundamental and superior laws of nature and charity, to which all other ordinances give up their seal, are as much against plain equity and the mercy of religion, as those words of "Take, eat, this is my body," elementally understood, are against nature and sense.

And surely the restoring of this degraded law hath well recompensed the diligence was used by enlightening us further to find out wherefore Christ took off the Pharisees from alleging the law, and referred them to the first institution; not condemning, altering, or abolishing this precept of divorce, which is plainly moral, for that were against his truth, his promise, and his prophetic office; but knowing how fallaciously they had cited and concealed the particular and natural reason of the law, that they might justify any froward reason of their own, he lets go that sophistry unconvinced; for that had been to teach them else, which his purpose was not. And since they had taken a liberty which the law gave not, he amuses and repels their tempting pride with a perfection of Paradise, which the law required not; not thereby to oblige our performance to that whereto the law never enjoined the fallen estate of man: for if the first institution must make wedlock, whatever happen, inseparable to us, it must make it also as perfect, as meetly helpful, and as comfortable as God promised it should be, at least in some degree; otherwise it is not equal or proportionable to the strength of man, that he should be reduced into such indissoluble bonds to his assured misery, if all the other conditions of that covenant be manifestly altered.

CHAP. XVI.

How to be understood, that they must be one flesh; and how that those whom God hath joined, man should not sunder.

NEXT he saith, "they must be one flesh;" which when all conjecturing is done, will be found to import no more but to make legitimate and good the carnal act, which else might seem to have something of pollution in it; and infers thus much over, that the fit union of their souls be such as may even incorporate them to love and amity: but that can never be where no correspondence is of the mind; nay, instead of being one flesh, they will be rather two carcasses chained unnaturally together; or, as it may happen, a living soul bound to a dead corpse; a punishment too like that inflicted by the tyrant Mezentius, so little worthy to be received as that remedy of loneliness, which God meant us. Since we know it is not the joining of another body will remove loneliness, but the uniting of another compliable mind; and that it is no blessing

but a torment, nay a base and brutish condition to be one flesh, unless where nature can in some measure fix a unity of disposition. The meaning therefore of these words, "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife," was first to shew us the dear affection which naturally grows in every not unnatural marriage, even to the leaving of parents, or other familiarity whatsoever. Next, it justifies a man in so doing, that nothing is done undutifully to father or mother. But he that should be here sternly commanded to cleave to his error, a disposition which to his he finds will never cement, a quotidian of sorrow and discontent in his house; let us be excused to pause a little, and bethink us every way round ere we lay such a flat solecism upon the gracious, and certainly not inexorable, not ruthless and flinty ordinance of marriage. For if the meaning of these words must be thus blocked up within their own letters from all equity and fair deduction, they will serve then well indeed their turn, who affirm divorce to have been granted only for wives; wheras we see no word of this text binds women, but men only, what it binds. No marvel then if Salomith (sister to Herod) sent a writ of ease to Costobarus her husband, which (as Josephus there attests) was lawful only to men. No marvel though Placidia, the sister of Honorius, threatened the like to earl Constantius for a trivial cause, as Photius relates from Olympiodorus. No marvel any thing, if letters must be turned into palisadoes, to stake out all requisite sense from entering to their due enlargement.

Lastly, Christ himself tells who should not be put asunder, namely, those whom God hath joined. A plain solution of this great controversy, if men would but use their eyes, for when is it that God may be said to join? when the parties and their friends consent? No surely, for that may concur to lewdest ends. Or is it when church rites are finished? Neither; for the efficacy of those depends upon the presupposed fitness of either party. Perhaps after carnal knowledge: least of all; for that may join persons whom neither law nor nature dares join. It is left, that only then when the minds are fitly disposed and enabled to maintain a cheerful conversation, to the solace and love of each other, according as God intended and promised in the very first foundation of matrimony, "I will make him a help-meet for him;" for surely what God intended and promised, that only can be thought to be his joining, and not the contrary. So likewise the apostle witnesseth, 1 Cor. vii. 15, that in marriage "God hath called us to peace." And doubtless in what respect he hath called us to marriage, in that also he hath joined us. The rest, whom either disproportion or deadness of spirit, or something distasteful and averse in the immutable bent of nature renders conjugal, error may have joined, but God never joined against the meaning of his own ordinance. And if he joined them not, then is there no power above their own consent to hinder them from unjoining, when they cannot reap the soberest ends of being together in any tolerable sort. Neither can it be said properly that such twain were ever divorced, but only parted from each other, as two persons unconjunctive are unmarriable together. But if, whom God hath made a fit help, frowardness or private injuries hath made unfit, that being the secret of marriage, God can better judge than man, neither is man indeed fit or able to decide this matter: however it be, undoubtedly a peaceful divorce is a less evil, and less in scandal than hateful, hard-hearted, and destructive continuance of marriage in the judgment of Moses and of Christ, that justifies him in choosing the less evil; which if it were an honest and civil prudence in the law, what is there in the gospel forbidding such a kind of legal wisdom, though we should admit the common expositors?

CHAP. XVII.

The sentence of Christ concerning divorce how to be expounded. What Grotius hath observed. Other additions.

Having thus unfolded those ambiguous reasons, wherewith Christ (as his wont was) gave to the Pharisees that came to sound him, such an answer as they deserved, it will not be uneasy to explain the sentence itself that now follows; "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery." First therefore I will set down what is observed by Grotius upon this point, a man of general learning. Next, I produce what mine own thoughts gave me before I had seen his annotations. Origen, saith he, notes that Christ named adultery rather as one example of other like cases, than as one only exception; and that is frequent not only in human but in divine laws, to express one kind of fact, whereby other causes of like nature may have the like plea, as Exod. xxi. 18, 19, 20, 26; Deut. xix. 5. And from the maxims of civil law he shews, that even in sharpest penal laws the same reason hath the same right; and in gentler laws, that from like causes to like the law interprets rightly. But it may be objected, saith he, that nothing destroys the end of wedlock so much as adultery. To which he answers, that marriage was not ordained only for copulation, but for mutual help and comfort of life: and if we mark diligently the nature of our Saviour's commands, we shall find that both their beginning and their end consists in charity; whose will is, that we should so be good to others, as that we be not cruel to ourselves: and hence it appears why Mark, and Luke, and St. Paul to the Corinthians, mentioning this precept of Christ, add no exception, because exceptions that arise from natural equity are included silently under general terms: it would be considered therefore, whether the same equity may not have place in other cases less frequent. Thus far he. From hence is what I add: First, that this saying of Christ, as it is usually expounded, can be no law at all, that a man for no cause should separate but for adul-

tery, except it be a supernatural law, not binding us as we now are; had it been the law of nature, either the Jews, or some other wise and civil nation, would have pressed it: or let it be so, yet that law, Deut. xxiv. 1, whereby a man hath leave to part, whenas for just and natural cause discovered he cannot live, is a law ancienter and deeper engraven in blameless nature than the other: therefore the inspired lawgiver Moses took care, that this should be specified and allowed; the other he let vanish in silence, not once repeated in the volume of his law, even as the reason of it vanished with Paradise. Secondly, this can be no new command, for the gospel enjoins no new morality, save only the infinite enlargement of charity, which in this respect is called the new commandment by St. John, as being the accomplishment of every command. Thirdly, it is no command of perfection further than it partakes of charity, which is "the bond of perfection." Those commands therefore, which compel us to self-cruelty above our strength, so hardly will help forward to perfection, that they hinder and set backward in all the common rudiments of Christianity, as was proved. It being thus clear, that the words of Christ can be no kind of command as they are vulgarly taken, we shall now see in what sense they may be a command, and that an excellent one, the same with that of Moses, and no other. Moses had granted, that only for a natural annoyance, defect, or dislike, whether in body or mind, (for so the Hebrew word plainly notes,) which a man could not force himself to live with, he might give a bill of divorce, thereby forbidding any other cause, wherein amendment or reconciliation might have place. This law the Pharisees depraving extended to any slight contentious cause whatsoever. Christ therefore seeing where they halted, urges the negative part of the law, which is necessarily understood, (for the determinate permission of Moses binds them from further licence,) and checking their supercilious drift, declares that no accidental, temporary, or reconcilable offence (except fornication) can justify a divorce. He touches not here those natural and perpetual hinderances of society, whether in body or mind, which are not to be removed; for such as they are aptest to cause an unchangeable offence, so are they not capable of reconcilement, because not of amendment, they do not break indeed, but they annihilate the bands of marriage more than adultery. For that fault committed argues not always a hatred either natural or incidental against whom it is committed; neither does it infer a disability of all future helpfulness, or loyalty, or loving agreement, being once past and pardoned, where it can be pardoned: but that which naturally distastes, and "finds no favour in the eyes" of matrimony, can never be concealed, never appeased, never intermitted, but proves a perpetual nullity of love and contentment, a solitude and dead vacation of all acceptable conversing. Moses therefore permits divorce, but in cases only that have no hands to join, and more need of separating than adultery. Christ forbids it, but in matters only that may accord, and those less than fornication. Thus is Moses's law here plainly confirmed, and those causes which he permitted not a jot gainsaid. And that this is the true meaning of this place, I prove by no less an author than St. Paul himself, 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11; upon which text interpreters agree, that the apostle only repeats the precept of Christ: where while he speaks of the "wife's reconcilement to her husband," he puts it out of controversy, that our Saviour meant chiefly matters of strife and reconcilement; of which sort he would not that any difference should be the occasion of divorce, except fornication. And that we may learn better how to value a grave and prudent law of Moses, and how unadvisedly we smatter with our lips, when we talk of Christ's abolishing any judicial law of his great Father, except in some circumstances which are judaical rather than judicial, and need no abolishing, but cease of themselves; I say again, that this recited law of Moses contains a cause of divorce greater beyond compare than that for adultery: and whoso cannot so conceive it, errs and wrongs exceedingly a law of deep wisdom for want of well fathoming. For let him mark, no man urges the just divorcing of adultery as it is a sin, but as it is an injury to marriage; and though it be but once committed, and that without malice, whether through importunity or opportunity, the gospel does not therefore dissuade him who would therefore divorce; but that natural hatred whenever it arises, is a greater evil in marriage than the accident of adultery, a greater defrauding, a greater injustice, and yet not blamable, he who understands not after all this representing, I doubt his will like a hard spleen draws faster than his understanding can well sanguify: nor did that man ever know or feel what it is to love truly, nor ever yet comprehend in his thoughts what the true intent of marriage is. And this also will be somewhat above his reach, but yet no less a truth for lack of his perspective, that as no man apprehends what vice is so well as he who is truly virtuous, no man knows hell like him who converses most in heaven; so there is none that can estimate the evil and the affliction of a natural hatred in matrimony, unless he have a soul gentle enough and spacious enough to contemplate what is true love.

And the reason why men so disesteem this wise judging law of God, and count hate, or "the not finding of favour," as it is there termed, a humourous, a dishonest, and slight cause of divorce, is because themselves apprehend so little of what true concord means: for if they did, they would be juster in their balancing between natural hatred and casual adultery; this being but a transient injury, and soon amended, I mean as to the party against whom the trespass is: but that other being an unspeakable and unremitting sorrow and offence, whereof no amends can be made, no cure, no ceasing but by divorce, which like a divine touch in one moment heals all, and (like the word of God) in one instant hushes outrageous tempests into a sudden stillness and peaceful calm. Yet all this so great a good of God's own enlarging to us is, by the hard reins of them that fit us, wholly diverted and embezzled from us. Maligners of mankind! But who hath taught you to mangle thus, and make more gashes in the

miseries of a blameless creature, with the leaden daggers of your literal decrees, to whose ease you cannot add the tithe of one small atom, but by letting alone your unhelpful surgery. As for such as think wandering concupiscence to be here newly and more precisely forbidden than it was before; if the apostle can convince them, we know that we are to "know lust by the law," and not by any new discovery of the gospel. The law of Moses knew what it permitted, and the gospel knew what it forbid; he that under a peevish conceit of debarring concupiscence, shall go about to make a novice of Moses, (not to say a worse thing, for reverence sake,) and such a one of God himself, as is a horrour to think, to bind our Saviour in the default of a downright promise-breaking; and to bind the disunions of complaining nature in chains together, and curb them with a canon bit; it is he that commits all the whoredom and adultery which himself adjudges, besides the former guilt so manifold that lies upon him. And if none of these considerations, with all their weight and gravity, can avail to the dispossessing him of his precious literalism, let some one or other entreat him but to read on in the same 19th of Matth. till he comes to that place that says, "Some make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." And if then he please to make use of Origen's knife, he may do well to be his own carver.

CHAP. XVII.

Whether the words of our Saviour be rightly expounded only of actual fornication to be the cause of divorce. The opinion of Grotius, with other reasons.

But because we know that Christ never gave a judicial law, and that the word fornication is variously significant in Scripture, it will be much right done to our Saviour's words, to consider diligently whether it be meant here, that nothing but actual fornication proved by witness can warrant a divorce; for so our canon law judges. Nevertheless, as I find that Grotius on this place hath observed the christian emperors, Theodosius the IInd and Justinian, men of high wisdom and reputed piety, decreed it to be a divorcive fornication, if the wife attempted either against the knowledge, or obstinately against the will of her husband, such things as gave open suspicion of adulterizing, as the wilful haunting of feasts, and invitations with men not of near kindred, the lying forth of her house, without probable cause, the frequenting of theatres against her husband's mind, her endeavour to prevent or destroy conception Hence that of Jerom, "where fornication is suspected, the wife may lawfully be divorced:" not that every motion of a jealous mind should be regarded, but that it should not be exacted to prove all things by the visibility of law witnessing, or else to hoodwink the mind: for the law is not able to judge of these things but by the rule of equity, and by permitting a wise man to walk the middle way of prudent circumspection, neither wretchedly jealous, nor stupidly and tamely patient. To this purpose hath Grotius in his notes. He shews also, that fornication is taken in Scripture for such a continual headstrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the husband, and proves it out of Judges xix. 2, where the Levite's wife is said to have played the whore against him; which Josephus and the Septuagint, with the Chaldean, interpret only of stubbornness and rebellion against her husband: and to this I add, that Kimchi, and the two other rabbies who gloss the text, are in the same opinion. Ben Gersom reasons, that had it been whoredom, a Jew and a Levite would have disdained to fetch her again. And this I shall contribute, that had it been whoredom, she would have chosen any other place to run to than to her father's house, it being so infamous for a Hebrew woman to play the harlot, and so opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the Judges is understood for stubborn disobedience against the husband, and not for adultery. A sin of that sudden activity, as to be already committed when no more is done, but only looked unchastely: which yet I should be loth to judge worthy a divorce, though in our Saviour's language it be called adultery. Nevertheless when palpable and frequent signs are given, the law of God, Numb. v. so far gave way to the jealousy of a man, as that the woman, set before the sanctuary with her head uncovered, was adjured by the priest to swear whether she were false or no, and constrained to drink that "bitter water," with an undoubted "curse of rottenness and tympany" to follow, unless she were innocent. And the jealous man had not been guiltless before God, as seems by the last verse, if having such a suspicion in his head, he should neglect his trial; which if to this day it be not to be used, or be thought as uncertain of effect as our antiquated law of Ordalium, yet all equity will judge, that many adulterous demeanours, which are of lewd suspicion and example, may be held sufficient to incur a divorce, though the act itself hath not been proved. And seeing the generosity of our nation is so, as to account no reproach more abominable than to be nicknamed the husband of an adulteress; that our law should not be as ample as the law of God, to vindicate a man from that ignoble sufferance, is our barbarous unskilfulness, not considering that the law should be exasperated according to our estimation of the injury. And if it must be suffered till the act be visibly proved, Solomon himself, whose judgment will be granted to surpass the acuteness of any canonist, confesses, Prov. xxx. 19, 20, that for the act of adultery it is as difficult to be found as the "track of an eagle in the air, or the way of a ship in the sea;" so that a man may be put to unmanly indignities ere it be found out. This therefore may be enough to inform us, that divorcive adultery is not limited by our Saviour to the utmost act, and that to be attested always by eyewitness, but may be extended also to divers obvious actions, which either plainly lead to adultery, or give such presumption

whereby sensible men may suspect the deed to be already done. And this the rather may be thought, in that our Saviour chose to use the word Fornication, which word is found to signify other matrimonial transgressions of main breach to that covenant besides actual adultery. For that sin needed not the riddance of divorce, but of death by the law, which was active even till then by the example of the woman taken in adultery; or if the law had been dormant, our Saviour was more likely to have told them of their neglect, than to have let a capital crime silently scape into a divorce: or if it be said, his business was not to tell them what was criminal in the civil courts, but what was sinful at the bar of conscience, how dare they then, having no other ground than these our Saviour's word's, draw that into the trial of law, which both by Moses and our Saviour was left to the jurisdiction of conscience? But we take from our Saviour, say they, only that it was adultery, and our law of itself applies the punishment. But by their leave that so argue, the great Lawgiver of all the world, who knew best what was adultery, both to the Jew and to the Gentile, appointed no such applying, and never likes when mortal men will be vainly presuming to outstrip his justice.

CHAP. XIX.

Christ's manner of teaching. St. Paul adds to this matter of divorce without command, to shew the matter to be of equity, not of rigour. That the bondage of a Christian may be as much, and his peace as little, in some other marriages besides idolatrous. If those arguments therefore be good in that one case, why not in those other? Therefore the apostle himself adds, ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις.

Thus at length we see both by this and other places, that there is scarce any one saying in the gospel but must be read with limitations and distinctions to be rightly understood; for Christ gives no full comments or continued discourses, but (as Demetrius the rhetorician phrases it) speaks oft in monosyllables, like a master scattering the heavenly grain of his doctrine like pearls here and there, which requires a skilful and laborious gatherer, who must compare the words he finds with other precepts, with the end of every ordinance, and with the general analogy of evangelic doctrine: otherwise many particular sayings would be but strange repugnant riddles, and the church would offend in granting divorce for frigidity, which is not here excepted with adultery, but by them added. And this was it undoubtedly, which gave reason to St. Paul of his own authority, as he professes, and without command from the Lord, to enlarge the seeming construction of those places in the gospel, by adding a case wherein a person deserted (which is something less than divorced) may lawfully marry again. And having declared his opinion in one case, he leaves a further liberty for christian prudence to determine in cases of like importance, using words so plain as not to be shifted off, "that a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases;" adding also, that "God hath called us to peace" in marriage.

Now if it be plain, that a Christian may be brought into unworthy bondage, and his religious peace not only interrupted now and then, but perpetually and finally hindered in wedlock, by misyoking with a diversity of nature as well as of religion, the reasons of St. Paul cannot be made special to that one case of infidelity, but are of equal moment to a divorce, wherever Christian liberty and peace are without fault equally obstructed: that the ordinance which God gave to our comfort may not be pinned upon us to our undeserved thraldom, to be cooped up, as it were in mockery of wedlock, to a perpetual betrothed loneliness and discontent, if nothing worse ensue. There being nought else of marriage left between such, but a displeasing and forced remedy against the sting of a brute desire: which fleshly accustoming without the soul's union and commixture of intellectual delight, as it is rather a soiling than a fulfilling of marriage rites, so is it enough to abase the mettle of a generous spirit, and sinks him to a low and vulgar pitch of endeavour in all his actions; or, (which is worse,) leaves him in a despairing plight of abject and hardened thoughts: which condition rather than a good man should fall into, a man useful in the service of God and mankind, Christ himself hath taught us to dispense with the most sacred ordinance of his worship, even for a bodily healing to dispense with that holy and speculative rest of sabbath, much more then with the erroneous observance of an ill-knotted marriage, for the sustaining of an overcharged faith and perseverance.

CHAP. XX.

The meaning of St. Paul, that "charity believeth all things." What is to be said to the licence which is vainly feared will grow hereby. What to those who never have done prescribing patience in this case. The papist most severe against divorce, yet most easy to all licence. Of all the miseries in marriage God is to be cleared, and the faults to be laid on man's unjust laws.

And though bad causes would take licence by this pretext, if that cannot be remedied, upon their conscience be it who shall so do. This was that hardness of heart, and abuse of a good law, which Moses was content to suffer, rather than good men should not have it at all to use needfully. And he who to run after one lost sheep left ninety-nine of his own flock at random in the wilderness, would little perplex his thoughts for the obduring of nine hundred and ninety such as will daily take worse liberties, whether they have permission or not. To conclude, as without charity God hath

given no commandment to men, so without it neither can men rightly believe any commandment given. For every act of true faith, as well that whereby we believe the law, as that whereby we endeavour the law, is wrought in us by charity, according to that in the divine hymn of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. "Charity believeth all things;" not as if she were so credulous, which is the exposition hitherto current, for that were a trivial praise, but to teach us that charity is the high governess of our belief, and that we cannot safely assent to any precept written in the Bible, but as charity commends it to us. Which agrees with that of the same apostle to the Eph. iv. 14, 15; where he tells us, that the way to get a sure undoubted knowledge of things, is to hold that for truth which accords most with charity. Whose unerring guidance and conduct having followed as a loadstar, with all diligence and fidelity, in this question; I trust (through the help of that illuminating spirit which hath favoured me) to have done no every day's work, in asserting, after many the words of Christ, with other scriptures of great concernment, from burdensome and remorseless obscurity, tangled with manifold repugnances, to their native lustre and consent between each other; hereby also dissolving tedious and Gordian difficulties, which have hitherto molested the church of God, and are now decided not with the sword of Alexander, but with the immaculate hands of charity, to the unspeakable good of christendom. And let the extreme literalist sit down now, and revolve whether this in all necessity be not the due result of our Saviour's words, or if he persist to be otherwise opinioned, let him well advise, lest thinking to gripe fast the gospel, he be found instead with the canon law in his fist: whose boisterous edicts tyrannizing the blessed ordinance of marriage into the quality of a most unnatural and unchristianly yoke, hath given the flesh this advantage to hate it, and turn aside, ofttimes unwillingly, to all dissolute uncleanness, even till punishment itself is weary of and overcome by the incredible frequency of trading lust and uncontrolled adulteries. Yet men whose creed is custom, I doubt not will be still endeavouring to hide the sloth of their own timorous capacities with this pretext, that for all this it is better to endure with patience and silence this affliction which God hath sent. And I agree it is true, if this be exhorted and not enjoined; but withal it will be wisely done to be as sure as may be, that what man's iniquity hath laid on be not imputed to God's sending, lest under the colour of an affected patience we detain ourselves at the gulf's mouth of many hideous temptations, not to be withstood without proper gifts, which (as Perkins well notes) God gives not ordinarily, no not to most earnest prayers. Therefore we pray, "Lead us not into temptation;" a vain prayer, if, having led ourselves thither, we love to stay in that perilous condition. God sends remedies as well as evils, under which he who lies and groans, that may lawfully acquit himself, is accessory to his own ruin; nor will it excuse him though he suffer through a sluggish fearfulness to search thoroughly what is lawful, for fear of disquieting the secure falsity of an old opinion. Who doubts not but that it may be piously said, to him who would dismiss his frigidity, Bear your trial, take it as if God would have you live this life of continence? if he exhort this, I hear him as an angel, though he speak without warrant; but if he would compel me, I know him for Satan. To him who divorces an adulteress, piety might say, pardon her; you may shew much mercy, you may win a soul: yet the law both of God and man leaves it freely to him: for God loves not to plough out the heart of our endeavours with overhard and sad tasks. God delights not to make a drudge of virtue, whose actions must be all elective and unconstrained. Forced virtue is as a bolt overshot, it goes neither forward nor backward, and does no good as it stands. Seeing therefore that neither Scripture nor reason hath laid this unjust austerity upon divorce, we may resolve that nothing else hath wrought it but that letter-bound servility of the canon doctors, supposing marriage to be a sacrament, and out of the art they have to lay unnecessary burdens upon all men, to make a fair shew in the fleshly observance of matrimony, though peace and love with all other conjugal respects fare never so ill. And indeed the papists, who are the strictest forbidders of divorce, are the easiest libertines to admit of grossest uncleanness; as if they had a design by making wedlock a supportless yoke, to violate it most, under colour of preserving it most inviolable; and withal delighting (as their mystery is) to make men the day labourers of their own afflictions, as if there were such a scarcity of miseries from abroad, that we should be made to melt our choicest home blessings, and coin them into crosses, for want whereby to hold commerce with patience. If any therefore who shall hap to read this discourse, hath been through misadventure ill engaged in this contracted evil here complained of, and finds the fits and workings of a high impatience frequently upon him; of all those wild words which men in misery think to ease themselves by uttering, let him not open his lips against the providence of Heaven, or tax the ways of God and his divine truth: for they are equal, easy, and not burdensome: nor do they ever cross the just and reasonable desires of men, nor involve this our portion of mortal life into a necessity of sadness and malecontent, by laws commanding over the unreducible antipathies of nature, sooner or later found, but allow us to remedy and shake off those evils into which human errour hath led us through the midst of our best intentions, and to support our incident extremities by that authentic precept of sovereign charity, whose grand commission is to do and to dispose over all the ordinances of God to man, that love and truth may advance each other to everlasting. While we, literally superstitious, through customary faintness of heart, not venturing to pierce with our free thoughts into the full latitude of nature and religion, abandon ourselves to serve under the tyranny of usurped opinions; suffering those ordinances which were allotted to our solace and reviving, to trample over us, and hale us into a multitude of sorrows, which God never meant us. And where he sets

us in a fair allowance of way, with honest liberty and prudence to our guard, we never leave subtilizing and casuisting till we have straitened and pared that liberal path into a razor's edge to walk on; between a precipice of unnecessary mischief on either side, and starting at every false alarm, we do not know which way to set a foot forward with manly confidence and christian resolution, through the confused ringing in our ears of panic scruples and amazements.

CHAP. XXI.

That the matter of divorce is not to be tried by law, but by conscience, as many other sins are. The magistrate can only see that the condition of the divorce be just and equal. The opinion of Fagius, and the reasons of this assertion.

Another act of papal encroachment it was, to pluck the power and arbitrement of divorce from the master of the family, into whose hands God and the law of all nations had put it, and Christ so left it, preaching only to the conscience, and not authorizing a judicial court to toss about and divulge the unaccountable and secret reason of disaffection between man and wife, as a thing most improperly answerable to any such kind of trial. But the popes of Rome, perceiving the great revenue and high authority it would give them even over princes, to have the judging and deciding of such a main consequence in the life of man as was divorce; wrought so upon the superstition of those ages, as to divest them of that right, which God from the beginning had entrusted to the husband: by which means they subjected that ancient and naturally domestic prerogative to an external and unbefitting judicature. For although differences in divorce about dowries, jointures, and the like, besides the punishing of adultery, ought not to pass without referring, if need be, to the magistrate; yet that the absolute and final hindering of divorce cannot belong to any civil or earthly power, against the will and consent of both parties, or of the husband alone, some reasons will be here urged as shall not need to decline the touch. But first I shall recite what hath been already yielded by others in favour of this opinion. Grotius and many more agree, that notwithstanding what Christ spake therein to the Conscience, the magistrate is not thereby enjoined aught against the preservation of civil peace, of equity, and of convenience. And among these Fagius is most remarkable, and gives the same liberty of pronouncing divorce to the christian magistrate as the Mosaic had. "For whatever," saith he, "Christ spake to the regenerate, the judge hath to deal with the vulgar: if therefore any through hardness of heart will not be a tolerable wife to her husband, it will be lawful as well now as of old to pass the bill of divorce, not by private but by public authority Nor doth man separate them then, but God by his law of divorce given by Moses. What can hinder the magistrate from so doing, to whose government all outward things are subject, to separate and remove from perpetual vexation, and no small danger, those bodies whose minds are already separate; it being his office to procure peaceable and convenient living in the commonwealth; and being as certain also, that they so necessarily separated cannot all receive a single life?" And this I observe, that our divines do generally condemn separation of bed and board, without the liberty of second choice: if that therefore in some cases be most purely necessary, (as who so blockish to deny?) then is this also as needful. Thus far by others is already well stepped, to inform us that divorce is not a matter of law, but of charity: if there remain a furlong yet to end the question, these following reasons may serve to gain it with any apprehension not too unlearned or too wayward. First, because ofttimes the causes of seeking divorce reside so deeply in the radical and innocent affections of nature, as is not within the diocese of law to tamper with. Other relations may aptly enough be held together by a civil and virtuous love: but the duties of man and wife are such as are chiefly conversant in that love which is most ancient and merely natural, whose two prime statutes are to join itself to that which is good, and acceptable, and friendly; and to turn aside and depart from what is disagreeable, displeasing, and unlike: of the two this latter is the strongest, and most equal to be regarded; for although a man may often be unjust in seeking that which he loves, yet he can never be unjust or blamable in retiring from his endless trouble and distaste, when as his tarrying can redound to no true content on either side. Hate is of all things the mightiest divider, nay is division itself. To couple hatred therefore, though wedlock try all her golden links, and borrow to her aid all the iron manacles and fetters of law, it does but seek to twist a rope of sand, which was a task they say that posed the devil: and that sluggish fiend in hell, Ocnus, whom the poems tell of, brought his idle cordage to as good effect, which never served to bind with, but to feed the ass that stood at his elbow. And that the restrictive law against divorce attains as little to bind any thing truly in a disjointed marriage, or to keep it bound, but serves only to feed the ignorance and definitive impertinence of a doltish canon, were no absurd allusion. To hinder therefore those deep and serious regresses of nature in a reasonable soul, parting from that mistaken help, which he justly seeks in a person created for him, recollecting himself from an unmeet help which was never meant, and to detain him by compulsion in such an unpredestined misery as this, is in diameter against both nature and institution: but to interpose a jurisdictive power over the inward and irremediable disposition of man, to command love and sympathy, to forbid dislike against the guiltless instinct of nature, is not within the province of any law to reach; and were indeed an uncommodious rudeness, not a just power: for that law may bandy with nature, and traverse her sage motions, was an errour in Callicles the rhetorician, whom Socrates from high principles

confutes in Plato's Gorgias. If therefore divorce may be so natural, and that law and nature are not to go contrary; then to forbid divorce compulsively, is not only against nature, but against law.

Next, it must be remembered, that all law is for some good, that may be frequently attained without the admixture of a worse inconvenience; and therefore many gross faults, as ingratitude and the like, which are too far within the soul to be cured by constraint of law, are left only to be wrought on by conscience and persuasion. Which made Aristotle, in the 10th of his Ethics to Nicomachus, aim at a kind of division of law into private or persuasive, and public or compulsive. Hence it is, that the law forbidding divorce never attains to any good end of such prohibition, but rather multiplies evil. For if nature's resistless sway in love or hate be once compelled, it grows careless of itself, vicious, useless to friends, unserviceable and spiritless to the commonwealth. Which Moses rightly foresaw, and all wise lawgivers that ever knew man, what kind of creature he was. The parliament also and clergy of England were not ignorant of this, when they consented that Harry the VIII might put away his queen Anne of Cleve, whom he could not like after he had been wedded half a year; unless it were that, contrary to the proverb, they made a necessity of that which might have been a virtue in them to do: for even the freedom and eminence of man's creation gives him to be a law in this matter to himself, being the head of the other sex which was made for him: whom therefore though he ought not to injure, yet neither should he be forced to retain in society to his own overthrow, nor to hear any judge therein above himself. It being also an unseemly affront to the sequestered and veiled modesty of that sex, to have her unpleasingness and other concealments bandied up and down, and aggravated in open court by those hired masters of tonguefence. Such uncomely exigencies it befel no less a majesty than Henry the VIII to be reduced to, who, finding just reason in his conscience to forego his brother's wife, after many indignities of being deluded, and made a boy of by those his two cardinal judges, was constrained at last, for want of other proof, that she had been carnally known by prince Arthur, even to uncover the nakedness of that virtuous lady, and to recite openly the obscene evidence of his brother's chamberlain. Yet it pleased God to make him see all the tyranny of Rome, by discovering this which they exercised over divorce, and to make him the beginner of a reformation to this whole kingdom, by first asserting into his familiary power the right of just divorce. It is true, an adulteress cannot be shamed enough by any public proceeding; but the woman whose honour is not appeached is less injured by a silent dismission, being otherwise not illiberally dealt with, than to endure a clamouring debate of utterless things, in a business of that civil secrecy and difficult discerning, as not to be overmuch questioned by nearest friends. Which drew that answer from the greatest and worthiest Roman of his time, Paulus Emilius, being demanded why he would put away his wife for no visible reason? "This shoe," said he, and held it out on his foot, "is a neat shoe, a new shoe, and yet none of you know where it wrings me;" much less by the unfamiliar cognizance of a feed gamester can such a private difference be examined, neither ought it.

Again, if law aim at the firm establishment and preservation of matrimonial faith, we know that cannot thrive under violent means, but is the more violated. It is not when two unfortunately met are by the canon forced to draw in that yoke an unmerciful day's work of sorrow till death unharness them, that then the law keeps marriage most unviolated and unbroken; but when the law takes order, that marriage be accountant and responsible to perform that society, whether it be religious, civil, or corporal, which may be conscionably required and claimed therein, or else to be dissolved if it cannot be undergone. This is to make marriage most indissoluble, by making it a just and equal dealer, a performer of those due helps, which instituted the covenant; being otherwise a most unjust contract, and no more to be maintained under tuition of law, than the vilest fraud, or cheat, or theft, that may be committed. But because this is such a secret kind of fraud or theft, as cannot be discerned by law but only by the plaintiff himself; therefore to divorce was never counted a political or civil offence, neither to Jew nor Gentile, nor by any judicial intendment of Christ, further than could be discerned to transgress the allowance of Moses, which was of necessity so large, that it doth all one as if it sent back the matter undeterminable at law, and intractable by rough dealing, to have instructions and admonitions bestowed about it by them whose spiritual office is to adjure and to denounce, and so left to the conscience. The law can only appoint the just and equal conditions of divorce, and is to look how it is an injury to the divorced, which in truth it can be none, as a mere separation; for if she consent, wherein has the law to right her? or consent not, then is it either just, and so deserved; or if unjust, such in all likelihood was the divorcer: and to part from an unjust man is a happiness, and no injury to be lamented. But suppose it to be an injury, the law is not able to amend it, unless she think it other than a miserable redress, to return back from whence she was expelled, or but entreated to be gone, or else to live apart still married without marriage, a married widow. Last, if it be to chasten the divorcer, what law punishes a deed which is not moral but natural, a deed which cannot certainly be found to be an injury; or how can it be punished by prohibiting the divorce, but that the innocent must equally partake both in the shame and in the smart? So that which way soever we look, the law can to no rational purpose forbid divorce, it can only take care that the conditions of divorce be not injurious. Thus then we see the trial of law, how impertinent it is to this question of divorce, how helpless next, and then how hurtful.

CHAP. XXII.

The last reason why divorce is not to be restrained by law, it being against the law of nature and of nations. The larger proof whereof referred to Mr. Selden's book, "De Jure Naturali et Gentium." An objection of Paræus answered. How it ought to be ordered by the church. That this will not breed any worse inconvenience, nor so bad as is now suffered.

Therefore the last reason, why it should not be, is the example we have, not only from the noblest and wisest commonwealths, guided by the clearest light of human knowledge, but also from the divine testimonies of God himself, lawgiving in person to a sanctified people. That all this is true, whoso desires to know at large with least pains, and expects not here overlong rehearsals of that which is by others already so judiciously gathered; let him hasten to be acquainted with that noble volume written by our learned Selden, "Of the Law of Nature and of Nations," a work more useful and more worthy to be perused by whosoever studies to be a great man in wisdom, equity, and justice, than all those "decretals and sumless sums," which the pontifical clerks have doted on, ever since that unfortunate mother famously sinned thrice, and died impenitent of her bringing into the world those two misbegotten infants, and for ever infants, Lombard and Gratian, him the compiler of canon iniquity, the other the Tubalcain of scholastic sophistry, whose overspreading barbarism hath not only infused their own bastardy upon the fruitfullest part of human learning, not only dissipated and dejected the clear light of nature in us, and of nations, but hath tainted also the fountains of divine doctrine, and rendered the pure and solid law of God unbeneficial to us by their calumnious dunceries. Yet this law, which their unskilfulness hath made liable to all ignominy, the purity and wisdom of this law shall be the buckler of our dispute. Liberty of divorce we claim not, we think not but from this law; the dignity, the faith, the authority thereof is now grown among Christians, O astonishment! a labour of no mean difficulty and envy to defend. That it should not be counted a faultering dispense, a flattering permission of sin, the bill of adultery, a snare, is the expense of all this apology. And all that we solicit is, that it may be suffered to stand in the place where God set it, amidst the firmament of his holy laws, to shine, as it was wont, upon the weaknesses and errors of men, perishing else in the sincerity of their honest purposes: for certain there is no memory of whoredoms and adulteries left among us now, when this warranted freedom of God's own giving is made dangerous and discarded for a scroll of licence. It must be your suffrages and votes, O Englishmen, that this exploded decree of God and Moses may scape and come off fair, without the censure of a shameful abrogating: which, if yonder sun ride sure, and means not to break word with us to-morrow, was never yet abrogated by our Saviour. Give sentence if you please, that the frivolous canon may reverse the infallible judgment of Moses and his great director. Or if it be the reformed writers, whose doctrine persuades this rather, their reasons I dare affirm are all silenced, unless it be only this. Paræus on the Corinthians would prove,* that hardness of heart in divorce is no more now to be permitted, but to be amerced with fine and imprisonment. I am not willing to discover the forgettings of reverend men, yet here I must: what article or clause of the whole new covenant can Paræus bring, to exasperate the judicial law upon any infirmity under the gospel? I say infirmity, for if it were the high hand of sin, the law as little would have endured it as the gospel; it would not stretch to the dividing of an inheritance; it refused to condemn adultery, not that these things should not be done at law, but to shew that the gospel hath not the least influence upon judicial courts, much less to make them sharper and more heavy, least of all to arraign before a temporal judge that which the law without summons acquitted. "But," saith he, "the law was the time of youth, under violent affections; the gospel in us is mature age, and ought to subdue affections." True, and so ought the law too, if they be found inordinate, and not merely natural and blameless. Next I distinguish, that the time of the law is compared to youth and pupilage in respect of the ceremonial part, which led the Jews as children through corporal and garish rudiments, until the fulness of time should reveal to them the higher lessons of faith and redemption. This is not meant of the moral part, therein it soberly concerned them not to be babies, but to be men in good earnest: the sad and awful majesty of that law was not to be jested with: to bring a bearded nonage with lascivious dispensations before that throne, had been a lewd affront, as it is now a gross mistake. But what discipline is this, Paræus, to nourish violent affections in youth, by cockering and wanton indulgencies, and to chastise them in mature age with a boyish rod of correction? How much more coherent is it to Scripture, that the law as a strict schoolmaster should have punished every trespass without indulgence so baneful to youth, and that the gospel should now correct that by admonition and reproof only, in free and mature age, which was punished with stripes in the childhood and bondage of the law? What therefore it allowed then so fairly, much less is to be whipped now, especially in penal courts: and if it ought now to trouble the conscience, why did that angry accuser and condemner law reprieve it? So then, neither from Moses nor from Christ hath the magistrate any authority to proceed against it. But what, shall then the disposal of that power return again to the master of a family? Wherefore not, since God there put it, and the presumptuous canon thence bereft it? This only must be provided, that the ancient manner be observed in the presence of the minister and other grave selected elders, who after they shall have admonished and pressed upon him the words of our Saviour, and he shall have protested in the faith of the eternal gospel, and the hope he has of happy resurrection, that otherwise than thus he cannot do, and thinks

himself and this his case not contained in that prohibition of divorce which Christ pronounced, the matter not being of malice, but of nature, and so not capable of reconciling; to constrain him further were to unchristian him, to unman him, to throw the mountain of Sinai upon him, with the weight of the whole law to boot, flat against the liberty and essence of the gospel; and yet nothing available either to the sanctity of marriage, the good of husband, wife, or children, nothing profitable either to church or commonwealth, but hurtful and pernicious in all these respects. But this will bring in confusion: yet these cautious mistrusters might consider, that what they thus object lights not upon this book, but upon that which I engage against them, the book of God and Moses, with all the wisdom and providence which had forecast the worst of confusion that could succeed, and yet thought fit of such a permission. But let them be of good cheer, it wrought so little disorder among the Jews, that from Moses till after the captivity, not one of the prophets thought it worth the rebuking; for that of Malachi well looked into will appear to be not against divorcing, but rather against keeping strange concubines, to the vexation of their Hebrew wives. If therefore we Christians may be thought as good and tractable as the Jews were, (and certainly the prohibitors of divorce presume us to be better,) then less confusion is to be feared for this among us than was among them. If we be worse, or but as bad, which lamentable examples confirm we are, then have we more, or at least as much, need of this permitted law, as they to whom God therefore gave it (as they say) under a harsher covenant. Let not therefore the frailty of man go on thus inventing needless troubles to itself, to groan under the false imagination of a strictness never imposed from above; enjoining that for duty, which is an impossible and vain supererogating. "Be not righteous overmuch," is the counsel of Ecclesiastes; "why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" Let us not be thus overcurious to strain at atoms, and yet to stop every vent and cranny of permissive liberty, lest nature wanting those needful pores and breathing-places, which God hath not debarred our weakness, either suddenly break out into some wide rupture of open vice and frantic heresy, or else inwardly fester with repining and blasphemous thoughts, under an unreasonable and fruitless rigour of unwarranted law. Against which evils nothing can more beseem the religion of the church, or the wisdom of the state, than to consider timely and provide. And in so doing let them not doubt but they shall vindicate the misreputed honour of God and his great lawgiver, by suffering him to give his own laws according to the condition of man's nature best known to him, without the unsufferable imputation of dispensing legally with many ages of ratified adultery. They shall recover the misattended words of Christ to the sincerity of their true sense from manifold contradictions, and shall open them with the key of charity. Many helpless Christians they shall arise from the depth of sadness and distress, utterly unfitted as they are to serve God or man: many they shall reclaim from obscure and giddy sects, many regain from dissolute and brutish licence, many from desperate hardness, if ever that were justly pleaded. They shall set free many daughters of Israel not wanting much of her sad plight whom "Satan had bound eighteen years." Man they shall restore to his just dignity and prerogative in nature, preferring the soul's free peace before the promiscuous draining of a carnal rage. Marriage, from a perilous hazard and snare, they shall reduce to be a more certain haven and retirement of happy society; when they shall judge according to God and Moses, (and how not then according to Christ,) when they shall judge it more wisdom and goodness to break that covenant seemingly, and keep it really, than by compulsion of law to keep it seemingly, and by compulsion of blameless nature to break it really, at least if it were ever truly joined. The vigour of discipline they may then turn with better success upon the prostitute looseness of the times, when men, finding in themselves the infirmities of former ages, shall not be constrained above the gift of God in them to unprofitable and impossible observances, never required from the civilest, the wisest, the holiest nations, whose other excellencies in moral virtue they never yet could equal. Last of all, to those whose mind is still to maintain textual restrictions, whereof the bare sound cannot consist sometimes with humanity, much less with charity; I would ever answer, by putting them in remembrance of a command above all commands, which they seem to have forgot, and who spake it: in comparison whereof, this which they so exalt is but a petty and subordinate precept. "Let them go" therefore with whom I am loth to couple them, yet they will needs run into the same blindness with the Pharisees; "let them go therefore," and consider well what this lesson means, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" for on that "saying all the law and prophets depend," much more the gospel, whose end and excellence is mercy and peace. Or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this? which yet I shall not doubt to leave with them as a conclusion, That God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet, but his commandments he hath left all under the feet of charity.

THE

JUDGMENT OF MARTIN BUCER, CONCERNING DIVORCE:

WRITTEN TO EDWARD THE SIXTH, IN HIS SECOND BOOK OF THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST; AND NOW ENGLISHED. WHEREIN A LATE BOOK, RESTORING THE "DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE," IS HERE CONFIRMED AND JUSTIFIED BY THE AUTHORITY OF MARTIN BUCER.

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

John iii. 10. "Art thou a teacher of Israel, and knowest not these things?"

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

TESTIMONIES OF THE HIGH APPROBATION WHICH LEARNED MEN HAVE GIVEN OF MARTIN BUCER.

Simon Grinæus, 1533.

AMONG all the Germans, I give the palm to Bucer, for excellence in the Scriptures. Melancthon in human learning is wonderous fluent; but greater knowledge in the Scripture I attribute to Bucer, and speak it unfeignedly.

John Calvin, 1539.

Martin Bucer, a most faithful doctor of the church of Christ, besides his rare learning, and copious knowledge of many things, besides his clearness of wit, much reading, and other many and various virtues, wherein he is almost by none now living excelled, hath few equals, and excels most; hath this praise peculiar to himself, that none in this age hath used exacter diligence in the exposition of Scripture.

And a little beneath.

Bucer is more large than to be read by overbusied men, and too high to be easily understood by unattentive men, and of a low capacity.

Sir John Cheek, Tutor to King Edward VI. 1551.

We have lost our master, than whom the world scarce held a greater, whether we consider his knowledge of true religion, or his integrity and innocence of life, or his incessant study of holy things, or his matchless labour of promoting piety, or his authority and amplitude of teaching, or whatever else was praise-worthy and glorious in him. Script. Anglican. pag. 864.

John Sturmius of Strasburgh.

No man can be ignorant what a great and constant opinion and estimation of Bucer there is in Italy, France, and England. Whence the saying of Quintilian hath oft come to my mind, that he hath well profited in eloquence whom Cicero pleases. The same say I of Bucer, that he hath made no small progress in divinity, whom Bucer pleases; for in his volumes, which he wrote very many, there is the plain impression to be discerned of many great virtues, of diligence, of charity, of truth, of acuteness, of judgment, of learning. Wherein he hath a certain proper kind of writing, whereby he doth not only teach the reader, but affects him with the sweetness of his sentences, and with the manner of his arguing, which is so teaching, and so logical, that it may be perceived how learnedly he separates probable reasons from necessary, how forcibly he confirms what he has to prove, how subtilely he refutes, not with sharpness but with truth.

Theodore Beza, on the Portraiture of M. Bucer.

This is that countenance of Bucer, the mirror of mildness tempered with gravity; to whom the city of Strasburgh owes the reformation of her church. Whose singular learning, and eminent zeal, joined with excellent wisdom, both his learned books, and public disputations in the general diets of the empire, shall witness to all ages. Him the German persecution drove into England; where honourably entertained by Edward the VIth, he was for two years chief professor of divinity in Cambridge, with greatest frequency and applause of all learned and pious men until his death, 1551. Bezæ Icones.

Mr. Fox's Book of Martyrs, Vol. iii. *p.* 763.

Bucer, what by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, wherein, being painful in the word of God, he never spared himself, nor regarded health, brought all men into such an admiration of him, that neither his friends could sufficiently praise him, nor his enemies in any point find fault with

his singular life and sincere doctrine. A most certain token whereof may be his sumptuous burial at Cambridge, solemnized with so great an assistance of all the university, that it was not possible to devise more to the setting out and amplifying of the same.

Dr. Pern, the Popish Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, his adversary.

Cardinal Pool, about the fourth year of Queen Mary, intending to reduce the university of Cambridge to popery again, thought no way so effectual, as to cause the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius, which had been four years in the grave, to be taken up and burnt openly with their books, as knowing that those two worthy men had been of greatest moment to the reformation of that place from popery, and had left such powerful seeds of their doctrine behind them, as would never die, unless the men themselves were digged up, and openly condemned for heretics by the university itself. This was put in execution, and Doctor Pern, vice-chancellor, appointed to preach against Bucer: who, among other things, laid to his charge the opinions which he held of the marriage of priests, of divorcement, and of usury. But immediately after his sermon, or somewhat before, as the Book of Martyrs for a truth relates, vol. iii. p. 770, the said Doctor Pern smiting himself on the breast, and in manner weeping, wished with all his heart, that God would grant his soul might then presently depart, and remain with Bucer's; for he knew his life was such, that if any man's soul were worthy of heaven, he thought Bucer's in special to be most worthy. Histor. de Combust. Buceri et Fagii.

Acworth, the University-orator.

Soon after that Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, this condemnation of Bucer and Fagius by the cardinal and his doctors was solemnly repealed by the university; and the memory of those two famous men celebrated in an oration by Acworth, the University-orator, which is yet extant in the Book of Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 773, and in Latin, Scripta Anglican. p. 936.

Nicholas Carre, a learned man; Walter Haddon, master of the requests to Queen Elizabeth; Matthew Parker, afterwards primate of England; with other eminent men, in their funeral orations and sermons, express abundantly how great a man Martin Bucer was; what an incredible loss England sustained in his death; and that with him died the hope of a perfect reformation for that age. Ibid.

Jacobus Verheiden of Grave, in his elogies of famous divines.

Though the name of Martin Luther be famous, yet thou, Martin Bucer, for piety, learning, labour, care, vigilance, and writing, art not to be held inferiour to Luther. Bucer was a singular instrument of God, so was Luther. By the death of this most learned and most faithful man, the church of Christ sustained a heavy loss, as Calvin witnesseth; and they who are studious of Calvin are not ignorant how much he ascribes to Bucer; for thus he writes in a letter to Viretus: "What a manifold loss befel the church of God in the death of Bucer, as oft as I call to mind, I feel my heart almost rent asunder."

Peter Martyr Epist. to Conradus Hubertus.

He is dead, who hath overcome in many battles of the Lord. God lent us for a time this our father, and our teacher, never enough praised. Death hath divided me from a most unanimous friend, one truly according to mine own heart. My mind is overpressed with grief, insomuch that I have not power to write more. I bid thee in Christ farewell, and wish thou mayst be able to bear the loss of Bucer better than I can bear it.

Testimonies given by learned men to Paulus Fagius, who held the same opinion with Martin Bucer concerning divorce.

Paulus Fagius, born in the Palatinate, became most skilful in the Hebrew tongue. Being called to the ministry at Isna, he published many ancient and profitable Hebrew books, being aided in the expenses by a senator of that city, as Origen sometime was by a certain rich man called Ambrosius. At length invited to Strasburgh, he there famously discharged the office of a teacher; until the same persecution drove him and Bucer into England, where he was preferred to a professor's place in Cambridge, and soon after died. Bezæ Icones.

Melchior Adamus writes his life among the famous German divines.

Sleidan and Huanus mention him with honour in their history: and Verheiden in his elogies.

TO THE PARLIAMENT.

The Book which, among other great and high points of reformation, contains as a principal part thereof, this treatise here presented, supreme court of parliament! was, by the famous author Martin Bucer, dedicated to Edward the VI.: whose incomparable youth doubtless had brought forth to the church of England such a glorious manhood, had his life reached it, as would have left in the affairs of religion nothing without an excellent pattern for us now to follow. But since the secret purpose of divine appointment hath reserved no less perhaps than the just half of such a sacred work to be accomplished in this age, and principally, as we trust, by your successful wisdom and authority, religious lords and commons! what wonder if I seek no other, to whose exactest judgment and review I may commend these last and worthiest labours of this renowned teacher; whom living all the pious nobility of those reforming times, your truest and best-imitated ancestors, reverenced and admired. Nor was he wanting to a recompence as great as was himself; when both at many times before, and especially among his last sighs and prayers, testifying his dear and fatherly affection to the church and realm

of England, he sincerely wished in the hearing of many devout men, "that what he had in his last book written to King Edward concerning discipline might have place in this kingdom. His hope was then, that no calamity, no confusion, or deformity would happen to the commonwealth; but otherwise he feared, lest in the midst of all this ardency to know God, yet by the neglect of discipline, our good endeavours would not succeed."* These remarkable words of so godly and so eminent a man at his death, as they are related by a sufficient and well-known witness, who heard them, and inserted by Thuanus into his grave and serious history; so ought they to be chiefly considered by that nation, for whose sake they were uttered, and more especially by that general council, which represents the body of that nation. If therefore the book, or this part thereof, for necessary causes, be now revived and recommended to the use of this undisciplined age; it hence appears, that these reasons have not erred in the choice of a fit patronage for a discourse of such importance. But why the whole tractate is not here brought entire, but this matter of divorcement selected in particular, to prevent the full speed of some misinterpreter, I hasten to disclose. First, it will be soon manifest to them who know what wise men should know, that the constitution and reformation of a commonwealth, if Ezra and Nehemiah did not misreform, is, like a building, to begin orderly from the foundation thereof, which is marriage and the family, to set right first whatever is amiss therein. How can there else grow up a race of warrantable men, while the house and home that breeds them is troubled and disquieted under a bondage not of God's constraining, with a natureless constraint, (if his most righteous judgments may be our rule,) but laid upon us imperiously in the worst and weakest ages of knowledge, by a canonical tyranny of stupid and malicious monks? who having rashly vowed themselves to a single life, which they could not undergo, invented new fetters to throw on matrimony, that the world thereby waxing more dissolute, they also in a general looseness might sin with more favour. Next, there being yet among many such a strange iniquity and perverseness against all necessary divorce, while they will needs expound the words of our Saviour, not duly by comparing other places, as they must do in the resolving of a hundred other scriptures, but by persisting deafly in the abrupt and papistical way of a literal apprehension against the direct analogy of sense, reason, law, and gospel; it therefore may well seem more than time, to apply the sound and holy persuasions of this apostolic man to that part in us, which is not yet fully dispossessed of an errour as absurd, as most that we deplore in our blindest adversaries; and to let his authority and unanswerable reasons be vulgarly known, that either his name, or the force of his doctrine, may work a wholesome effect. Lastly, I find it clear to be the author's intention, that this point of divorcement should be held and received as a most necessary and prime part of discipline in every Christian government. And therefore having reduced his model of reformation to fourteen heads, he bestows almost as much time about this one point of divorce, as about all the rest; which also was the judgment of his heirs and learned friends in Germany, best acquainted with his meaning; who first published this his book by Oporinus at Basil, (a city for learning and constancy in the true faith honourable among the first,) added a special note in the title, "that there the reader should find the doctrine of divorce handled so solidly, and so fully, as scarce the like in any writer of that age:" and with this particular commendation they doubted not to dedicate the book, as a most profitable and exquisite discourse, to Christian the IIId, a worthy and pious king of Denmark, as the author himself had done before to our Edward the VIth. Yet did not Bucer in that volume only declare what his constant opinion was herein, but also in his comment upon Matthew, written at Strasburgh divers years before, he treats distinctly and copiously the same argument in three several places; touches it also upon the 7th to the Romans, and promises the same solution more largely upon the first to the Corinthians, omitting no occasion to weed out this last and deepest mischief of the canon law, sown into the opinions of modern men, against the laws and practice both of God's chosen people, and the best primitive times. Wherein his faithfulness and powerful evidence prevailed so far with all the church of Strasburgh, that they published this doctrine of divorce as an article of their confession, after they had taught so eight and twenty years, through all those times, when that city flourished, and excelled most, both in religion, learning, and government, under those first restorers of the gospel there, Zelius, Hedio, Capito, Fagius, and those who incomparably then governed the commonwealth, Farrerus and Sturmius. If therefore God in the former age found out a servant, and by whom he had converted and reformed many a city, by him thought good to restore the most needful doctrine of divorce from rigorous and harmful mistakes on the right hand; it can be no strange thing, if in this age he stir up by whatsoever means whom it pleases him, to take in hand and maintain the same assertion. Certainly if it be in man's discerning to sever providence from chance, I could allege many instances, wherein there would appear cause to esteem of me no other than a passive instrument under some power and counsel higher and better than can be human, working to a general good in the whole course of this matter. For that I owe no light, or leading received from any man in the discovery of this truth, what time I first undertook it in "the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," and had only the infallible grounds of Scripture to be my guide; he who tries the inmost heart, and saw with what severe industry and examination of myself I set down every period, will be my witness. When I had almost finished the first edition, I chanced to read in the notes of Hugo Grotius upon the 5th of Matthew, whom I straight understood inclining to reasonable terms in this controversy: and something

* Nicol. Car. de obitu Buceri.

he whispered rather than disputed about the law of charity, and the true end of wedlock. Glad therefore of such an able assistant, however at much distance, I resolved at length to put off into this wild and calumnious world. For God, it seems, intended to prove me, whether I durst alone take up a rightful cause against a world of disesteem, and found I durst. My name I did not publish, as not willing it should sway the reader either for me or against me. But when I was told that the style, which what it ails to be so soon distinguishable I cannot tell, was known by most men, and that some of the clergy began to inveigh and exclaim on what I was credibly informed they had not read; I took it then for my proper season, both to shew them a name that could easily contemn such an indiscreet kind of censure, and to reinforce the question with a more accurate diligence: that if any of them would be so good as to leave railing, and to let us hear so much of his learning and christian wisdom, as will be strictly demanded of him in his answering to this problem, care was had he should not spend his preparations against a nameless pamphlet. By this time I had learned that Paulus Fagius, one of the chief divines in Germany, sent for by Frederic the Palatine, to reform his dominion, and after that invited hither in King Edward's days, to be a professor of divinity in Cambridge, was of the same opinion touching divorce, which these men so lavishly traduced in me. What I found, I inserted where fittest place was, thinking sure they would respect so grave an author, at least to the moderating of their odious inferences. And having now perfected a second edition, I referred the judging thereof to your high and impartial sentence, honoured lords and commons! For I was confident, if any thing generous, any thing noble, and above the multitude, were left yet in the spirit of England; it could be no where sooner found, and no where sooner understood, than in that house of justice and true liberty, where ye sit in council. Nor doth the event hitherto, for some reasons which I shall not here deliver, fail me of what I conceived so highly. Nevertheless, being far otherwise dealt with by some, of whose profession and supposed knowledge I had better hope, and esteemed the deviser of a new and pernicious paradox; I felt no difference within me from that peace and firmness of mind, which is of nearest kin to patience and contentment: both for that I knew I had divulged a truth linked inseparably with the most fundamental rules of Christianity, to stand or fall together, and was not uninformed, that divers learned and judicious men testified their daily approbation of the book. Yet at length it hath pleased God, who had already given me satisfaction in myself, to afford me now a means whereby I may be fully justified also in the eyes of men. When the book had been now the second time set forth well-nigh three months, as I best remember, I then first came to hear that Martin Bucer had written much concerning divorce: whom, earnestly turning over, I soon perceived, but not without amazement, in the same opinion, confirmed with the same reasons which in that published book, without the help or imitation of any precedent writer, I had laboured out, and laid together. Not but that there is some difference in the handling, in the order, and the number of arguments, but still agreeing in the same conclusion. So as I may justly gratulate mine own mind with due acknowledgment of assistance from above, which led me, not as a learner, but as a collateral teacher, to a sympathy of judgment with no less a man than Martin Bucer. And he, if our things here below arrive him where he is, does not repent him to see that point of knowledge, which he first and with an unchecked freedom preached to those more knowing times of England, now found so necessary, though what he admonished were lost out of our memory; yet that God doth now again create the same doctrine in another unwritten table, and raises it up immediately out of his pure oracle to the convincement of a perverse age, eager in the reformation of names and ceremonies, but in realities as traditional and as ignorant as their forefathers. I would ask now the foremost of my profound accusers, whether they dare affirm that to be licentious, new, and dangerous, which Martin Bucer so often and so urgently avouched to be most lawful, most necessary, and most christian, without the least blemish to his good name, among all the worthy men of that age, and since, who testify so highly of him? If they dare, they must then set up an arrogance of their own against all those churches and saints who honoured him without this exception: if they dare not, how can they now make that licentious doctrine in another, which was never blamed or confuted in Bucer, or in Fagius? The truth is, there will be due to them for this their unadvised rashness the best donative that can be given them; I mean, a round reproof; now that where they thought to be most magisterial, they have displayed their own want, both of reading, and of judgment. First, to be so unacquainted in the writings of Bucer, which are so obvious and so useful in their own faculty; next, to be so caught in a prejudicating weakness, as to condemn that for lewd, which (whether they knew or not) these elect servants of Christ commended for lawful; and for new, that which was taught by these almost the first and greatest authors of reformation, who were never taxed for so teaching; and dedicated without scruple to a royal pair of the first reforming kings in christendom, and confessed in the public confession of a most orthodoxical church and state in Germany. This is also another fault which I must tell them; that they have stood now almost this whole year clamouring afar off, while the book hath been twice printed, twice brought up, and never once vouchsafed a friendly conference with the author, who would be glad and thankful to be shown an errour, either by private dispute, or public answer, and could retract, as well as wise men before him; might also be worth the gaining, as one who heretofore hath done good service to the church by their own confession. Or if he be obstinate, their confutation would have rendered him without excuse, and reclaimed others of no mean parts, who incline to his opinion. But now their work is more than doubled; and how they will hold up their heads against the

sudden aspect of these two great and reverend saints, whom they have defamed, how they will make good the censuring of that, for a novelty of licence, which Bucer constantly taught to be a pure and holy law of Christ's kingdom, let them advise. For against these my adversaries, who, before the examining of a propounded truth in a fit time of reformation, have had the conscience to oppose naught else but their blind reproaches and surmises, that a single innocence might not be oppressed and overborn by a crew of mouths, for the restoring of a law and doctrine falsely and unlearnedly reputed new and scandalous; God, that I may ever magnify and record this his goodness, hath unexpectedly raised up as it were from the dead more than one famous light of the first reformation, to bear witness with me, and to do me honour in that very thing, wherein these men thought to have blotted me; and hath given them the proof of a capacity, which they despised, running equal, and authentic with some of their chiefest masters unthought of, and in a point of sagest moment. However, if we know at all when to ascribe the occurrences of this life to the work of a special Providence, as nothing is more usual in the talk of good men, what can be more like to a special Providence of God, than in the first reformation of England, that this question of divorce, as a main thing to be restored to just freedom, was written, and seriously commended to Edward the VIth, by a man called from another country to be the instructor of our nation; and now in this present renewing of the church and commonwealth, which we pray may be more lasting, that the same question should be again treated and presented to this parliament, by one enabled to use the same reasons without the least sight or knowledge of what was done before? It were no trespass, lords and commons! though something of less note were attributed to the ordering of a heavenly power; this question therefore of such prime concernment both to christian and civil welfare, in such an extraordinary manner, not recovered, but plainly twice born to these latter ages, as from a divine hand I tender to your acceptance, and most considerate thoughts. Think not that God raised up in vain a man of greatest authority in the church, to tell a trivial and licentious tale in the ears of that good prince, and to bequeath it as his last will and testament, nay rather as the testament and royal law of Christ, to this nation; or that it should of itself, after so many years, as it were in a new field where it was never sown, grow up again as a vicious plant in the mind of another, who had spoke honestest things to the nation; though he knew not that what his youth then reasoned without a pattern had been heard already, and well allowed from the gravity and worth of Martin Bucer: till meeting with the envy of men ignorant in their own undertaken calling, God directed him to the forgotten writings of this faithful evangelist, to be his defence and warrant against the gross imputation of broaching licence. Ye are now in the glorious way to high virtue, and matchless deeds, trusted with a most inestimable trust, the asserting of our just liberties. Ye have a nation that expects now, and from mighty sufferings aspires to be the example of all christendom to a perfectest reforming. Dare to be as great, as ample, and as eminent in the fair progress of your noble designs, as the full and goodly stature of truth and excellence itself; as unlimited by petty precedents and copies, as your unquestionable calling from Heaven gives ye power to be. What are all our public immunities and privileges worth, and how shall it be judged, that we fight for them with minds worthy to enjoy them, if we suffer ourselves in the mean while not to understand the most important freedom, that God and nature hath given us in the family; which no wise nation ever wanted, till the popery and superstition of some former ages attempted to remove and alter divine and most prudent laws for human and most imprudent canons: whereby good men in the best portion of their lives, and in that ordinance of God which entitles them from the beginning to most just and requisite contentments, are compelled to civil indignities, which by the law of Moses bad men were not compelled to? Be not bound about, and straitened in the spacious wisdom of your free spirits, by the scanty and unadequate and inconsistent principles of such as condemn others for adhering to traditions, and are themselves the prostrate worshippers of custom; and of such a tradition as they can deduce from no antiquity, but from the rudest and thickest barbarism of antichristian times. But why do I anticipate the more acceptable and prevailing voice of learned Bucer himself, the pastor of nations? And O that I could set him living before ye in that doctrinal chair, where once the learnedest of England thought it no disparagement to sit at his feet! He would be such a pilot, and such a father to ye, as ye would soon find the difference of his hand and skill upon the helm of reformation. Nor do I forget that faithful associate of his labours, Paulus Fagius; for these their great names and merits, how precious soever, God hath now joined with me necessarily, in the good or evil report of this doctrine, which I leave with you. It was written to a religious king of this land; written earnestly as a main matter wherein this kingdom needed a reform, if it purposed to be the kingdom of Christ: written by him, who if any, since the days of Luther, merits to be counted the apostle of the church: whose unwearied pains and watching for our sakes, as they spent him quickly here among us, so did they, during the shortness of his life, incredibly promote the gospel throughout this realm. The authority, the learning, the godliness of this man consulted with, is able to outbalance all that the lightness of a vulgar opposition can bring to counterpoise. I leave him also as my complete surety and testimonial, if truth be not the best witness to itself, that what I formerly presented to your reading on this subject, was good, and just, and honest, not licentious. Not that I have now more confidence by the addition of these great authors to my party: for what I wrote was not my opinion, but my knowledge; even then when I could trace no footstep in the way I went: nor that I think to win upon your apprehensions with numbers and with names, rather than with reasons;

yet certainly the worst of my detractors will not except against so good a bail of my integrity and judgment, as now appears for me. They must else put in the fame of Bucer and of Fagius, as my accomplices and confederates, into the same indictment; they must dig up the good name of these prime worthies, (if their names could be ever buried,) they must dig them up and brand them as the papists did their bodies; and those their pure unblamable spirits, which live not only in heaven, but in their writings, they must attaint with new attaintures, which no protestant ever before aspersed them with. Or if perhaps we may obtain to get our appeachment new drawn a writ of errour, not of libertinism, that those two principal readers of reformation may not now come to be sued in a bill of licence, to the scandal of our church; the brief result will be, that for the errour, if their own works be not thought sufficient to defend them, their lives yet, who will be ready, in a fair and christianly discussive way, to debate and sift this matter to the utmost ounce of learning and religion, in him that shall lay it as an errour, either upon Martin Bucer, or any other of his opinion. If this be not enough to qualify my traducers, and that they think it more for the wisdom of their virulence, not to recant the injuries they have bespoke me, I shall not, for much more disturbance than they can bring me, intermit the prosecution of those thoughts, which may render me best serviceable, either to this age, or, if it so happen, to posterity; following the fair path, which your illustrious exploits, honoured lords and commons! against the breast of tyranny have opened; and depending so on your happy successes in the hopes that I have conceived either of myself, or of the nation, as must needs conclude me one who most affectionately wishes and awaits the prosperous issue of your noble and valorous counsels.

JOHN MILTON.

THE

JUDGMENT OF MARTIN BUCER, TOUCHING DIVORCE:

TAKEN OUT OF THE SECOND BOOK ENTITLED, "OF THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST," WRITTEN BY MARTIN BUCER TO EDWARD THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND

CHAP. XV.

The seventh law of the sanctifying and ordering of marriage. That the ordering of marriage belongs to the civil power. That the popes have evaded by fraud and force the ordering of marriage.

BESIDES these things, Christ our king, and his churches, require from your sacred majesty, that you would take upon you the just care of marriages. For it is unspeakable how many good consciences are hereby entangled, afflicted, and in danger, because there are no just laws, no speedy way constituted according to God's word, touching this holy society and fountain of mankind. For seeing matrimony is a civil thing, men, that they may rightly contract, inviolably keep, and not without extreme necessity dissolve marriage, are not only to be taught by the doctrine and discipline of the church, but also are to be acquitted, aided, and compelled by laws and judicature of the commonwealth. Which thing pious emperors acknowledging, and therein framing themselves to the law of nations, gave laws both of contracting and preserving, and also where an unhappy need required, of divorcing marriages. As may be seen in the code of Justinian, the 5th book, from the beginning through twenty-four titles. And in the authentic of Justinian the 22d, and some others.

But the Antichrists of Rome, to get the imperial power into their own hands, first by fraudulent persuasion, afterwards by force, drew to themselves the whole authority of determining and judging as well in matrimonial causes, as in most other matters. Therefore it hath been long believed, that the care and government thereof doth not belong to the civil magistrate. Yet where the gospel of Christ is received, the laws of Antichrist should be rejected. If therefore kings and governors take not this care, by the power of law and justice, to provide that marriages be piously contracted, religiously kept, and lawfully dissolved, if need require, who sees not what confusion and trouble is brought upon this holy society; and what a rack is prepared, even for many of the best consciences, while they have no certain laws to follow, no justice to implore, if any intolerable thing happen? And how much it concerns the honour and safety of the commonwealth, that marriages, according to the will of Christ, be made, maintained, and not without just cause dissolved, who understands not? For unless that first and holiest society of man and woman be purely constituted, that

household discipline may be upheld by them according to God's law, how can we expect a race of good men? Let your majesty therefore know, that this is your duty, and in the first place, to reassume to yourself the just ordering of matrimony, and by firm laws to establish and defend the religion of this first and divine society among men, as all wise lawgivers of old, and christian emperors, have carefully done.

The two next chapters, because they chiefly treat about the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, I omit; only setting down a passage or two concerning the judicial laws of Moses, how fit they be for Christians to imitate rather than any other.

CHAP. XVII, towards the end.

I CONFESS that we, being free in Christ, are not bound to the civil laws of Moses in every circumstance; yet seeing no laws can be more honest, just, and wholesome, than those which God himself gave, who is eternal wisdom and goodness, I see not why Christians, in things which no less appertain to them, ought not to follow the laws of God, rather than of any men. We are not to use circumcision, sacrifice, and those bodily washings prescribed to the Jews; yet by these things we may rightly learn, with what purity and devotion both baptism and the Lord's supper should be administered and received. How much more is it our duty to observe diligently what the Lord hath commanded, and taught by the examples of his people concerning marriage, whereof we have the use no less than they!

And because this same worthy author hath another passage to this purpose, in his comment upon Matthew, chap. v. 19, I here insert it from p. 46.

Since we have need of civil laws, and the power of punishing, it will be wisest not to contemn those given by Moses; but seriously rather to consider what the meaning of God was in them, what he chiefly required, and how much it might be to the good of every nation, if they would borrow thence their manner of governing the commonwealth; yet freely all things and with the Spirit of Christ. For what Solon, or Plato, or Aristotle, what lawyers or Cæsars could make better laws than God? And it is no light argument, that many magistrates at this day do not enough acknowledge the kingdom of Christ, though they would seem most christian, in that they govern their states by laws so diverse from those of Moses.

The 18th chapter I only mention as determining a thing not here in question, that marriage without consent of parents ought not to be held good; yet with this qualification fit to be known.

That if parents admit not the honest desires of their children, but shall persist to abuse the power they have over them; they are to be mollified by admonitions, entreaties, and persuasions, first of their friends and kindred, next of the church-elders. Whom if still the hard parents refuse to hear, then ought the magistrate to interpose his power: lest any by the evil mind of their parents be detained from marriage longer than is meet, or forced to an unworthy match: in which case the Roman laws also provided. C. de Nupt. l. 11, 13, 26.

CHAP. XIX.

Whether it may be permitted to revoke the promise of marriage.

HERE ariseth another question concerning contracts, when they ought to be unchangeable? for religious emperors decreed, that the contract was not indissoluble, until the spouse were brought home, and the solemnities performed. They thought it a thing unworthy of divine and human equity, and the due consideration of man's infirmity in deliberating and determining, when space is given to renounce other contracts of much less moment, which are not yet confirmed before the magistrate, to deny that to the most weighty contract of marriage, which requires the greatest care and consultation. Yet lest such a covenant should be broken for no just cause, and to the injury of that person to whom marriage was promised, they decreed a fine, that he who denied marriage to whom he had promised, and for some cause not approved by the judges, should pay the double of that pledge which was given at making sure, or as much as the judge should pronounce might satisfy the damage, or the hinderance of either party. It being most certain, that ofttimes after contract just and honest causes of departing from promise come to be known and found out, it cannot be other than the duty of pious princes, to give men the same liberty of unpromising in these cases, as pious emperors granted: especially where there is only a promise, and not carnal knowledge. And as there is no true marriage between them, who agree not in true consent of mind; so it will be the part of godly magistrates, to procure that no matrimony be among their subjects, but what is knit with love and consent. And though your majesty be not bound to the imperial laws, yet it is the duty of a christian king, to embrace and follow whatever he knows to be any where piously and justly constituted, and to be honest, just, and well-pleasing to his people. But why in God's law and the examples of his saints nothing hereof is read, no marvel; seeing his ancient people had power, yea a precept, that whoso could not bend his mind to the true love of his wife, should give her a bill of divorce, and send her from him, though after carnal knowledge and long dwelling together. This is enough to authorize a godly prince in that indulgence which he gives to the changing of a contract; both because it is certainly the invention of Antichrist, that the promise of marriage de præsenti, as they call it, should be indissoluble, and because it should be a prince's care, that matrimony be so joined, as God ordained; which is, that every one should love his wife with such a love as Adam expressed to Eve: so as we may hope, that they who marry may become one flesh, and one also in the Lord.

CHAP. XX.

Concerns only the celebration of marriage.

CHAP. XXI.

The means of preserving marriage holy and pure.

Now since there ought not to be less care, that marriage be religiously kept, than that it be piously and deliberately contracted, it will be meet, that to every church be ordained certain grave and godly men, who may have this care upon them, to observe whether the husband bear himself wisely toward the wife, loving, and inciting her to all piety, and the other duties of this life; and whether the wife be subject to her husband, and study to be truly a meet help to him, as first to all godliness, so to every other use of life. And if they shall find each to other failing of their duty, or the one long absent from the other without just and urgent cause, or giving suspicion of irreligious and impure life, or of living in manifest wickedness, let it be admonished them in time. And if their authority be contemned, let the names of such contemners be brought to the magistrate, who may use punishment to compel such violators of marriage to their duty, that they may abstain from all probable suspicion of transgressing; and if they admit of suspected company, the magistrate is to forbid them; whom they not therein obeying, are to be punished as adulterers, according to the law of Justinian, Authent. 117. For if holy wedlock, the fountain and seminary of good subjects, be not vigilantly preserved from all blots and disturbances, what can be hoped, as I said before, of the springing up of good men, and a right reformation of the commonwealth? We know it is not enough for Christians to abstain from foul deeds, but from the appearance and suspicion thereof.

CHAP. XXII

Of lawful divorce, what the ancient churches have thought.

Now we shall speak about that dissolving of matrimony, which may be approved in the sight of God, if any grievous necessity require. In which thing the Roman antichrists have knit many a pernicious entanglement to distressed consciences: for that they might here also exalt themselves above God, as if they would be wiser and chaster than God himself is; for no cause, honest or necessary, will they permit a final divorce: in the mean while, whoredoms and adulteries, and worse things than these, not only tolerating in themselves and others, but cherishing and throwing men headlong into these evils. For although they also disjoin married persons from board and bed, that is, from all conjugal society and communion, and this not only for adultery, but for ill usage, and matrimonial duties denied; yet they forbid those thus parted, to join in wedlock with others: but, as I said before, any dishonest associating they permit. And they pronounce the bond of marriage to remain between those whom they have thus separated. As if the bond of marriage, God so teaching and pronouncing, were not such a league as binds the married couple to all society of life, and communion in divine and human things; and so associated keeps them. Something indeed out of the later fathers they may pretend for this their tyranny, especially out of Austria and some others, who were much taken with a preposterous admiration of single life; yet though these fathers, from the words of Christ not rightly understood, taught that it was unlawful to marry again, while the former wife lived, whatever cause there had been either of desertion or divorce; yet if we mark the custom of the church, and the common judgment which both in their times and afterward prevailed, we shall perceive, that neither these fathers did ever cast out of the church any one for marrying after a divorce, approved by the imperial laws.

Nor only the first christian emperors, but the latter also, even to Justinian and after him, did grant for certain causes approved by judges, to make a true divorce; which made and confirmed by law, it might be lawful to marry again; which if it could not have been done without displeasing Christ and his church, surely it would not have been granted by christian emperors, nor had the fathers then winked at those doings in the emperors. Hence ye may see that Jerome also, though zealous of single life more than enough, and such a condemner of second marriage, though after the death of either party, yet, forced by plain equity, defended Fabiola, a noble matron of Rome, who, having refused her husband for just causes, was married to another. For that the sending of a divorce to her husband was not blameworthy, he affirms because the man was heinously vicious; and that if an adulterer's wife may be discarded, an adulterous husband is not to be kept. But that she married again, while yet her husband was alive; he defends in that the apostle hath said, "It is better to marry than to burn;" and that young widows should marry, for such was Fabiola, and could not remain in widowhood.

But some one will object, that Jerome there adds, "Neither did she know the vigour of the gospel, wherein all cause of marrying is debarred from women, while their husbands live; and again, while she avoided many wounds of Satan, she received one ere she was aware." But let the equal reader mind also what went before; "Because," saith he, soon after the beginning, "there is a rock and storm of slanderers opposed before her, I will not praise her converted, unless I first absolve her guilty." For why does he call them slanderers, who accused Fabiola of marrying again, if he did not judge it a matter of christian equity and charity, to pass by and pardon that fact, though in his own opinion he held it a fault? And what can this mean, "I will not praise her, unless I first absolve her?" For how could he absolve her, but by proving that Fabiola, neither in rejecting her vicious husband, nor in marrying another, had committed such a sin, as could be justly condemned? Nay, he proves both by evident reason, and clear testimonies of Scripture, that she avoided sin.

This is also hence understood, that Jerome by the vigour of the gospel, meant that height and perfection of our Saviour's precept, which might be remitted to those that burn; for he adds, "But if she be accused in that she remained not unmarried, I shall confess the

fault, so I may relate the necessity." If then he acknowledged a necessity, as he did, because she was young, and could not live in widowhood, certainly he could not impute her second marriage to her much blame: but when he excuses her out of the word of God, does he not openly declare his thoughts, that the second marriage of Fabiola was permitted her by the Holy Ghost himself, for the necessity which he suffered, and to shun the danger of fornication, though she went somewhat aside from the vigour of the gospel? But if any urge, that Fabiola did public penance for her second marriage, which was not imposed but for great faults; it is answered, she was not enjoined to this penance, but did it of her own accord, "and not till after her second husband's death." As in the time of Cyprian, we read that many were wont to do voluntary penance for small faults, which were not liable to excommunication.

CHAP. XXIII.

That marriage was granted by the ancient fathers, even after the vow of single life.

I omit his testimonies out of Cyprian, Gellasius, Epiphanius, contented only to relate what he thence collects to the present purpose.

Some will say perhaps, wherefore all this concerning marriage after vow of single life, whenas the question was of marriage after divorce? For this reason, that they whom it so much moves, because some of the fathers thought marriage after any kind of divorce to be condemned of our Saviour, may see that this conclusion follows not. The fathers thought all marriage after divorce to be forbidden of our Saviour, therefore they thought such marriage was not to be tolerated in a Christian. For the same fathers judged it forbidden to marry after vow; yet such marriages they neither dissolved nor excommunicated: for these words of our Saviour, and of the Holy Ghost, stood in their way; "All cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. Every one hath his proper gift from God, one after this manner, another after that. It is better to marry than to burn. I will that younger widows marry;" and the like.

So there are many canons and laws extant, whereby priests, if they married, were removed from their office, yet is it not read that their marriage was dissolved, as the papists now-a-days do, or that they were excommunicated, nay expressly they might communicate as laymen. If the consideration of human infirmity, and those testimonies of divine scripture which grant marriage to every one that wants it, persuaded those fathers to bear themselves so humanely toward them who had married with breach of vow to God, as they believed, and with divorce of that marriage wherein they were in a manner joined to God; who doubts, but that the same fathers held the like humanity was to be afforded to those, who after divorce and faith broken with men, as they thought, entered into a second marriage? For among such are also found no less weak, and no less burning.

CHAP. XXIV.

Who of the ancient fathers have granted marriage after divorce.

This is clear both by what hath been said, and by that which Origen relates of certain bishops in his time, Homil. 7, in Matt. "I know some," saith he, "which are over churches, who without Scripture have permitted the wife to marry while her former husband lived. And did this against Scripture, which saith, the wife is bound to her husband so long as he lives; and she shall be called an adulteress, if, her husband living, she take another man; yet did they not permit this without cause, perhaps for the infirmity of such as had not continence, they permitted evil to avoid worse." Ye see Origen and the doctors of his age, not without all cause, permitted women after divorce to marry, though their former husbands were living; yet writes that they permitted against Scripture. But what cause could they have to do so, unless they thought our Saviour in his precepts of divorce had so forbidden, as willing to remit such perfection to his weaker ones, cast into danger of worse faults?

The same thought Leo, bishop of Rome, Ep. 85, to the African bishops of Mauritania Cæsariensis, wherein complaining of a certain priest, who divorcing his wife, or being divorced by her, as other copies have it, had married another, neither dissolves the matrimony, nor excommunicates him, only unpriests him. The fathers therefore, as we see, did not simply and wholly condemn marriage after divorce.

But as for me, this remitting of our Saviour's precepts, which these ancients allow to the infirm in marrying after vow and divorce, I can in no ways admit; for whatsoever plainly consents not with the commandment, cannot, I am certain, be permitted, or suffered in any Christian: for heaven and earth shall pass away, but not a tittle from the commandments of God among them who expect life eternal. Let us therefore consider, and weigh the words of our Lord concerning marriage and divorce, which he pronounced both by himself, and by his apostle, and let us compare them with other oracles of God; for whatsoever is contrary to these, I shall not persuade the least tolerating thereof. But if it can be taught to agree with the word of God, yea to be commanded, that most men may have permission given them to divorce and marry again, I must prefer the authority of God's word before the opinion of fathers and doctors, as they themselves teach.

CHAP. XXV.

The words of our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost, by the Apostle Paul concerning divorce, are explained. The 1st Axiom, that Christ could not condemn of adultery, that which he once commanded.

But the words of our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost, out of which Austin and some others of the fathers think it concluded, that our Saviour forbids marriage

after any divorce, are these; Matt. v. 31, 32, "It hath been said," &c.: and Matt. xix. 7, "They say unto him, why did Moses then command," &c.: and Mark x. and Luke xvi. Rom. vii. 1, 2, 3, 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11. Hence therefore they conclude, that all marriage after divorce is called adultery; which to commit, being no ways to be tolerated in any Christian, they think it follows, that second marriage is in no case to be permitted either to the divorcer, or to the divorced.

But that it may be more fully and plainly perceived what force is in this kind of reasoning, it will be the best course, to lay down certain grounds whereof no Christian can doubt the truth. First, it is a wickedness to suspect, that our Saviour branded that for adultery, which himself, in his own law which he came to fulfil, and not to dissolve, did not only permit, but also command; for by him, the only mediator, was the whole law of God given. But that by this law of God marriage was permitted after any divorce, is certain by Deut. xxiv. 1.

CHAP. XXVI.

That God in his law did not only grant, but also command divorce to certain men.

Deut. xxiv. 1, "When a man hath taken a wife," &c. But in Mal. ii. 15, 16, is read the Lord's command to put her away whom a man hates, in these words: "Take heed to your spirit, and let none deal injuriously against the wife of his youth. If he hate, let him put away, saith the Lord God of Israel. And he shall hide thy violence with his garment," that marries her divorced by thee, "saith the Lord of hosts; but take heed to your spirit, and do no injury." By these testimonies of the divine law, we see, that the Lord did not only permit, but also expressly and earnestly commanded his people, by whom he would that all holiness and faith of marriage covenant should be observed, that he, who could not induce his mind to love his wife with a true conjugal love, might dismiss her, that she might marry to another.

CHAP. XXVII.

That what the Lord permitted and commanded to his ancient people concerning divorce belongs also to Christians.

Now what the Lord permitted to his first-born people, that certainly he could not forbid to his own among the Gentiles, whom he made coheirs, and into one body with his people; nor could he ever permit, much less command, aught that was not good for them, at least so used as he commanded. For being God, he is not changed as man. Which thing who seriously considers, how can he imagine, that God would make that wicked to them that believe, and serve him under grace, which he granted and commanded to them that served him under the law? Whenas the same causes require the same permission. And who that knows but human matters, and loves the truth, will deny that many marriages hang as ill together now, as ever they did among the Jews? So that such marriages are liker to torments than true marriages. As therefore the Lord doth always succour and help the oppressed, so he would ever have it provided for injured husbands and wives, that under pretence of the marriage bond, they be not sold to perpetual vexations, instead of the loving and comfortable marriage duties. And lastly, as God doth always detest hypocrisy and fraud, so neither doth he approve that among his people, that should be counted marriage, wherein none of those duties remain, whereby the league of wedlock is chiefly preserved. What inconsiderate neglect then of God's law is this, that I may not call it worse, to hold that Christ our Lord would not grant the same remedies both of divorce and second marriage to the weak, or to the evil, if they will needs have it so, but especially to the innocent and wronged; whenas the same urgent causes remain as before, when the discipline of the church and magistrate hath tried what may be tried?

CHAP. XXVIII.

That our Lord Christ intended not to make new laws of marriage and divorce, or of any civil matters. Axiom 2.

It is agreed by all who determine of the kingdom and offices of Christ by the Holy Scriptures, as all godly men ought to do, that our Saviour upon earth took not on him either to give new laws in civil affairs, or to change the old. But it is certain, that matrimony and divorce are civil things. Which the christian emperors knowing, gave conjugal laws, and reserved the administration of them to their own courts; which no true ancient bishop ever condemned.

Our Saviour came to preach repentance and remission: seeing therefore those, who put away their wives without any just cause, were not touched with conscience of the sin, through misunderstanding of the law, he recalled them to a right interpretation, and taught, that the woman in the beginning was so joined to the man, that there should be a perpetual union both in body and spirit: where this is not, the matrimony is already broke, before there be yet any divorce made, or second marriage.

CHAP. XXIX.

That it is wicked to strain the words of Christ beyond their purpose.

This is his third Axiom, whereof there needs no explication here.

CHAP. XXX.

That all places of Scripture about the same thing are to be joined, and compared, to avoid contradictions. Axiom 4.

This he demonstrates at large out of sundry places in the gospel, and principally by that precept against swearing,* which, compared with many places of the law and prophets, is a flat contradiction of them all,

* Matthew v. 31

if we follow superstitiously the letter. Then having repeated briefly his four axioms, he thus proceeds.

These things thus preadmonished, let us inquire what the undoubted meaning is of our Saviour's words, and inquire according to the rule which is observed by all learned and good men in their expositions; that praying first to God, who is the only opener of our hearts, we may first with fear and reverence consider well the words of our Saviour touching this question. Next, that we may compare them with all other places of Scripture treating of this matter, to see how they consent with our Saviour's words, and those of his apostle.

CHAP. XXXI

This chapter disputes against Austin and the papists, who deny second marriage even to them who divorce in case of adultery; which because it is not controverted among true protestants, but that the innocent person is easily allowed to marry, I spare the translating.

CHAP. XXXII

That a manifest adulteress ought to be divorced, and cannot lawfully be retained in marriage by any true Christian.

This though he prove sufficiently, yet I let pass, because this question was not handled in the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce; to which book I bring so much of this treatise as runs parallel.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That adultery is to be punished with death.

This chapter also I omit for the reason last alleged.

CHAP. XXXIV.

That it is lawful for a wife to leave an adulterer, and to marry another husband.

This is generally granted, and therefore excuses me the writing out.

CHAP. XXXV.

Places in the writings of the apostle Paul, touching divorce, explained.

Let us consider the answers of the Lord given by the apostle severally. Concerning the first, which is Rom. vii. 1, "Know ye not, brethren, for I speak to them that know the law, &c. Ver. 2, The woman is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth." Here it is certain, that the Holy Ghost had no purpose to determine aught of marriage, or divorce, but only to bring an example from the common and ordinary law of wedlock, to shew, that as no covenant holds either party being dead, so now that we are not bound to the law, but to Christ our Lord, seeing that through him we are dead to sin, and to the law; and so joined to Christ, that we may bring forth fruit in him from a willing godliness, and not by the compulsion of law, whereby our sins are more excited, and become more violent. What therefore the Holy Spirit here speaks of matrimony cannot be extended beyond the general rule.

Besides it is manifest, that the apostle did allege the law of wedlock, as it was delivered to the Jews; for, saith he, "I speak to them that know the law." They knew no law of God, but that by Moses, which plainly grants divorce for several reasons. It cannot therefore be said, that the apostle cited this general example out of the law, to abolish the several exceptions of that law, which God himself granted by giving authority to divorce.

Next, when the apostle brings an example out of God's law concerning man and wife, it must be necessary, that we understand such for man and wife, as are so indeed according to the same law of God; that is, who are so disposed, as that they are both willing and able to perform the necessary duties of marriage; not those who, under a false title of marriage, keep themselves mutually bound to injuries and disgraces; for such twain are nothing less than lawful man and wife.

The like answer is to be given to all other places both of the gospel and the apostle, that whatever exception may be proved out of God's law, be not excluded from those places. For the Spirit of God doth not condemn things formerly granted and allowed, where there is like cause and reason. Hence Ambrose, upon that place, 1 Cor. vii. 15, "A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases," thus expounds; "The reverence of marriage is not due to him who abhors the author of marriage; nor is that marriage ratified, which is without devotion to God: he sins not therefore, who is put away for God's cause, though he join himself to another. For the dishonour of the Creator dissolves the right of matrimony to him who is deserted, that he be not accused, though marrying to another. The faith of wedlock is not to be kept with him who departs, that he might not hear the God of Christians to be the author of wedlock. For if Ezra caused the misbelieving wives and husbands to be divorced, that God might be appeased, and not offended, though they took others of their own faith, how much more shall it be free, if the misbeliever depart, to marry one of our own religion. For this is not to be counted matrimony, which is against the law of God."

Two things are here to be observed toward the following discourse, which truth itself and the force of God's word hath drawn from this holy man. For those words are very large, "Matrimony is not ratified, without devotion to God." And "the dishonour of the Creator dissolves the right of matrimony." For devotion is far off, and dishonour is done to God by all who persist in any wickedness and heinous crime.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That although it seem in the Gospel, as if our Saviour granted divorce only for adultery, yet in very deed he granted it for other causes also.

Now is to be dealt with this question, whether it be lawful to divorce and marry again for other causes

besides adultery, since our Saviour expressed that only? To this question, if we retain our principles already laid, and must acknowledge it to be a cursed blasphemy, if we say that the words of God do contradict one another, of necessity we must confess, that our Lord did grant divorce, and marriage after that, for other causes besides adultery, notwithstanding what he said in Matthew. For first, they who consider but only that place, 1 Cor. vii. which treats of believers and misbelievers matched together, must of force confess, That our Lord granted just divorce and second marriage in the cause of desertion, which is other than the cause of fornication. And if there be one other cause found lawful, then is it most true, that divorce was granted not only for fornication.

Next, it cannot be doubted, as I shewed before, by them to whom it is given to know God and his judgments out of his own word, but that, what means of peace and safety God ever granted and ordained to his elected people, the same he grants and ordains to men of all ages, who have equally need of the same remedies. And who, that is but a knowing man, dares say there be not husbands and wives now to be found in such a hardness of heart, that they will not perform either conjugal affection, or any requisite duty thereof, though it be most deserved at their hands?

Neither can any one defer to confess, but that God, whose property it is to judge the cause of them that suffer injury, hath provided for innocent and honest persons wedded, how they might free themselves by lawful means of divorce, from the bondage and iniquity of those who are falsely termed their husbands or their wives. This is clear out of Deut. xxiv. 1; Malachi ii.; Matt. xix. 1; 1 Cor. vii.; and out of those principles, which the Scripture every where teaches, that God changes not his mind, dissents not from himself, is no accepter of persons; but allows the same remedies to all men oppressed with the same necessities and infirmities; yea, requires that we should use them. This he will easily perceive, who considers these things in the Spirit of the Lord.

Lastly, it is most certain, that the Lord hath commanded us to obey the civil laws, every one of his own commonwealth, if they be not against the laws of God.

CHAP. XXXVII.

For what causes divorce is permitted by the civil law ex l. Consensu Codic. de Repudiis.

It is also manifest, that the law of Theodosius and Valentinian, which begins "Consensu," &c. touching divorce, and many other decrees of pious emperors agreeing herewith, are not contrary to the word of God; and therefore may be recalled into use by any christian prince or commonwealth; nay, ought to be with due respect had to every nation: for whatsoever is equal and just, that in every thing is to be sought and used by Christians. Hence it is plain, that divorce is granted by divine approbation, both to husbands and to wives, if either party can convict the other of these following offences before the magistrate.

If the husband can prove the wife to be an adulteress, a witch, a murderess; to have bought or sold to slavery any one freeborn, to have violated sepulchres, committed sacrilege, favoured thieves and robbers, desirous of feasting with strangers, the husband not knowing, or not willing; if she lodge forth without a just and probable cause, or frequent theatres and sights, he forbidding; if she be privy with those that plot against the state, or if she deal falsely, or offer blows. And if the wife can prove her husband guilty of any those fore-named crimes, and frequent the company of lewd women in her sight; or if he beat her, she had the like liberty to quit herself; with this difference, that the man after divorce might forthwith marry again; the woman not till a year after, lest she might chance to have conceived.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

An exposition of those places wherein God declares the nature of holy wedlock.

Now to the end it may be seen, that this agrees with the divine law, the first institution of marriage is to be considered, and those texts in which God established the joining of male and female, and described the duties of them both. When God had determined to make woman, and give her as a wife to man, he spake thus, Gen. ii. 18, "It is not good for man to be alone, I will make him a help meet for him. And Adam said," but in the Spirit of God, v. 23, 24, "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh."

To this first institution did Christ recall his own; when answering the Pharisees, he condemned the licence of unlawful divorce. He taught therefore by his example, that we, according to this first institution, and what God hath spoken thereof, ought to determine what kind of covenant marriage is, how to be kept, and how far; and lastly, for what causes to be dissolved. To which decrees of God these also are to be joined, which the Holy Ghost hath taught by his apostle, that neither the husband nor the wife "hath power of their own body, but mutually each of either's." That "the husband shall love the wife as his own body, yea as Christ loves his church; and that the wife ought to be subject to her husband, as the church is to Christ."

By these things the nature of holy wedlock is certainly known; whereof if only one be wanting in both or either party, and that either by obstinate malevolence, or too deep inbred weakness of mind, or lastly, through incurable impotence of body, it cannot then be said, that the covenant of matrimony holds good between such; if we mean that covenant, which God instituted and called marriage, and that whereof only it must be understood that our Saviour said, "Those whom God hath joined, let no man separate."

And hence is concluded, that matrimony requires continual cohabitation and living together, unless the calling of God be otherwise evident; which union if the parties themselves disjoin either by mutual consent,

or one against the other's will depart, the marriage is then broken. Wherein the papists, as in other things, oppose themselves against God; while they separate for many causes from bed and board, and yet will have the bond of matrimony remain, as if this covenant could be other than the conjunction and communion not only of bed and board, but of all other loving and helpful duties. This we may see in these words; "I will make him a help meet for him; bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh: for this cause shall he leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh." By which words who discerns not, that God requires of them both so to live together, and to be united not only in body but in mind also, with such an affection as none may be dearer and more ardent among all the relations of mankind, nor of more efficacy to the mutual offices of love and loyalty? They must communicate and consent in all things both divine and human, which have any moment to well and happy living. The wife must honour and obey her husband, as the church honours and obeys Christ her head. The husband must love and cherish his wife, as Christ his church. Thus they must be to each other, if they will be true man and wife in the sight of God, whom certainly the churches ought to follow in their judgment. Now the proper and ultimate end of marriage is not copulation, or children, for then there was not true matrimony between Joseph and Mary the mother of Christ, nor between many holy persons more; but the full and proper and main end of marriage is the communicating of all duties, both divine and human, each to other with utmost benevolence and affection.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The properties of a true and christian marriage more distinctly repeated.

By which definition we may know, that God esteems and reckons upon these four necessary properties to be in every true marriage. 1. That they should live together, unless the calling of God require otherwise for a time. 2. That they should love one another to the height of dearness, and that in the Lord, and in the communion of true religion. 3. That the husband bear himself as the head and preserver of his wife, instructing her to all godliness and integrity of life; that the wife also be to her husband a help, according to her place, especially furthering him in the true worship of God, and next in all the occasions of civil life. And 4. That they defraud not each other of conjugal benevolence, as the apostle commands, 1 Cor. vii. Hence it follows, according to the sentence of God, which all Christians ought to be ruled by, that between those who, either through obstinacy, or helpless inability, cannot or will not perform these repeated duties, between those there can be no true matrimony, nor ought they to be counted man and wife.

CHAP. XL.

Whether those crimes recited chap. xxxvii. *out of the civil law, dissolve matrimony in God's account.*

Now if a husband or wife be found guilty of any of those crimes, which by the law "consensu" are made causes of divorce, it is manifest, that such a man cannot be the head and preserver of his wife, nor such a woman be a meet help to her husband, as the divine law in true wedlock requires; for these faults are punished either by death, or deportation, or extreme infamy, which are directly opposite to the covenant of marriage. If they deserve death, as adultery and the like, doubtless God would not that any should live in wedlock with them whom he would not have to live at all. Or if it be not death, but the incurring of notorious infamy, certain it is neither just, nor expedient, nor meet, that an honest man should be coupled with an infamous woman, nor an honest matron with an infamous man. The wise Roman princes had so great a regard to the equal honour of either wedded person, that they counted those marriages of no force, which were made between the one of good repute, and the other of evil note. How much more will all honest regard of christian expedience and comeliness beseem and concern those who are set free and dignified in Christ, than it could the Roman senate, or their sons, for whom that law was provided?

And this all godly men will soon apprehend, that he who ought to be the head and preserver not only of his wife, but also of his children and family, as Christ is of his church, had need be one of honest name: so likewise the wife, which is to be the meet help of an honest and good man, the mother of an honest offspring and family, the glory of the man, even as the man is the glory of Christ, should not be tainted with ignominy; as neither of them can avoid to be, having been justly appeached of those forenamed crimes; and therefore cannot be worthy to hold their place in a christian family: yea, they themselves turn out themselves and dissolve that holy covenant. And they who are true brethren and sisters in the Lord are no more in bondage to such violators of marriage.

But here the patrons of wickedness and dissolvers of christian discipline will object, that it is the part of man and wife to bear one another's cross, whether in calamity or infamy, that they may gain each other, if not to a good name, yet to repentance and amendment. But they who thus object, seek the impunity of wickedness, and the favour of wicked men, not the duties of true charity; which prefers public honesty before private interest, and had rather the remedies of wholesome punishment appointed by God should be in use, than that by remissness the licence of evil doing should increase. For if they who, by committing such offences, have made void the holy knot of marriage, be capable of repentance, they will be sooner moved when due punishment is executed on them, than when it is remitted.

We must ever beware, lest, in contriving what will

be best for the soul's health of delinquents, we make ourselves wiser and discreeter than God. He that religiously weighs his oracles concerning marriage, cannot doubt that they, who have committed the foresaid transgressions, have lost the right of matrimony, and are unworthy to hold their dignity in an honest and christian family.

But if any husband or wife see such signs of repentance in their transgressor, as that they doubt not to regain them by continuing with them, and partaking of their miseries and attaintures, they may be left to their own hopes, and their own mind; saving ever the right of church and commonwealth, that it receive no scandal by the neglect of due severity, and their children no harm by this invitation to licence, and want of good education.

From all these considerations, if they be thought on, as in the presence of God, and out of his word, any one may perceive, who desires to determine of these things by the Scripture, that those causes of lawful divorce, which the most religious emperors Theodosius and Valentinian set forth in the forecited place, are according to the law of God, and the prime institution of marriage; and were still more and more straitened, as the church and state of the empire still more and more corrupted and degenerated. Therefore pious princes and commonwealths both may and ought establish them again, if they have a mind to restore the honour, sanctity, and religion of holy wedlock to their people, and disentangle many consciences from a miserable and perilous condition, to a chaste and honest life.

To those recited causes wherefore a wife might send a divorce to her husband, Justinian added four more, Constit. 117; and four more, for which a man might put away his wife. Three other causes were added in the Code "de repudiis, l. Jubemus." All which causes are so clearly contrary to the first intent of marriage, that they plainly dissolve it I set them not down, being easy to be found in the body of the civil law.

It was permitted also by christian emperors, that they who would divorce by mutual consent, might without impediment. Or if there were any difficulty at all in it, the law expresses the reason, that it was only in favour of the children; so that if there were none, the law of those godly emperors made no other difficulty of a divorce by consent. Or if any were minded without consent of the other to divorce, and without those causes which have been named, the christian emperors laid no other punishment upon them, than that the husband wrongfully divorcing his wife should give back her dowry, and the use of that which was called "Donatio propter nuptias;" or if there were no dowry nor no donation, that he should then give her the fourth part of his goods. The like penalty was inflicted on the wife departing without just cause. But that they who were once married should be compelled to remain so ever against their wills, was not exacted. Wherein those pious princes followed the law of God in Deut. xxiv. 1, and his express charge by the prophet Malachi, to dismiss from him the wife whom he hates. For God never meant in marriage to give to man a perpetual torment instead of a meet help. Neither can God approve, that to the violation of this holy league (which is violated as soon as true affection ceases and is lost) should be added murder, which is already committed by either of them who resolvedly hates the other, as I shewed out of 1 John iii. 15, "Whoso hateth his brother, is a murderer."

CHAP. XLI.

Whether the husband or wife deserted may marry to another.

The wife's desertion of her husband the christian emperors plainly decreed to be a just cause of divorce, whenas they granted him the right thereof, if she had but lain out one night against his will without probable cause. But of the man deserting his wife they did not so determine: yet if we look into the word of God, we shall find, that he who though but for a year without just cause forsakes his wife, and neither provides for her maintenance, nor signifies his purpose of returning, and good will towards her, whenas he may, hath forfeited his right in her so forsaken. For the Spirit of God speaks plainly, that both man and wife have such power over one another's person, as that they cannot deprive each other of living together, but by consent, and for a time.

Hither may be added, that the Holy Spirit grants desertion to be a cause of divorce, in those answers given to the Corinthians concerning a brother or sister deserted by a misbeliever. "If he depart, let him depart, a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases." In which words, who sees not that the Holy Ghost openly pronounced, that the party without cause deserted is not bound for another's wilful desertion, to abstain from marriage, if he have need thereof?

But some will say, that this is spoken of a misbeliever departing. But I beseech ye, doth not he reject the faith of Christ in his deeds, who rashly breaks the holy covenant of wedlock instituted by God? And besides this, the Holy Spirit does not make the misbelieving of him who departs, but the departing of him who disbelieves, to be the just cause of freedom to the brother or sister.

Since therefore it will be agreed among Christians, that they who depart from wedlock without just cause, do not only deny the faith of matrimony, but of Christ also, whatever they profess with their mouths; it is but reason to conclude, that the party deserted is not bound in case of causeless desertion, but that he may lawfully seek another consort, if it be needful to him, toward a pure and blameless conversation.

CHAP. XLII.

The impotence of body, leprosy, madness, &c. are just causes of divorce.

Of this, because it was not disputed in the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, him that would know further, I commend to the Latin original.

CHAP. XLIII.

That to grant divorce for all the causes which have been hitherto brought, disagrees not from the words of Christ, naming only the cause of adultery.

Now we must see how these things can stand with the words of our Saviour, who seems directly to forbid all divorce except it be for adultery. To the understanding whereof, we must ever remember this: That in the words of our Saviour there can be no contrariety: That his words and answers are not to be stretched beyond the question proposed: That our Saviour did not there purpose to treat of all the causes for which it might be lawful to divorce and marry again; for then that in the Corinthians of marrying again without guilt of adultery could not be added. That it is not good for that man to be alone, who hath not the special gift from above. That it is good for every such one to be married, that he may shun fornication.

With regard to these principles, let us see what our Lord answered to the tempting Pharisees about divorce, and second marriage, and how far his answer doth extend.

First, no man who is not very contentious will deny, that the Pharisees asked our Lord whether it were lawful to put away such a wife, as was truly, and according to God's law, to be counted a wife; that is, such a one as would dwell with her husband, and both would and could perform the necessary duties of wedlock tolerably. But she who will not dwell with her husband is not put away by him, but goes of herself: and she who denies to be a meet help, or to be so hath made herself unfit by open misdemeanours, or through incurable impotencies cannot be able, is not by the law of God to be esteemed a wife; as hath been shewn both from the first institution, and other places of Scripture. Neither certainly would the Pharisees propound a question concerning such an unconjugal wife; for their depravation of the law had brought them to that pass, as to think a man had right to put away his wife for any cause, though never so slight. Since therefore it is manifest, that Christ answered the Pharisees concerning a fit and meet wife according to the law of God, whom he forbid to divorce for any cause but fornication; who sees not that it is a wickedness so to wrest and extend that answer of his, as if it forbad to divorce her who hath already forsaken, or hath lost the place and dignity of a wife, by deserved infamy, or hath undertaken to be that which she hath not natural ability to be?

This truth is so powerful, that it hath moved the papists to grant their kind of divorce for other causes besides adultery, as for ill usage, and the not performing of conjugal duty; and to separate from bed and board for these causes, which is as much divorce as they grant for adultery.

But some perhaps will object, that though it be yielded that our Lord granted divorce not only for adultery, yet it is not certain, that he permitted marriage after divorce, unless for that only cause. I answer, first, that the sentence of divorce and second marriage is one and the same. So that when the right of divorce is evinced to belong not only to the cause of fornication, the power of second marriage is also proved to be not limited to that cause only; and that most evidently whenas the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. vii. so frees the deserted party from bondage, as that he may not only send a just divorce in case of desertion, but may seek another marriage.

Lastly, seeing God will not that any should live in danger of fornication and utter ruin for the default of another, and hath commanded the husband to send away with a bill of divorce her whom he could not love; it is impossible that the charge of adultery should belong to him who for lawful causes divorces and marries, or to her who marries after she hath been unjustly rejected, or to him who receives her without all fraud to the former wedlock. For this were a horrid blasphemy against God, so to interpret his words, as to make him dissent from himself; for who sees not a flat contradiction in this, to enthral blameless men and women to miseries and injuries, under a false and soothing title of marriage, and yet to declare by his apostle, that a brother or sister is not under bondage in such cases? No less do these two things conflict with themselves, to enforce the innocent and faultless to endure the pain and misery of another's perverseness, or else to live in unavoidable temptation; and to affirm elsewhere that he lays on no man the burden of another man's sin, nor doth constrain any man to the endangering of his soul.

CHAP. XLIV.

That to those also who are justly divorced, second marriage ought to be permitted.

This although it be well proved, yet because it concerns only the offender, I leave him to search out his own charter himself in the author.

CHAP. XLV.

That some persons are so ordained to marriage, as that they cannot obtain the gift of continence, no not by earnest prayer; and that therein every one is to be left to his own judgment and conscience, and not to have a burden laid upon him by any other.

CHAP. XLVI.

The words of the apostle concerning the praise of single life unfolded.

These two chapters not so immediately debating the right of divorce, I choose rather not to insert.

CHAP. XLVII.

The conclusion of this treatise.

These things, most renowned king, I have brought together, both to explain for what causes the unhappy but sometimes most necessary help of divorce ought to be granted according to God's word, by princes and

rulers; as also to explain how the words of Christ do consent with such a grant. I have been large indeed both in handling those oracles of God, and in laying down those certain principles, which he who will know what the mind of God is in this matter, must ever think on and remember. But if we consider what mist and obscurity hath been poured out by Antichrist upon this question, and how deep this pernicious contempt of wedlock, and admiration of single life, even in those who are not called thereto, hath sunk into many men's persuasions; I fear lest all that hath been said be hardly enough to persuade such, that they would cease at length to make themselves wiser and holier than God himself, in being so severe to grant lawful marriage, and so easy to connive at all, not only whoredoms but deflowerings and adulteries: whenas, among the people of God, no whoredom was to be tolerated.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to destroy the works of Satan, sent down his Spirit upon all Christians, and principally upon christian governors both in church and commonwealth, (for of the clear judgment of your royal majesty I nothing doubt, revolving the Scripture so often as ye do,) that they may acknowledge how much they provoke the anger of God against us, whenas all kind of unchastity is tolerated, fornications and adulteries winked at; but holy and honourable wedlock is oft withheld by the mere persuasion of Antichrist, from such as without this remedy cannot preserve themselves from damnation! For none who hath but a spark of honesty will deny, that princes and states ought to use diligence toward the maintaining of pure and honest life among all men, without which all justice, all fear of God, and true religion decays.

And who knows not, that chastity and pureness of life can never be restored, or continued in the commonwealth, unless it be first established in private houses, from whence the whole breed of men is to come forth? To effect this, no wise man can doubt, that it is necessary for princes and magistrates first with severity to punish whoredom and adultery; next to see that marriages be lawfully contracted, and in the Lord; then that they be faithfully kept; and lastly, when that unhappiness urges, that they be lawfully dissolved, and other marriage granted, according as the law of God, and of nature, and the constitutions of pious princes have decreed; as I have shewn both by evident authorities of Scripture, together with the writings of the ancient fathers, and other testimonies. Only the Lord grant that we may learn to prefer his ever just and saving word, before the comments of Antichrist, too deeply rooted in many, and the false and blasphemous exposition of our Saviour's words. Amen.

A POSTSCRIPT.

Thus far Martin Bucer: whom, where I might without injury to either part of the cause, I deny not to have epitomized; in the rest observing a well-warranted rule, not to give an inventory of so many words, but to weigh their force. I could have added that eloquent and right christian discourse, written by Erasmus on this argument, not disagreeing in effect from Bucer. But this, I hope, will be enough to excuse me with the mere Englishman, to be no forger of new and loose opinions. Others may read him in his own phrase on the first to the Corinthians, and ease me who never could delight in long citations, much less in whole traductions; whether it be natural disposition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator. There be others also whom I could reckon up, of no mean account in the church, (and Peter Martyr among the first,) who are more than half our own in this controversy. But this is a providence not to be slighted, that as Bucer wrote this tractate of divorce in England and for England, so Erasmus professes he begun here among us the same subject, especially out of compassion, for the need he saw this nation had of some charitable redress herein; and seriously exhorts others to use their best industry in the clearing of this point, wherein custom hath a greater sway than verity. That therefore which came into the mind of these two admired strangers to do for England, and in a touch of highest prudence, which they took to be not yet recovered from monastic superstition, if I a native am found to have done for mine own country, altogether suitably and conformably to their so large and clear understanding, yet without the least help of theirs; I suppose that henceforward among conscionable and judicious persons it will no more be thought to my discredit, or at all to this nation's dishonour. And if these their books the one shall be printed often with best allowance in most religious cities, the other with express authority of Leo the Tenth, a pope, shall, for the propagating of truth, be published and republished, though against the received opinion of that church, and mine containing but the same thing, shall in a time of reformation, a time of free speaking, free writing, not find a permission to the press; I refer me to wisest men, whether truth be suffered to be truth, or liberty to be liberty, now among us, and be not again in danger of new fetters and captivity after all our hopes and labours lost: and whether learning be not (which our enemies too prophetically feared) in the way to be trodden down again by ignorance. Whereof while time is, out of the faith owing to God and my country, I bid this kingdom beware; and doubt not but God who hath dignified this parliament already to so many glorious degrees, will also give them (which is a singular blessing) to inform themselves rightly in the midst of an unprincipled age, and to prevent this working mystery of ignorance and ecclesiastical thraldom, which under new shapes and disguises begins afresh to grow upon us.

TETRACHORDON:

EXPOSITIONS

UPON THE FOUR CHIEF PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE WHICH TREAT OF MARRIAGE, OR NULLITIES IN MARRIAGE.

ON

GEN. I. 27, 28, COMPARED AND EXPLAINED BY GEN. ii. 18, 23, 24. DEUT. xxiv. 1, 2. MATT. v. 31, 32, WITH MATT. xix. FROM VER. 3 TO 11. 1 COR. vii. FROM VER. 10 TO 16.

WHEREIN THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE, AS WAS LATELY PUBLISHED, IS CONFIRMED BY EXPLANATION OF SCRIPTURE, BY TESTIMONY OF ANCIENT FATHERS, OF CIVIL LAWS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, OF FAMOUSEST REFORMED DIVINES; AND LASTLY, BY AN INTENDED ACT OF THE PARLIAMENT AND CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE LAST YEAR OF EDWARD THE SIXTH

—— Σκαιοῖσι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ
Δόξεις ἀχρεῖος, κοὐ σοφὸς πεφυκέναι.
Τῶν δ' αὖ δοκούντων εἰδέναι τι ποικίλον,
Κρείσσων νομισθεὶς ἐν πόλει, λυπρὸς φανῇ.

Euripid. Medea.

TO THE PARLIAMENT.

THAT which I knew to be the part of a good magistrate, aiming at true liberty through the right information of religious and civil life, and that which I saw, and was partaker of, your vows and solemn covenants, parliament of England! your actions also manifestly tending to exalt the truth, and to depress the tyranny of errour and ill custom, with more constancy and prowess than ever yet any, since that parliament which put the first sceptre of this kingdom into his hand whom God and extraordinary virtue made their monarch; were the causes that moved me, one else not placing much in the eminence of a dedication, to present your high notice with a discourse, conscious to itself of nothing more than of diligence, and firm affection to the public good. And that ye took it so as wise and impartial men, obtaining so great power and dignity, are wont to accept, in matters both doubtful and important, what they think offered them well meant, and from a rational ability, I had no less than to persuade me. And on that persuasion am returned, as to a famous and free port, myself also bound by more than a maritime law, to expose as freely what fraughtage I conceive to bring of no trifles. For although it be generally known, how and by whom ye have been instigated to a hard censure of that former book, entitled, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," an opinion held by some of the best among reformed writers without scandal or confutement, though now thought new and dangerous by some of our severe Gnostics, whose little reading, and less meditating, holds ever with hardest obstinacy that which it took up with easiest credulity; I do not find yet that aught, for the furious incitements which have been used, hath issued by your appointment, that might give the least interruption or disrepute either to the author, or to the book. Which he who will be better advised than to call your neglect or connivance at a thing imagined so perilous, can attribute it to nothing more justly, than to the deep and quiet stream of your direct and calm deliberations, that gave not way either to the fervent rashness or the immaterial gravity of those who ceased not to exasperate without cause. For which uprightness and incorrupt refusal of what ye were incensed to, lords and commons! (though it were done to justice, not to me, and was a peculiar demonstration how far your ways are different from the rash vulgar,) besides those allegiances of oath and duty, which are my public debt to your public labours, I have yet a store of gratitude laid up, which cannot be exhausted; and such thanks perhaps they may live to be, as shall more than whisper to the next ages. Yet that the author may be known to ground himself upon his own innocence, and the merit of his cause, not upon the favour of a diversion, or a delay to any just censure, but wishes rather he might see those his detractors at any fair meeting, as learned debatements are privileged with a due freedom under equal moderators; I shall here briefly single one of them, (because he hath obliged me to it,) who I persuade me having scarce read the book, nor knowing him who writ it, or at least

feigning the latter, hath not forborn to scandalize him, unconferred with, unadmonished, undealt with by any pastorly or brotherly convincement, in the most open and invective manner, and at the most bitter opportunity that drift or set design could have invented. And this, when as the canon law, though commonly most favouring the boldness of their priests, punishes the naming or traducing of any person in the pulpit, was by him made no scruple. If I shall therefore take licence by the right of nature, and that liberty wherein I was born, to defend myself publicly against a printed calumny, and do willingly appeal to those judges to whom I am accused, it can be no immoderate or unallowable course of seeking so just and needful reparations. Which I had done long since, had not those employments, which are now visible, deferred me. It was preached before ye, lords and commons! in August last upon a special day of humiliation, that "there was a wicked book abroad," and ye were taxed of sin that it was yet "uncensured, the book deserving to be burnt;" and "impudence" also was charged upon the author, who durst "set his name to it, and dedicate it to yourselves! First, lords and commons! I pray to that God, before whom ye then were prostrate, so to forgive ye those omissions and trespasses, which ye desire most should find forgiveness, as I shall soon shew to the world how easily ye absolve yourselves of that which this man calls your sin, and is indeed your wisdom, and your nobleness, whereof to this day ye have done well not to repent. He terms it "a wicked book," and why but "for allowing other causes of divorce, than Christ and his apostles mention?" and with the same censure condemns of wickedness not only Martin Bucer, that elect instrument of reformation, highly honoured, and had in reverence by Edward the Sixth, and his whole parliament, whom also I had published in English by a good providence, about a week before this calumnious digression was preached; so that if he knew not Bucer then, as he ought to have known, he might at least have known him some months after, ere the sermon came in print; wherein notwithstanding he persists in his former sentence, and condemns again of wickedness, either ignorantly or wilfully, not only Martin Bucer, and all the choicest and holiest of our reformers, but the whole parliament and church of England in those best and purest times of Edward the Sixth. All which I shall prove with good evidence, at the end of these explanations. And then let it be judged and seriously considered with what hope the affairs of our religion are committed to one among others, who hath now only left him which of the twain he will choose, whether this shall be his palpable ignorance, or the same wickedness of his own book, which he so lavishly imputes to the writings of other men: and whether this of his, that thus peremptorily defames and attaints of wickedness unspotted churches, unblemished parliaments, and the most eminent restorers of christian doctrine, deserve not to be burnt first. And if his heat had burst out only against the opinion, his wonted passion had no doubt been silently borne with wonted patience. But since, against the charity of that solemn place and meeting, it served him further to inveigh opprobriously against the person, branding him with no less than impudence, only for setting his name to what he had written; I must be excused not to be so wanting to the defence of an honest name, or to the reputation of those good men who afford me their society, but to be sensible of such a foul endeavoured disgrace: not knowing aught either in mine own deserts, or the laws of this land, why I should be subject, in such a notorious and illegal manner, to the intemperances of this man's preaching choler. And indeed to be so prompt and ready in the midst of his humbleness, to toss reproaches of this bulk and size, argues as if they were the weapons of his exercise, I am sure not of his ministry, or of that day's work. Certainly to subscribe my name at what I was to own, was what the state had ordered and requires. And he who lists not to be malicious, would call it ingenuity, clear conscience, willingness to avouch what might be questioned, or to be better instructed. And if God were so displeased with those, Isa. lviii. who "on the solemn fast were wont to smite with the fist of wickedness," it could be no sign of his own humiliation accepted, which disposed him to smite so keenly with a reviling tongue. But if only to have writ my name must be counted "impudence," how doth this but justify another, who might affirm with as good warrant, that the late discourse of "Scripture and Reason," which is certain to be chiefly his own draught, was published without a name, out of base fear, and the sly avoidance of what might follow to his detriment, if the party at court should hap to reach him? And I, to have set my name, where he accuses me to have set it, am so far from recanting, that I offer my hand also if need be, to make good the same opinion which I there maintain, by inevitable consequences drawn parallel from his own principal arguments in that of "Scripture and Reason:" which I shall pardon him if he can deny, without shaking his own composition to pieces. The "impudence" therefore, since he weighed so little what a gross revile that was to give his equal, I send him back again for a phylactery to stitch upon his arrogance, that censures not only before conviction, so bitterly without so much as one reason given, but censures the congregation of his governors to their faces, for not being so hasty as himself to censure.

And whereas my other crime is, that I addressed the dedication of what I had studied to the parliament; how could I better declare the loyalty which I owe to that supreme and majestic tribunal, and the opinion which I have of the high entrusted judgment, and personal worth assembled in that place? With the same affections therefore, and the same addicted fidelity, parliament of England! I here again have brought to your perusal on the same argument these following expositions of Scripture. The former book, as pleased some to think, who were thought judicious, had of reason in it to a sufficiency; what they required was, that the Scriptures there alleged might be discussed more fully. To their desires thus much further hath been laboured in the Scriptures. Another sort also,

who wanted more authorities and citations, have not been here unthought of. If all this attain not to satisfy them, as I am confident that none of those our great controversies at this day hath had a more demonstrative explaining, I must confess to admire what it is: for doubtless it is not reason now-a-days that satisfies or suborns the common credence of men, to yield so easily, and grow so vehement in matters much more disputable, and far less conducing to the daily good and peace of life. Some whose necessary shifts have long enured them to cloak the defects of their unstudied years, and hatred now to learn, under the appearance of a grave solidity, (which estimation they have gained among weak perceivers,) find the ease of slighting what they cannot refute, and are determined, as I hear, to hold it not worth the answering. In which number I must be forced to reckon that doctor, who in a late equivocating treatise plausibly set afloat against the Dippers, diving the while himself with a more deep prelatical malignance against the present state and church-government, mentions with ignominy "the Tractate of Divorce;" yet answers nothing, but instead thereof (for which I do not commend his marshalling) sets Moses also among the crew of his Anabaptists; as one who to a holy nation, the commonwealth of Israel, gave laws "breaking the bonds of marriage to inordinate lust." These are no mean surges of blasphemy, not only dipping Moses the divine lawgiver, but dashing with a high hand against the justice and purity of God himself: as these ensuing scriptures plainly and freely handled shall verify, to the launching of that old apostemated errour. Him therefore I leave now to his repentance.

Others, which is their courtesy, confess that wit and parts may do much to make that seem true which is not; as was objected to Socrates by them who could not resist his efficacy, that he ever made the worst cause seem the better; and thus thinking themselves discharged of the difficulty, love not to wade further into the fear of a convincement. These will be their excuses to decline the full examining of this serious point. So much the more I press it and repeat it, lords and commons! that ye beware while time is, ere this grand secret, and only art of ignorance affecting tyranny, grow powerful, and rule among us. For if sound argument and reason shall be thus put off, either by an undervaluing silence, or the masterly censure of a railing word or two in the pulpit, or by rejecting the force of truth, as the mere cunning of eloquence and sophistry; what can be the end of this, but that all good learning and knowledge will suddenly decay? Ignorance, and illiterate presumption, which is yet but our disease, will turn at length into our very constitution, and prove the hectic evil of this age: worse to be feared, if it get once to reign over us, than any fifth monarchy. If this shall be the course, that what was wont to be a chief commendation, and the ground of other men's confidence in an author, his diligence, his learning, his elocution, whether by right or by ill meaning granted him, shall be turned now to a disadvantage and suspicion against him, that what he writes, though unconfuted, must therefore be mistrusted, therefore not received for the industry, the exactness, the labour in it, confessed to be more than ordinary; as if wisdom had now forsaken the thirsty and laborious inquirer, to dwell against her nature with the arrogant and shallow babbler; to what purpose all those pains and that continual searching required of us by Solomon to the attainment of understanding? Why are men bred up with such care and expense to a life of perpetual studies? Why do yourselves with such endeavour seek to wipe off the imputation of intending to discourage the progress and advance of learning? He therefore, whose heart can bear him to the high pitch of your noble enterprises, may easily assure himself, that the prudence and far-judging circumspectness of so grave a magistracy sitting in parliament, who have before them the prepared and purposed act of their most religious predecessors to imitate in this question, cannot reject the clearness of these reasons, and these allegations both here and formerly offered them; nor can overlook the necessity of ordaining more wholesomely and more humanely in the casualties of divorce, than our laws have yet established, if the most urgent and excessive grievances happening in domestic life be worth the laying to heart; which, unless charity be far from us, cannot be neglected. And that these things, both in the right constitution, and in the right reformation of a commonwealth, call for speediest redress, and ought to be the first considered, enough was urged in what was prefaced to that monument of Bucer, which I brought to your remembrance, and the other time before. Henceforth, except new cause be given, I shall say less and less. For if the law make not timely provision, let the law, as reason is, bear the censure of those consequences, which her own default now more evidently produces. And if men want manliness to expostulate the right of their due ransom, and to second their own occasions, they may sit hereafter and bemoan themselves to have neglected through faintness the only remedy of their sufferings, which a seasonable and well-grounded speaking might have purchased them. And perhaps in time to come, others will know how to esteem what is not every day put into their hands, when they have marked events, and better weighed how hurtful and unwise it is, to hide a secret and pernicious rupture under the ill counsel of a bashful silence. But who would distrust aught, or not be ample in his hopes of your wise and christian determinations? who have the prudence to consider, and should have the goodness, like gods, as ye are called, to find out readily, and by just law to administer those redresses, which have of old, not without God ordaining, been granted to the adversities of mankind, ere they who needed were put to ask. Certainly, if any other have enlarged his thoughts to expect from this government, so justly undertaken, and by frequent assistances from Heaven so apparently upheld, glorious changes and renovations both in church and state, he among the foremost might be named, who prays that the fate of England may tarry for no other deliverers. JOHN MILTON.

TETRACHORDON:

EXPOSITIONS

UPON THE FOUR CHIEF PLACES IN SCRIPTURE WHICH TREAT OF MARRIAGE, OR NULLITIES IN MARRIAGE.

GENESIS i. 27.

So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them,

28. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, &c.

GEN. ii. 18.

And the Lord God said, It is not good that man should be alone, I will make him a help meet for him.

23. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of a man.

24. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.

GEN. i. 27.

"So God created man in his own image."] To be informed aright in the whole history of marriage, that we may know for certain, not by a forced yoke, but by an impartial definition, what marriage is, and what is not marriage: it will undoubtedly be safest, fairest, and most with our obedience, to inquire, as our Saviour's direction is, how it was in the beginning. And that we begin so high as man created after God's own image, there want not earnest causes. For nothing now-a-days is more degenerately forgotten, than the true dignity of man, almost in every respect, but especially in this prime institution of matrimony, wherein his native pre-eminence ought most to shine. Although if we consider that just and natural privileges men neither can rightly seek, nor dare fully claim, unless they be allied to inward goodness and stedfast knowledge, and that the want of this quells them to a servile sense of their own conscious unworthiness; it may save the wondering why in this age many are so opposite both to human and to christian liberty, either while they understand not, or envy others that do; contenting, or rather priding themselves in a specious humility and strictness bred out of low ignorance, that never yet conceived the freedom of the gospel; and is therefore by the apostle to the Colossians ranked with no better company than will worship and the mere shew of wisdom. And how injurious herein they are, if not to themselves, yet to their neighbours, and not to them only, but to the all-wise and bounteous grace offered us in our redemption, will orderly appear.

"In the image of God created he him."] It is enough determined, that this image of God, wherein man was created, is meant wisdom, purity, justice, and rule over all creatures. All which, being lost in Adam, was recovered with gain by the merits of Christ. For albeit our first parent had lordship over sea, and land, and air, yet there was a law without him, as a guard set over him. But Christ having cancelled the handwriting of ordinances which was against us, Col. ii. 14, and interpreted the fulfilling of all through charity, hath in that respect set us over law, in the free custody of his love, and left us victorious under the guidance of his living spirit, not under the dead letter; to follow that which most edifies, most aids and furthers a religious life, makes us holiest and likest to his immortal image, not that which makes us most conformable and captive to civil and subordinate precepts: whereof the strictest observance may ofttimes prove the destruction not only of many innocent persons and families, but of whole nations. Although indeed no ordinance human or from heaven can bind against the good of man; so that to keep them strictly against that end, is all one with to break them. Men of most renowned virtue have sometimes by transgressing most truly kept the law; and wisest magistrates have permitted and dispensed it; while they looked not peevishly at the letter, but with a greater spirit at the good of mankind, if always not written in the characters of law, yet engraven in the heart of man by a divine impression. This heathens could see, as the well-read in story can recount of Solon and Epaminondas, whom Cicero in his first book

of "Invention" nobly defends. "All law," saith he, "we ought to refer to the common good, and interpret by that, not by the scroll of letters. No man observes law for law's sake, but for the good of them for whom it was made." The rest might serve well to lecture these times, deluded through belly doctrines into a devout slavery. The Scripture also affords David in the shewbread, Hezekiah in the passover, sound and safe transgressors of the literal command, which also dispensed not seldom with itself; and taught us on what just occasions to do so: until our Saviour, for whom that great and godlike work was reserved, redeemed us to a state above prescriptions, by dissolving the whole law into charity. And have we not the soul to understand this, and must we against this glory of God's transcendent love towards us be still the servants of a literal indictment?

"Created he him."] It might be doubted why he saith, "In the image of God created he him," not them, as well as "male and female" them; especially since that image might be common to them both, but male and female could not, however the Jews fable and please themselves with the accidental concurrence of Plato's wit, as if man at first had been created hermaphrodite: but then it must have been male and female created he him. So had the image of God been equally common to them both, it had no doubt been said, in the image of God created he them. But St. Paul ends the controversy, by explaining, that the woman is not primarily and immediately the image of God, but in reference to the man, "The head of the woman," saith he, 1 Cor. xi. "is the man;" "he the image and glory of God, she the glory of the man;" he not for her, but she for him. Therefore his precept is, "Wives, be subject to your husbands as is fit in the Lord," Col. iii. 18; "in every thing," Eph. v. 24. Nevertheless man is not to hold her as a servant, but receives her into a part of that empire, which God proclaims him to, though not equally, yet largely, as his own image and glory: for it is no small glory to him, that a creature so like him should be made subject to him. Not but that particular exceptions may have place, if she exceed her husband in prudence and dexterity, and he contentedly yield: for then a superior and more natural law comes in, that the wiser should govern the less wise, whether male or female. But that which far more easily and obediently follows from this verse is, that, seeing woman was purposely made for man, and he her head, it cannot stand before the breath of this divine utterance, that man the portraiture of God, joining to himself for his intended good and solace an inferior sex, should so become her thrall, whose wilfulness or inability to be a wife frustrates the occasional end of her creation; but that he may acquit himself to freedom by his natural birthright, and that indelible character of priority, which God crowned him with. If it be urged, that sin hath lost him this, the answer is not far to seek, that from her the sin first proceeded, which keeps her justly in the same proportion still beneath. She is not to gain by being first in the transgression, that man should further lose to her, because already he hath lost by her means. Oft it happens, that in this matter he is without fault; so that his punishment herein is causeless: and God hath the praise in our speeches of him, to sort his punishment in the same kind with the offence. Suppose he erred; it is not the intent of God or man, to hunt an errour so to the death with a revenge beyond all measure and proportion. But if we argue thus, this affliction is befallen him for his sin, therefore he must bear it, without seeking the only remedy: first, it will be false, that all affliction comes for sin, as in the case of Job, and of the man born blind, John ix. 3, was evident: next, by that reason, all miseries coming for sin, we must let them all lie upon us like the vermin of an Indian Catharist, which his fond religion forbids him to molest. Were it a particular punishment inflicted through the anger of God upon a person, or upon a land, no law hinders us in that regard, no law but bids us remove it if we can; much more if it be a dangerous temptation withal; much more yet, if it be certainly a temptation, and not certainly a punishment, though a pain. As for what they say we must bear with patience; to bear with patience, and to seek effectual remedies, implies no contradiction. It may no less be for our disobedience, our unfaithfulness, and other sins against God, that wives become adulterous to the bed; and questionless we ought to take the affliction as patiently as christian prudence would wish: yet hereby is not lost the right of divorcing for adultery. No, you say, because our Saviour excepted that only. But why, if he were so bent to punish our sins, and try our patience in binding on us a disastrous marriage, why did he except adultery? Certainly to have been bound from divorce in that case also had been as plentiful a punishment to our sins, and not too little work for the patientest. Nay, perhaps they will say it was too great a sufferance; and with as slight a reason, for no wise man but would sooner pardon the act of adultery once and again committed by a person worth pity and forgiveness, than to lead a wearisome life of unloving and unquiet conversation with one who neither affects nor is affected, much less with one who exercises all bitterness, and would commit adultery too, but for envy lest the persecuted condition should thereby get the benefit of his freedom. It is plain therefore, that God enjoins not this supposed strictness of not divorcing either to punish us, or to try our patience.

Moreover, if man be the image of God, which consists in holiness, and woman ought in the same respect to be the image and companion of man, in such wise to be loved as the church is beloved of Christ; and if, as God is the head of Christ, and Christ the head of man, so man is the head of woman; I cannot see by this golden dependance of headship and subjection, but that piety and religion is the main tie of christian matrimony: so as if there be found between the pair a notorious disparity either of wickedness or heresy, the husband by all manner of right is disengaged from a creature, not made and inflicted on him to the vexation of his righteousness: the wife also, as her subjection is terminated in the Lord, being herself the redeemed of

Christ, is not still bound to be the vassal of him, who is the bondslave of Satan: she being now neither the image nor the glory of such a person, nor made for him, nor left in bondage to him; but hath recourse to the wing of charity, and protection of the church, unless there be a hope on either side: yet such a hope must be meant, as may be a rational hope, and not an endless servitude. Of which hereafter.

But usually it is objected, that if it be thus, then there can be no true marriage between misbelievers and irreligious persons. I might answer, let them see to that who are such; the church hath no commission to judge those without, 1 Cor. v. But this they will say perhaps, is but penuriously to resolve a doubt. I answer therefore, that where they are both irreligious, the marriage may be yet true enough to them in a civil relation. For there are left some remains of God's image in man, as he is merely man; which reason God gives against the shedding of man's blood, Gen. ix. as being made in God's image, without expressing whether he were a good man or a bad, to exempt the slayer from punishment. So that in those marriages where the parties are alike void of religion, the wife owes a civil homage and subjection, the husband owes a civil loyalty. But where the yoke is misyoked, heretic with faithful, godly with ungodly, to the grievance and manifest endangering of a brother or sister, reasons of a higher strain than matrimonial bear sway; unless the gospel, instead of freeing us, debase itself to make us bond-men, and suffer evil to control good.

"Male and female created he them."] This contains another end of matching man and woman, being the right and lawfulness of the marriage-bed; though much inferior to the former end of her being his image and help in religious society. And who of weakest insight may not see, that this creating of them male and female cannot in any order of reason, or Christianity, be of such moment against the better and higher purposes of their creation, as to enthral husband or wife to duties or to sufferings, unworthy and unbeseeming the image of God in them? Now whenas not only men, but good men, do stand upon their right, their estimation, their dignity, in all other actions and deportments, with warrant enough and good conscience, as having the image of God in them, it will not be difficult to determine what is unworthy and unseemly for a man to do or suffer in wedlock: and the like proportionally may be found for woman, if we love not to stand disputing below the principles of humanity. He that said, "Male and female created he them," immediately before that said also in the same verse, "in the image of God created he him," and redoubled it, that our thoughts might not be so full of dregs as to urge this poor consideration of male and female, without remembering the nobleness of that former repetition; lest when God sends a wise eye to examine our trivial glosses, they be found extremely to creep upon the ground: especially since they confess, that what here concerns marriage is but a brief touch, only preparative to the institution which follows more expressly in the next chapter; and that Christ so took it, as desiring to be briefest with them who came to tempt him, account shall be given in due place.

Ver. 28. "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth," &c.

This declares another end of matrimony, the propagation of mankind; and is again repeated to Noah and his sons. Many things might be noted on this place not ordinary, nor unworth the noting; but I undertook not a general comment. Hence therefore we see the desire of children is honest and pious; if we be not less zealous in our Christianity than Plato was in his heathenism; who in the sixth of his laws, counts offspring therefore desirable, that we may leave in our stead sons of our sons, continual servants of God: a religious and prudent desire, if people knew as well what were required to breeding as to begetting; which desire perhaps was a cause, why the Jews hardly could endure a barren wedlock: and Philo, in his book of special laws, esteems him only worth pardon, that sends not barrenness away. Carvilius, the first recorded in Rome to have sought divorce, had it granted him for the barrenness of his wife, upon his oath that he married to the end he might have children; as Dionysius and Gellius are authors. But to dismiss a wife only for barrenness, is hard: and yet in some the desire of children is so great, and so just, yea sometimes so necessary, that to condemn such a one to a childless age, the fault apparently not being in him, might seem perhaps more strict than needed. Sometimes inheritances, crowns, and dignities are so interested and annexed in their common peace and good to such or such lineal descent, that it may prove of great moment both in the affairs of men and of religion, to consider thoroughly what might be done herein, notwithstanding the waywardness of our school doctors.

Gen. II. 18.

"And the Lord said, It is not good that man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him." Ver. 23. "And Adam said," &c. Ver. 24. "Therefore shall a man leave," &c.

This second chapter is granted to be a commentary on the first, and these verses granted to be an exposition of that former verse, "Male and female created he them:" and yet when this male and female is by the explicit words of God himself here declared to be not meant other than a fit help, and meet society; some, who would engross to themselves the whole trade of interpreting, will not suffer the clear text of God to do the office of explaining itself.

"And the Lord God said, It is not good."] A man would think, that the consideration of who spake should raise up the intention of our minds to inquire better, and obey the purpose of so great a speaker: for as we order the business of marriage, that which he here speaks is all made vain; and in the decision of matrimony, or not matrimony, nothing at all regarded. Our presumption hath utterly changed the state and con-

dition of this ordinance: God ordained it in love and helpfulness to be indissoluble, and we in outward act and formality to be a forced bondage; so that being subject to a thousand errours in the best men, if it prove a blessing to any, it is of mere accident, as man's law hath handled it, and not of institution.

" It is not good for man to be alone."] Hitherto all things, that have been named, were approved of God to be very good: loneliness is the first thing, which God's eye name not good: whether it be a thing, or the want of something, I labour not; let it be their tendance, who have the art to be industriously idle. And here " alone " is meant alone without woman; otherwise Adam had the company of God himself, and angels to converse with; all creatures to delight him seriously, or to make him sport. God could have created him out of the same mould a thousand friends and brother Adams to have been his consorts; yet for all this, till Eve was given him, God reckoned him to be alone.

" It is not good."] God here presents himself like to a man deliberating; both to shew us that the matter is of high consequence, and that he intended to found it according to natural reason, not impulsive command; but that the duty should arise from the reason of it, not the reason be swallowed up in a reasonless duty. " Not good," was as much to Adam before his fall, as not pleasing, not expedient; but since the coming of sin into the world, to him who hath not received the continence, it is not only not expedient to be alone, but plainly sinful. And therefore he who wilfully abstains from marriage, not being supernaturally gifted, and he who by making the yoke of marriage unjust and intolerable, causes men to abhor it, are both in a diabolical sin, equal to that of Antichrist, who forbids to marry. For what difference at all whether he abstain men from marrying, or restrain them in a marriage happening totally discommodious, distasteful, dishonest, and pernicious to him, without the appearance of his fault? For God does not here precisely say, I make a female to this male, as he did before; but expounding himself here on purpose, he saith, because it is not good for man to be alone, I make him therefore a meet help. God supplies the privation of not good, with the perfect gift of a real and positive good: it is man's perverse cooking, who hath turned this bounty of God into a scorpion, either by weak and shallow constructions, or by proud arrogance and cruelty to them who neither in their purposes nor in their actions have offended against the due honour of wedlock.

Now whereas the apostle's speaking in the spirit, 1 Cor. vii. pronounces quite contrary to this word of God, " It is good for a man not to touch a woman," and God cannot contradict himself; it instructs us, that his commands and words, especially such as bear the manifest title of some good to man, are not to be so strictly wrung, as to command without regard to the most natural and miserable necessities of mankind. Therefore the apostle adds a limitation in the 26th verse of that chapter, for the present necessity it is good; which he gives us doubtless as a pattern how to reconcile other places by the general rule of charity.

" For man to be alone."] Some would have the sense hereof to be in respect of procreation only: and Austin contests that manly friendship in all other regard had been a more becoming solace for Adam, than to spend so many secret years in an empty world with one woman. But our writers deservedly reject this crabbed opinion; and defend that there is a peculiar comfort in the married state beside the genial bed, which no other society affords. No mortal nature can endure either in the actions of religion, or study of wisdom, without sometime slackening the cords of intense thought and labour: which lest we should think faulty, God himself conceals us not his own recreations before the world was built; " I was," saith the eternal wisdom, " daily his delight, playing always before him." And to him indeed wisdom is as a high tower of pleasure, but to us a steep hill, and we toiling ever about the bottom: he executes with ease the exploits of his omnipotence, as easy as with us it is to will: but no worthy enterprise can be done by us without continual plodding and wearisomeness to our faint and sensitive abilities. We cannot therefore always be contemplative, or pragmatical abroad, but have need of some delightful intermissions, wherein the enlarged soul may leave off a while her severe schooling; and, like a glad youth in wandering vacancy, may keep her holidays to joy and harmless pastime: which as she cannot well do without company, so in no company so well as where the different sex in most resembling unlikeness, and most unlike resemblance, cannot but please best, and be pleased in the aptitude of that variety. Whereof lest we should be too timorous, in the awe that our flat sages would form us and dress us, wisest Solomon among his gravest Proverbs countenances a kind of ravishment and erring fondness in the entertainment of wedded leisures; and in the Song of Songs, which is generally believed, even in the jolliest expressions, to figure the spousals of the church with Christ, sings of a thousand raptures between those two lovely ones far on the hither side of carnal enjoyment. By these instances, and more which might be brought, we may imagine how indulgently God provided against man's loneliness; that he approved it not, as by himself declared not good; that he approved the remedy thereof, as of his own ordaining, consequently good: and as he ordained it, so doubtless proportionably to our fallen estate he gives it; else were his ordinance at least in vain, and we for all his gifts still empty handed. Nay, such an unbounteous giver we should make him, as in the fables Jupiter was to Ixion, giving him a cloud instead of Juno, giving him a monstrous issue by her, the breed of Centaurs, a neglected and unloved race, the fruits of a delusive marriage; and lastly, giving him her with a damnation to that wheel in hell, from a life thrown into the midst of temptations and disorders. But God is no deceitful giver, to bestow that on us for a remedy of loneliness, which if it bring not a sociable mind as well as a conjunctive body, leaves us no less alone than before; and if it bring a mind perpetually averse and disagreeable, betrays us to a worse condition than

the most deserted loneliness. God cannot in the justice of his own promise and institution so unexpectedly mock us, by forcing that upon us as the remedy of solitude, which wraps us in a misery worse than any wilderness, as the Spirit of God himself judges, Prov. xix. especially knowing that the best and wisest men amidst the sincere and most cordial designs of their heart, do daily err in choosing. We may conclude therefore, seeing orthodoxal expositors confess to our hands, that by loneliness is not only meant the want of copulation, and that man is not less alone by turning in a body to him, unless there be within it a mind answerable; that it is a work more worthy the care and consultation of God to provide for the worthiest part of man, which is his mind, and not unnaturally to set it beneath the formalities and respects of the body, to make it a servant of its own vassal: I say, we may conclude that such a marriage, wherein the mind is so disgraced and vilified below the body's interest, and can have no just or tolerable contentment, is not of God's institution, and therefore no marriage. Nay, in concluding this, I say we conclude no more than what the common expositors themselves give us, both in that which I have recited, and much more hereafter. But the truth is, they give us in such a manner, as they who leave their own mature positions like the eggs of an ostrich in the dust; I do but lay them in the sun; their own pregnancies hatch the truth; and I am taxed of novelties and strange producements, while they, like that inconsiderate bird, know not that these are their own natural breed.

"I will make him a help meet for him."] Here the heavenly institutor, as if he laboured not to be mistaken by the supercilious hypocrisy of those that love to master their brethren, and to make us sure that he gave us not now a servile yoke, but an amiable knot, contents not himself to say, I will make him a wife; but resolving to give us first the meaning before the name of a wife, saith graciously, "I will make him a help meet for him." And here again, as before, I do not require more full and fair deductions than the whole consent of our divines usually raise from this text, that in matrimony there must be first a mutual help to piety, next to civil fellowship of love and amity, then to generation, so to household affairs, lastly the remedy of incontinence. And commonly they reckon them in such order, as leaves generation and incontinence to be last considered. This I amaze me at, that though all the superior and nobler ends both of marriage and of the married persons be absolutely frustrate, the matrimony stirs not, loses no hold, remains as rooted as the centre: but if the body bring but in a complaint of frigidity, by that cold application only this adamantine Alp of wedlock has leave to dissolve; which else all the machinations of religious or civil reason at the suit of a distressed mind, either for divine worship or human conversation violated, cannot unfasten. What courts of concupiscence are these, wherein fleshly appetite is heard before right reason, lust before love or devotion? They may be pious Christians together, they may be loving and friendly, they may be helpful to each other in the family, but they cannot couple; that shall divorce them, though either party would not. They can neither serve God together, nor one be at peace with the other, nor be good in the family one to other, but live as they were dead, or live as they were deadly enemies in a cage together; it is all one, they can couple, they shall not divorce till death, not though this sentence be their death. What is this besides tyranny, but to turn nature upside down, to make both religion and the mind of man wait upon the slavish errands of the body, and not the body to follow either the sanctity or the sovereignty of the mind, unspeakably wronged, and with all equity complaining? what is this but to abuse the sacred and mysterious bed of marriage to be the compulsive stye of an ingrateful and malignant lust, stirred up only from a carnal acrimony, without either love or peace, or regard to any other thing holy or human? This I admire, how possibly it should inhabit thus long in the sense of so many disputing theologians, unless it be the lowest lees of a canonical infection livergrown to their sides; which perhaps will never uncling, without the strong abstersive of some heroic magistrate, whose mind, equal to his high office, dares lead him both to know and to do without their frivolous case-putting. For certain he shall have God and this institution plainly on his side. And if it be true both in divinity and law, that consent alone, though copulation never follow, makes a marriage; how can they dissolve it for the want of that which made it not, and not dissolve it for that not continuing which made it and should preserve it in love and reason, and difference it from a brute conjugality?

"Meet for him."] The original here is more expressive than other languages word for word can render it; but all agree effectual conformity of disposition and affection to be hereby signified; which God as it were, not satisfied with the naming of a help, goes on describing another self, a second self, a very self itself. Yet now there is nothing in the life of man, through our misconstruction, made more uncertain, more hazardous and full of chance, than this divine blessing with such favourable significance here conferred upon us; which if we do but err in our choice, the most unblameable errour that can be, err but one minute, one moment after those mighty syllables pronounced, which take upon them to join heaven and hell together unpardonably till death pardon: this divine blessing that looked but now with such a humane smile upon us, and spoke such gentle reason, straight vanishes like a fair sky, and brings on such a scene of cloud and tempest, as turns all to shipwreck without haven or shore, but to a ransomless captivity. And then they tell us it is our sin: but let them be told again, that sin through the mercy of God hath not made such waste upon us, as to make utterly void to our use any temporal benefit, much less any so much availing to a peaceful and sanctified life, merely for a most incident errour, which no wariness can certainly shun. And wherefore serves our happy redemption, and the liberty we have in Christ, but to deliver us from cala-

mitous yokes, not to be lived under without the endangerment of our souls, and to restore us in some competent measure to a right in every good thing both of this life, and the other? Thus we see how treatably and distinctly God hath here taught us what the prime ends of marriage are; mutual solace and help. That we are now, upon the most irreprehensible mistake in choosing, defeated and defrauded of all this original benignity, was begun first through the snare of antichristian canons long since obtruded upon the church of Rome, and not yet scoured off by reformation, out of a lingering vain-glory that abides among us to make fair shews in formal ordinances, and to enjoin continence and bearing of crosses in such a garb as no scripture binds us, under the thickest arrows of temptation, where we need not stand. Now we shall see with what acknowledgment and assent Adam received this new associate which God brought him.

Ver. 23. "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man."

That there was a nearer alliance between Adam and Eve, than could be ever after between man and wife, is visible to any. For no other woman was ever moulded out of her husband's rib, but of mere strangers for the most part they come to have that consanguinity, which they have by wedlock. And if we look nearly upon the matter, though marriage be most agreeable to holiness, to purity, and justice, yet is it not a natural, but a civil and ordained relation. For if it were in nature, no law or crime could disannul it, to make a wife, or husband, otherwise than still a wife or husband, but only death; as nothing but that can make a father no father, or a son no son. But divorce for adultery or desertion, as all our churches agree but England, not only separates, but nullifies, and extinguishes the relation itself of matrimony, so that they are no more man and wife; otherwise the innocent party could not marry elsewhere, without the guilt of adultery. Next, were it merely natural, why was it here ordained more than the rest of moral law to man in his original rectitude, in whose breast all that was natural or moral was engraven without external constitutions and edicts? Adam therefore in these words does not establish an indissoluble bond of marriage in the carnal ligaments of flesh and bones; for if he did, it would belong only to himself in the literal sense, every one of us being nearer in flesh of flesh, and bone of bones, to our parents than to a wife; they therefore were not to be left for her in that respect. But Adam, who had the wisdom given him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt but had the gift to discern perfectly that which concerned him much more; and to apprehend at first sight the true fitness of that consort which God provided him. And therefore spake in reference to those words which God pronounced before; as if he had said, This is she by whose meet help and society I shall no more be alone; this is she who was made my image, even as I the image of God; not so much in body, as in unity of mind and heart. And he might as easily know what were the words of God, as he knew so readily what had been done with his rib, while he slept so soundly. He might well know, if God took a rib out of his inside to form of it a double good to him, he would far sooner disjoin it from his outside, to prevent a treble mischief to him; and far sooner cut it quite off from all relation for his undoubted ease, than nail it into his body again, to stick for ever there a thorn in his heart. Whenas nature teaches us to divide any limb from the body to the saving of its fellows, though it be the maiming and deformity of the whole; how much more is it her doctrine to sever by incision, not a true limb so much, though that be lawful, but an adherent, a sore, the gangrene of a limb, to the recovery of a whole man! But if in these words we shall make Adam to erect a new establishment of marriage in the mere flesh, which God so lately had instituted, and founded in the sweet and mild familiarity of love and solace, and mutual fitness; what do we but use the mouth of our general parent, the first time it opens, to an arrogant opposition and correcting of God's wiser ordinance? These words therefore cannot import any thing new in marriage, but either that which belongs to Adam only, or to us in reference only to the instituting words of God, which made a meet help against loneliness. Adam spake like Adam the words of flesh and bones, the shell and rind of matrimony; but God spake like God, of love, and solace, and meet help, the soul both of Adam's words and of matrimony.

Ver. 24. "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh."

This verse, as our common herd expounds it, is the great knot-tier, which hath undone by tying, and by tangling, millions of guiltless consciences: this is that grisly porter, who having drawn men and wisest men by subtle allurement within the train of an unhappy matrimony, claps the dungeon-gate upon them, as irrecoverable as the grave. But if we view him well, and hear him with not too hasty and prejudicant ears, we shall find no such terror in him. For first, it is not here said absolutely without all reason he shall cleave to his wife, be it to his weal or to his destruction as it happens, but he shall do this upon the premises and considerations of that meet help and society before mentioned. "Therefore he shall cleave to his wife," no otherwise a wife than a fit help. He is not bid to leave the dear cohabitation of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, to link himself inseparably with the mere carcass of a marriage, perhaps an enemy. This joining particle "Therefore" is in all equity, nay in all necessity of construction, to comprehend first and most principally what God spake concerning the inward essence of marriage in his institution, that we may learn how far to attend what Adam spake of the outward materials thereof in his approbation. For if we shall bind these words of Adam only to a corporal meaning, and that the force of this injunction upon all us his sons, to live individually with any woman which

hath befallen us in the most mistaken wedlock, shall consist not in those moral and relative causes of Eve's creation, but in the mere anatomy of a rib, and that Adam's insight concerning wedlock reached no further, we shall make him as very an idiot as the Socinians make him; which would not be reverently done of us. Let us be content to allow our great forefather so much wisdom, as to take the instituting words of God along with him into this sentence, which if they be well minded, will assure us that flesh and ribs are but of a weak and dead efficacy to keep marriage united where there is no other fitness. The rib of marriage, to all since Adam, is a relation much rather than a bone; the nerves and sinews thereof are love and meet help, they knit not every couple that marries, and where they knit they seldom break; but where they break, which for the most part is where they were never truly joined, to such at the same instant both flesh and rib cease to be in common: so that here they argue nothing to the continuance of a false or violated marriage, but must be led back again to receive their meaning from those institutive words of God, which give them all the life and vigour they have.

"Therefore shall a man leave his father," &c.] What to a man's thinking more plain by this appointment, that the fatherly power should give place to conjugal prerogative? Yet it is generally held by reformed writers against the papist, that though in persons at discretion the marriage in itself be never so fit, though it be fully accomplished with benediction, board, and bed, yet the father not consenting, his main will without dispute shall dissolve all. And this they affirm only from collective reason, not any direct law; for that in Exod. xxii. 17, which is most particular, speaks that a father may refuse to marry his daughter to one who hath defloured her, not that he may take her away from one who hath soberly married her. Yet because the general honour due to parents is great, they hold he may, and perhaps hold not amiss. But again, when the question is of harsh and rugged parents, who defer to bestow their children seasonably, they agree jointly, that the church or magistrate may bestow them, though without the father's consent: and for this they have no express authority in Scripture. So that they may see by their own handling of this very place, that it is not the stubborn letter must govern us, but the divine and softening breath of charity, which turns and winds the dictate of every positive command, and shapes it to the good of mankind: Shall the outward accessory of a father's will wanting rend the fittest and most affectionate marriage in twain, after all nuptial consummations; and shall not the want of love, and the privation of all civil and religious concord, which is the inward essence of wedlock, do as much to part those who were never truly wedded? Shall a father have this power to vindicate his own wilful honour and authority to the utter breach of a most dearly united marriage, and shall not a man in his own power have the permission to free his soul, his life, and all his comfort of life from the disaster of a no-marriage? Shall fatherhood, which is but man, for his own pleasure dissolve matrimony; and shall not matrimony, which is God's ordinance, for its own honour and better conservation dissolve itself, when it is wrong and not fitted to any of the chief ends which it owes us?

"And they shall be one flesh."] These words also infer, that there ought to be an individuality in marriage; but without all question presuppose the joining causes. Not a rule yet that we have met with, so universal in this whole institution, but hath admitted limitations and conditions according to human necessity. The very foundation of matrimony, though God laid it deliberately, "that it is not good for man to be alone," holds not always, if the apostle can secure us. Soon after we are bid leave father and mother, and cleave to a wife, but must understand the father's consent withal, else not. "Cleave to a wife," but let her be a wife, let her be a meet help, a solace, not a nothing, not an adversary, not a desertrice: can any law or command be so unreasonable, as to make men cleave to calamity, to ruin, to perdition? In like manner here "they shall be one flesh;" but let the causes hold, and be made really good which only have the possibility to make them one flesh. We know that flesh can neither join nor keep together two bodies of itself; what is it then must make them one flesh, but likeness, but fitness of mind and disposition, which may breed the spirit of concord and union between them? If that be not in the nature of either, and that there has been a remediless mistake, as vain we go about to compel them into one flesh, as if we undertook to weave a garment of dry sand. It were more easy to compel the vegetable and nutritive power of nature to assimilations and mixtures, which are not alterable each by other; or force the concoctive stomach to turn that into flesh, which is so totally unlike that substance, as not to be wrought on. For as the unity of mind is nearer and greater than the union of bodies, so doubtless is the dissimilitude greater and more dividual, as that which makes between bodies all difference and distinction. Especially whenas besides the singular and substantial differences of every soul, there is an intimate quality of good or evil, through the whole progeny of Adam, which like a radical heat, or mortal chillness, joins them, or disjoins them irresistibly. In whom therefore either the will or the faculty, is found to have never joined, or now not to continue so, it is not to say, they shall be one flesh, for they cannot be one flesh. God commands not impossibilities; and all the ecclesiastical glue, that liturgy or laymen can compound, is not able to sodder up two such incongruous natures into the one flesh of a true beseeming marriage. Why did Moses then set down their uniting into one flesh? And I again ask, why the gospel so oft repeats the eating of our Saviour's flesh, the drinking of his blood? "That we are one body with him, the members of his body, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone," Ephes. v. Yet lest we should be Capernaitans, as we are told there, that the flesh profiteth nothing; so we are told here, if we be not as deaf as adders, that this union of the flesh proceeds from the union of a fit help and solace. We know, that there was never a more

spiritual mystery than this gospel taught us under the terms of body and flesh; yet nothing less intended than that we should stick there. What a stupidness then is it, that in marriage, which is the nearest resemblance of our union with Christ, we should deject ourselves to such a sluggish and underfoot philosophy, as to esteem the validity of marriage merely by the flesh, though never so broken and disjointed from love and peace, which only can give a human qualification to that act of the flesh, and distinguish it from bestial! The text therefore uses this phrase, that "they shall be one flesh," to justify and make legitimate the rites of marriage-bed; which was not unneedful, if for all this warrant they were suspected of pollution by some sects of philosophy, and religions of old, and latelier among the papists, and other heretics elder than they. Some think there is a high mystery in those words, from that which Paul saith of them, Ephes. v. "This is a great mystery, but I speak of Christ and the church: and thence they would conclude marriage to be inseparable. For me, I dispute not now whether matrimony be a mystery or no; if it be of Christ and his church, certainly it is not meant of every ungodly and miswedded marriage, but then only mysterious, when it is a holy, happy, and peaceful match. But when a saint is joined with a reprobate, or both alike wicked with wicked, fool with fool, a he-drunkard with a she; when the bed hath been nothing else for twenty years or more, but an old haunt of lust and malice mixed together, no love, no goodness, no loyalty, but counterplotting, and secret wishing one another's dissolution; this is to me the greatest mystery in the world, if such a marriage as this can be the mystery of aught, unless it be the mystery of iniquity: according to that which Paræus cites out of Chrysostom, that a bad wife is a help for the devil, and the like may be said of a bad husband. Since therefore none but a fit and pious matrimony can signify the union of Christ and his church, there cannot hence be any hinderance of divorce to that wedlock wherein there can be no good mystery. Rather it might to a christian conscience be matter of finding itself so much less satisfied than before, in the continuance of an unhappy yoke, wherein there can be no representation either of Christ, or of his church.

Thus having inquired the institution how it was in the beginning, both from the 1 chap. of Gen. where it was only mentioned in part, and from the second, where it was plainly and evidently instituted; and having attended each clause and word necessary with a diligence not drowsy, we shall now fix with some advantage, and by a short view backward gather up the ground we have gone, and sum up the strength we have, into one argumentative head, with that organic force that logic proffers us. All arts acknowledge, that then only we know certainly, when we can define; for definition is that which refines the pure essence of things from the circumstance. If therefore we can attain in this our controversy to define exactly what marriage is, we shall soon learn when there is a nullity thereof, and when a divorce.

The part therefore of this chapter, which hath been here treated, doth orderly and readily resolve itself into a definition of marriage, and a consectary from thence. To the definition these words chiefly contribute; "It is not good," &c. "I will make," &c. Where the consectary begins this connection, "Therefore" informs us, "Therefore shall a man," &c. Definition is decreed by logicians to consist only of causes constituting the essence of a thing. What is not therefore among the causes constituting marriage, must not stay in the definition. Those causes are concluded to be matter, and, as the artist calls it, Form. But inasmuch as the same thing may be a cause more ways than one, and that in relations and institutions which have no corporal subsistence, but only a respective being, the Form, by which the thing is what it is, is oft so slender and undistinguishable, that it would soon confuse, were it not sustained by the efficient and final causes, which concur to make up the form, invalid otherwise of itself, it will be needful to take in all the four causes into the definition. First therefore the material cause of matrimony is man and woman; the author and efficient, God and their consent; the internal Form and soul of this relation, is conjugal love arising from a mutual fitness to the final causes of wedlock, help and society in religious, civil, and domestic conversation, which includes as an inferior end the fulfilling of natural desire, and specifical increase; these are the final causes both moving the Efficient, and perfecting the Form. And although copulation be considered among the ends of marriage, yet the act thereof in a right esteem can no longer be matrimonial, than it is an effect of conjugal love. When love finds itself utterly unmatched, and justly vanishes, nay rather cannot but vanish, the fleshly act indeed may continue, but not holy, not pure, not beseeming the sacred bond of marriage; being at best but an animal excretion, but more truly worse and more ignoble than that mute kindliness among the herds and flocks: in that proceeding as it ought from intellective principles, it participates of nothing rational, but that which the field and the fold equals. For in human actions the soul is the agent, the body in a manner passive. If then the body do out of sensitive force, what the soul complies not with, how can man, and not rather something beneath man, be thought the doer?

But to proceed in the pursuit of an accurate definition, it will avail us something, and whet our thoughts, to examine what fabric hereof others have already reared. Paræus on Gen. defines marriage to be "an indissoluble conjunction of one man and one woman to an individual and intimate conversation, and mutual benevolence," &c. Wherein is to be marked his placing of intimate conversation before bodily benevolence; for bodily is meant, though indeed "benevolence" rather sounds will than body. Why then shall divorce be granted for want of bodily performance, and not for want of fitness to intimate conversation, whenas corporal benevolence cannot in any human fashion be without this? Thus his definition places the ends of marriage in one order, and esteems them in another.

His tautology also of indissoluble and individual is not to be imitated; especially since neither indissoluble nor individual hath aught to do in the exact definition, being but a consectary flowing from thence, as appears by plain Scripture, "Therefore shall a man leave," &c. For marriage is not true marriage by being individual, but therefore individual, if it be true marriage. No argument but causes enter the definition: a consectary is but the effect of those causes. Besides, that marriage is indissoluble, is not catholicly true; we know it dissoluble for adultery and for desertion by the verdict of all reformed churches. Dr. Ames defines it "an individual conjunction of one man and one woman, to communion of body and mutual society of life:" but this perverts the order of God, who in the institution places meet help and society of life before communion of body. And vulgar estimation undervalues beyond comparison all society of life and communion of mind beneath the communion of body; granting no divorce, but to the want, or miscommunicating of that. Hemingius, an approved author, Melancthon's scholar, and who, next to Bucer and Erasmus, writes of divorce most like a divine, thus comprises, "Marriage is a conjunction of one man and one woman lawfully consenting, into one flesh, for mutual help's sake, ordained of God." And in his explanation stands punctually upon the conditions of consent, that it be not in any main matter deluded, as being the life of wedlock, and no true marriage without a true consent. "Into one flesh" he expounds into one mind, as well as one body, and makes it the formal cause: herein only missing, while he puts the effect into his definition instead of the cause which the text affords him. For "one flesh" is not the formal essence of wedlock, but one end, or one effect of "a meet help:" the end ofttimes being the effect and fruit of the form, as logic teaches: else many aged and holy matrimonies, and more eminently that of Joseph and Mary, would be no true marriage. And that Maxim generally received, would be false, that "consent alone, though copulation never follow, makes the marriage." Therefore to consent lawfully into one flesh, is not the formal cause of matrimony, but only one of the effects. The civil lawyers, and first Justinian or Tribonian defines matrimony a "conjunction of man and woman containing individual accustom of life." Wherein first, individual is not so bad as indissoluble put in by others: and although much cavil might be made in the distinguishing between indivisible and individual, yet the one taken for possible, the other for actual, neither the one nor the other can belong to the essence of marriage; especially when a civilian defines, by which law marriage is actually divorced for many causes, and with good leave, by mutual consent. Therefore where "conjunction" is said, they who comment the Institutes agree, that conjunction of mind is by the law meant, not necessarily conjunction of body. That law then had good reason attending to its own definition, that divorce should be granted for the breaking of that conjunction which it holds necessary, sooner than for the want of that conjunction which it holds not necessary. And whereas Tuningus a famous lawyer, excuses individual as the purpose of marriage, not always the success, it suffices not. Purpose is not able to constitute the essence of a thing. Nature herself, the universal mother, intends nothing but her own perfection and preservation; yet is not the more indissoluble for that. The Pandects out of Modestinus, though not define, yet well describe marriage "the conjunction of male and female, the society of all life, the communion of divine and human right:" which Bucer also imitates on the fifth to the Ephesians. But it seems rather to comprehend the several ends of marriage than to contain the more constituting cause that makes it what it is.

That I therefore among others (for who sings not Hylas?) may give as well as take matter to be judged on, it will be looked I should produce another definition than these which have not stood the trial. Thus then I suppose that marriage by the natural and plain order of God's institution in the text may be more demonstratively and essentially defined. "Marriage is a divine institution, joining man and woman in a love fitly disposed to the helps and comforts of domestic life." "A divine institution." This contains the prime efficient cause of marriage: as for consent of parents and guardians, it seems rather a concurrence than a cause; for as many that marry are in their own power as not; and where they are not their own, yet are they not subjected beyond reason. Now though efficient causes are not requisite in a definition, yet divine institution hath such influence upon the Form, and is so a conserving cause of it, that without it the Form is not sufficient to distinguish matrimony from other conjunctions of male and female, which are not to be counted marriage. "Joining man and woman in a love," &c. This brings in the parties' consent; until which be, the marriage hath no true being. When I say "consent," I mean not errour, for errour is not properly consent: and why should not consent be here understood with equity and good to either part, as in all other friendly covenants, and not be strained and cruelly urged to the mischief and destruction of both? Neither do I mean that singular act of consent which made the contract, for that may remain, and yet the marriage not true nor lawful; and that may cease, and yet the marriage both true and lawful, to their sin that break it. So that either as no efficient at all, or but a transitory, it comes not into the definition. That consent I mean, which is a love fitly disposed to mutual help and comfort of life: this is that happy Form of Marriage naturally arising from the very heart of divine institution in the text, in all the former definitions either obscurely, and under mistaken terms expressed, or not at all. This gives marriage all her due, all her benefits, all her being, all her distinct and proper being. This makes a marriage not a bondage, a blessing not curse, a gift of God not a snare. Unless there be a love, and that love born of fitness, how can it last? unless it last, how can the best and sweetest purposes of marriage be attained? And they not attained, which are the chief ends, and with a lawful love constitute the formal cause itself of marriage, how can the essence

thereof subsist? How can it be indeed what it goes for? Conclude therefore by all the power of reason, that where this essence of marriage is not, there can be no true marriage; and the parties, either one of them or both, are free, and without fault, rather by a nullity than by a divorce, may betake them to a second choice, if their present condition be not tolerable to them. If any shall ask, why "domestic" in the definition? I answer, that because both in the Scriptures, and in the gravest poets and philosophers, I find the properties and excellencies of a wife set out only from domestic virtues; if they extend further, it diffuses them into the notion of some more common duty than matrimonial.

Thus far of the definition; the consectary which flows from thence, altogether depends thereon, is manifestly brought in by this connexive particle "therefore;" and branches itself into a double consequence; First, individual society, "therefore shall a man leave father and mother:" Secondly, conjugal benevolence, "and they shall be one flesh." Which, as was shewn, is not without cause here mentioned, to prevent and to abolish the suspect of pollution in that natural and undefiled act. These consequences therefore cannot either in religion, law, or reason, be bound, and posted upon mankind to his sorrow and misery, but receive what force they have from the meetness of help and solace, which is the formal cause and end of that definition that sustains them. And although it be not for the majesty of Scripture, to humble herself in artificial theorems, and definitions, and corollaries, like a professor in the schools, but looks to be analysed, and interpreted by the logical industry of her disciples and followers, and to be reduced by them, as oft as need is, into those sciential rules, which are the implements of instruction; yet Moses, as if foreseeing the miserable work that man's ignorance and pusillanimity would make in this matrimonious business, and endeavouring his utmost to prevent it, condescends in this place to such a methodical and schoollike way of defining and consequencing, as in no place of the whole law more.

Thus we have seen, and, if we be not contentious, may know what was marriage in the beginning, to which in the gospel we are referred; and what from hence to judge of nullity, or divorce. Here I esteem the work done; in this field the controversy decided; but because other places of Scripture seem to look aversely upon this our decision, (although indeed they keep all harmony with it,) and because it is a better work to reconcile the seeming diversities of Scripture, than the real dissensions of nearest friends; I shall assay in the three following discourses to perform that office.

Deut. xxiv. 1, 2.

1. "When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.
2. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife."

That which is the only discommodity of speaking in a clear matter, the abundance of argument that presses to be uttered, and the suspense of judgment what to choose, and how in the multitude of reason to be not tedious, is the greatest difficulty which I expect here to meet with. Yet much hath been said formerly concerning this law in "the Doctrine of Divorce." Whereof I shall repeat no more than what is necessary. Two things are here doubted: First, and that but of late, whether this be a law or no; next, what this reason of "uncleanness" might mean, for which the law is granted. That it is a plain law no man ever questioned, till Vatablus within these hundred years professed Hebrew at Paris, a man of no religion, as Beza deciphers him. Yet some there be who follow him, not only against the current of all antiquity both Jewish and Christian, but the evidence of Scripture also, Malachi ii. 16, "Let him who hateth put away, saith the Lord God of Israel." Although this place also hath been tampered with, as if it were to be thus rendered, "The Lord God saith, that he hateth putting away." But this new interpretation rests only in the authority of Junius: for neither Calvin, nor Vatablus himself, nor any other known divine so interpreted before. And they of best note who have translated the Scripture since, and Diodati for one, follow not his reading. And perhaps they might reject it, if for nothing else, for these two reasons: first, it introduces in a new manner the person of God speaking less majestic than he is ever wont: when God speaks by his prophet, he ever speaks in the first person, thereby signifying his majesty and omnipresence. He would have said, I hate putting away, saith the Lord; and not sent word by Malachi in a sudden fallen style, "The Lord God saith, that he hateth putting away:" that were a phrase to shrink the glorious omnipresence of God speaking, into a kind of circumscriptive absence. And were as if a herald, in the achievement of a king, should commit the indecorum to set his helmet sideways and close, not full-faced and open in the posture of direction and command. We cannot think therefore that this last prophet would thus in a new fashion absent the person of God from his own words, as if he came not along with them. For it would also be wide from the proper scope of this place; he that reads attentively will soon perceive, that God blames not here the Jews for putting away their wives, but for keeping strange concubines, to the "profaning of Juda's holiness," and the vexation of their Hebrew wives, v. 11, and 14, "Judah hath married the daughter of a strange god:" and exhorts them rather to put their wives away whom they hate, as the law permitted, than to keep them under such affronts. And it is received, that this prophet lived in those times of Ezra and Nehemiah, (nay by some is thought to be Ezra himself,) when the people were forced by these two worthies to put their strange wives away. So that what the story of those times, and the plain context of the eleventh verse, from whence this

rebuke begins, can give us to conjecture of the obscure and curt Ebraisms that follow; this prophet does not forbid putting away, but forbids keeping, and commands putting away according to God's law, which is the plainest interpreter both of what God will, and what he can best suffer. Thus much evinces, that God there commanded divorce by Malachi; and this confirms, that he commands it also here by Moses.

I may the less doubt to mention by the way an author, though counted apocryphal, yet of no small account for piety and wisdom, the author of Ecclesiasticus. Which book, begun by the grandfather of that Jesus, who is called the son of Sirach, might have been written in part, not much after the time when Malachi lived; if we compute by the reign of Ptolemæus Euergetes. It professes to explain the law and the prophets; and yet exhorts us to divorce for incurable causes, and to cut off from the flesh those whom it there describes, Ecclesiastic. xxv. 26. Which doubtless that wise and ancient writer would never have advised, had either Malachi so lately forbidden it, or the law by a full precept not left it lawful. But I urge not this for want of better proof; our Saviour himself allows divorce to be a command, Mark x. 3, 5. Neither do they weaken this assertion, who say it was only a sufferance, as shall be proved at large in that place of Mark. But suppose it were not a written law, they never can deny it was a custom, and so effect nothing. For the same reasons that induce them why it should not be a law, will straiten them as hard why it should be allowed a custom. All custom is either evil, or not evil; if it be evil, this is the very end of lawgiving, to abolish evil customs by wholesome laws; unless we imagine Moses weaker than every negligent and startling politician. If it be, as they make this of divorce to be, a custom against nature, against justice, against charity, how, upon this most impure custom tolerated, could the God of pureness erect a nice and precise law, that the wife married after divorce could not return to her former husband, as being defiled? What was all this following niceness worth, built upon the lewd foundation of a wicked thing allowed? In few words then, this custom of divorce either was allowable, or not allowable; if not allowable, how could it be allowed? if it were allowable, all who understand law will consent, that a tolerated custom hath the force of a law, and is indeed no other but an unwritten law, as Justinian calls it, and is as prevalent as any written statute. So that their shift of turning this law into a custom wheels about, and gives the onset upon their own flanks; not disproving, but concluding it to be the more firm law, because it was without controversy a granted custom; as clear in the reason of common life, as those given rules whereon Euclides builds his propositions.

Thus being every way a law of God, who can without blasphemy doubt it to be a just and pure law? Moses continually disavows the giving them any statute, or judgment, but what he learnt of God; of whom also in his song he saith, Deut. xxxii. "He is the rock, his work is perfect, all his ways are judgment, a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he." And David testifies, the judgments of the Lord "are true and righteous altogether." Not partly right and partly wrong, much less wrong altogether, as divines of now-a-days dare censure them. Moses again, of that people to whom he gave this law, saith, Deut. xiv. "Ye are the children of the Lord your God, the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people to himself above all the nations upon the earth, that thou shouldst keep all his commandments, and be high in praise, in name, and in honour, holy to the Lord!" chap. xxvi. And in the fourth, "Behold I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me, keep therefore and do them. For this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of nations that shall hear all these statutes, and say, surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh to them? and what nation that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law which I set before you this day?" Thus whether we look at the purity and justice of God himself, the jealousy of his honour among other nations, the holiness and moral perfection which he intended by his law to teach this people, we cannot possibly think how he could endure to let them slug and grow inveterately wicked, under base allowances, and whole adulterous lives by dispensation. They might not eat, they might not touch an unclean thing; to what hypocrisy then were they trained up, if by prescription of the same law, they might be unjust, they might be adulterous for term of life? forbid to soil their garments with a coy imaginary pollution, but not forbid, but countenanced and animated by law, to soil their souls with deepest defilements. What more unlike to God, what more like that God should hate, than that his law should be so curious to wash vessels and vestures, and so careless to leave unwashed, unregarded, so foul a scab of Egypt in their souls? What would we more? The statutes of the Lord are all pure and just: and if all, then this of divorce.

"Because he hath found some uncleanness in her."] That we may not esteem this law to be a mere authorizing of licence, as the Pharisees took it, Moses adds the reason, for "some uncleanness found." Some heretofore have been so ignorant, as to have thought, that this uncleanness means adultery. But Erasmus, who, for having writ an excellent treatise of divorce, was wrote against by some burly standard divine, perhaps of Cullen, or of Lovain, who calls himself Phimostomus, shews learnedly out of the fathers, with other testimonies and reasons, that uncleanness is not here so understood; defends his former work, though new to that age, and perhaps counted licentious, and fears not to engage all his fame on the argument. Afterward, when expositors began to understand the Hebrew text, which they had not done of many ages before, they translated word for word not "uncleanness," but "the nakedness of any thing;" and considering that nakedness is usually referred in Scripture to the mind as well as to the body, they constantly expound it any defect, annoyance, or

ill quality in nature, which to be joined with, makes life tedious, and such company worse than solitude. So that here will be no cause to vary from the general consent of exposition, which gives us freely that God permitted divorce, for whatever was unalterably distasteful, whether in body or mind. But with this admonishment, that if the Roman law, especially in contracts and dowries, left many things to equity with these cautions, " ex fide bona, quod æquius melius erit, ut inter bonos bene agitur;" we will not grudge to think, that God intended not licence here to every humour, but to such remediless grievances as might move a good and honest and faithful man then to divorce, when it can no more be peace or comfort to either of them continuing thus joined. And although it could not be avoided, but that men of hard hearts would abuse this liberty, yet doubtless it was intended, as all other privileges in law are, to good men principally, to bad only by accident. So that the sin was not in the permission, nor simply in the action of divorce, (for then the permitting also had been sin,) but only in the abuse. But that this law should, as it were, be wrung from God and Moses, only to serve the hardheartedness, and the lust of injurious men, how remote it is from all sense, and law, and honesty, and therefore surely from the meaning of Christ, shall abundantly be manifest in due order.

Now although Moses needed not to add other reason of this law than that one there expressed, yet to these ages wherein canons, and Scotisms, and Lombard laws, have dulled, and almost obliterated the lively sculpture of ancient reason and humanity; it will be requisite to heap reason upon reason, and all little enough to vindicate the whiteness and the innocence of this divine law, from the calumny it finds at this day, of being a door to licence and confusion. Whenas indeed there is not a judicial point in all Moses, consisting of more true equity, high wisdom, and godlike pity than this law; not derogating, but preserving the honour and peace of marriage, and exactly agreeing with the sense and mind of that institution in Genesis.

For, first, if marriage be but an ordained relation, as it seems not more, it cannot take place above the prime dictates of nature: and if it be of natural right, yet it must yield to that which is more natural, and before it by eldership and precedence in nature. Now it is not natural, that Hugh marries Beatrice, or Thomas Rebecca, being only a civil contract, and full of many chances; but that these men seek them meet helps, that only is natural; and that they espouse them such, that only is marriage. But if they find them neither fit helps nor tolerable society, what thing more natural, more original, and first in nature, than to depart from that which is irksome, grievous, actively hateful, and injurious even to hostility, especially in a conjugal respect, wherein antipathies are invincible, and where the forced abiding of the one can be no true good, no real comfort to the other? For if he find no contentment from the other, how can he return it from himself? or no acceptance, how can he mutually accept? What more equal, more pious, than to untie a civil knot for a natural enmity held by violence from parting, to dissolve an accidental conjunction of this or that man and woman, for the most natural and most necessary disagreement of meet from unmeet, guilty from guiltless, contrary from contrary? It being certain, that the mystical and blessed unity of marriage can be no way more unhallowed and profaned, than by the forcible uniting of such disunions and separations. Which if we see ofttimes they cannot join or piece up a common friendship, or to a willing conversation in the same house, how should they possibly agree to the most familiar and united amity of wedlock? Abraham and Lot, though dear friends and brethren in a strange country, chose rather to part asunder, than to infect their friendship with the strife of their servants: Paul and Barnabas, joined together by the Holy Ghost to a spiritual work, thought it better to separate, when once they grew at variance. If these great saints, joined by nature, friendship, religion, high providence, and revelation, could not so govern a casual difference, a sudden passion, but must in wisdom divide from the outward duties of a friendship, or a colleagueship in the same family, or in the same journey, lest it should grow to a worse division; can any thing be more absurd and barbarous, than that they whom only errour, casualty, art, or plot, hath joined, should be compelled, not against a sudden passion, but against the permanent and radical discords of nature, to the most intimate and incorporating duties of love and embracement, therein only rational and human, as they are free and voluntary; being else an abject and servile yoke, scarce not brutish? and that there is in man such a peculiar sway of liking or disliking in the affairs of matrimony, is evidently seen before marriage among those who can be friendly, can respect each other, yet to marry each other would not for any persuasion. If then this unfitness and disparity be not till after marriage discovered, through many causes, and colours, and concealments, that may overshadow; undoubtedly it will produce the same effects, and perhaps with more vehemence, that such a mistaken pair would give the world to be unmarried again. And their condition Solomon to the plain justification of divorce expresses, Prov. xxx. 21, 23, where he tells us of his own accord, that a " hated, or a hateful woman, when she is married, is a thing for which the earth is disquieted, and cannot bear it:" thus giving divine testimony to this divine law, which bids us nothing more than is the first and most innocent lesson of nature, to turn away peaceably from what afflicts, and hazards our destruction; especially when our staying can do no good, and is exposed to all evil.

Secondly, It is unjust that any ordinance, ordained to the good and comfort of man, where that end is missing, without his fault, should be forced upon him to an unsufferable misery and discomfort, if not commonly ruin. All ordinances are established in their end; the end of law is the virtue, is the righteousness of law: and therefore him we count an ill expounder, who urges law against the intention thereof. The general end of every ordinance, of every severest, every

divinest, even of Sabbath, is the good of man; yea his temporal good not excluded. But marriage is one of the benignest ordinances of God to man, whereof both the general and particular end is the peace and contentment of man's mind, as the institution declares. Contentment of body they grant, which if it be defrauded, the plea of frigidity shall divorce: but here lies the fathomless absurdity, that granting this for bodily defect, they will not grant it for any defect of the mind, any violation of religious or civil society. Whenas, if the argument of Christ be firm against the ruler of the synagogue, Luke xiii. "Thou hypocrite, doth not each of you on the Sabbath-day loosen his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him to watering, and should not I unbind a daughter of Abraham from this bond of Satan?" it stands as good here; ye have regard in marriage to the grievance of body, should you not regard more the grievances of the mind, seeing the soul as much excels the body, as the outward man excels the ass, and more? for that animal is yet a living creature, perfect in itself; but the body without the soul is a mere senseless trunk. No ordinance therefore, given particularly to the good both spiritual and temporal of man, can be urged upon him to his mischief; and if they yield this to the unworthier part, the body, whereabout are they in their principles, that they yield it not to the more worthy, the mind of a good man?

Thirdly, As no ordinance, so no covenant, no not between God and man, much less between man and man, being, as all are, intended to the good of both parties, can hold to the deluding or making miserable of them both. For equity is understood in every covenant, even between enemies, though the terms be not expressed. If equity therefore made it, extremity may dissolve it. But marriage, they used to say, is the covenant of God. Undoubted: and so if any covenant frequently called in Scripture, wherein God is called to witness: the covenant of friendship between David and Jonathan is called the covenant of the Lord, 1 Sam. xx. The covenant of Zedekiah with the king of Babel, a covenant to be doubted whether lawful or no, yet, in respect of God invoked thereto, is called "the oath, and the covenant of God," Ezek. xvii. Marriage also is called "the covenant of God," Prov. ii. 17. Why, but as before, because God is the witness thereof, Mal. ii. 14. So that this denomination adds nothing to the covenant of marriage, above any other civil and solemn contract: nor is it more indissoluble for this reason than any other against the end of its own ordination; nor is any vow or oath to God exacted with such a rigour, where superstition reigns not. For look how much divine the covenant is, so much the more equal, so much the more to be expected that every article thereof should be fairly made good; no false dealing or unperforming should be thrust upon men without redress, if the covenant be so divine. But faith, they say, must be kept in covenant, though to our damage I answer, that only holds true, where the other side performs; which failing, he is no longer bound. Again, this is true, when the keeping of faith can be of any use or benefit to the other. But in marriage, a league of love and willingness, if faith be not willingly kept, it scarce is worth the keeping; nor can be any delight to a generous mind, with whom it is forcibly kept: and the question still supposes the one brought to an impossibility of keeping it as he ought, by the other's default; and to keep it formally, not only with a thousand shifts and dissimulations, but with open anguish, perpetual sadness and disturbance, no willingness, no cheerfulness, no contentment; cannot be any good to a mind not basely poor and shallow, with whom the contract of love is so kept. A covenant therefore brought to that pass, is on the unfaulty side without injury dissolved.

Fourthly, The law is not to neglect men under greatest sufferances, but to see covenants of greatest moment faithfullest performed. And what injury comparable to that sustained in a frustrate and false-dealing marriage, to lose, for another's fault against him, the best portion of his temporal comforts, and of his spiritual too, as it may fall out? It was the law, that for man's good and quiet reduced things to propriety, which were at first in common; how much more lawlike were it to assist nature in disappropriating that evil, which by continuing proper becomes destructive? But he might have bewared. So he might in any other covenant, wherein the law does not constrain errour to so dear a forfeit. And yet in these matters wherein the wisest are apt to err, all the wariness that can be ofttimes nothing avails. But the law can compel the offending party to be more duteous. Yes, if all these kind of offences were fit in public to be complained of, or being compelled were any satisfaction to a mate not sottish, or malicious. And these injuries work so vehemently, that if the law remedy them not, by separating the cause when no way else will pacify, the person not relieved betakes him either to such disorderly courses, or to such a dull dejection, as renders him either infamous, or useless to the service of God and his country. Which the law ought to prevent as a thing pernicious to the commonwealth; and what better prevention than this which Moses used?

Fifthly, The law is to tender the liberty and the human dignity of them that live under the law, whether it be the man's right above the woman, or the woman's just appeal against wrong and servitude. But the duties of marriage contain in them a duty of benevolence, which to do by compulsion against the soul, where there can be neither peace, nor joy, nor love, but an enthralment to one who either cannot or will not be mutual in the godliest and the civilest ends of that society, is the ignoblest and the lowest slavery that a human shape can be put to. This law therefore justly and piously provides against such an unmanly task of bondage as this. The civil law, though it favoured the setting free of a slave, yet, if he proved ungrateful to his patron, reduced him to a servile condition. If that law did well to reduce from liberty to bondage for an ingratitude not the greatest, much more became it the law of God, to enact the restorement of a freeborn man from an unpurposed and unworthy bondage

to a rightful liberty, for the most unnatural fraud and ingratitude that can be committed against him. And if that civilian emperor, in his title of "Donations," permit the giver to recall his gift from him who proves unthankful towards him; yea, though he had subscribed and signed in the deed of his gift not to recall it, though for this very cause of ingratitude; with much more equity doth Moses permit here the giver to recall no petty gift, but the gift of himself, from one who most injuriously and deceitfully uses him against the main ends and conditions of his giving himself, expressed in God's institution.

Sixthly, Although there be nothing in the plain words of this law, that seems to regard the afflictions of a wife, how great soever; yet expositors determine, and doubtless determine rightly, that God was not uncompassionate of them also in the framing of this law. For should the rescript of Antoninus in the civil law give release to servants flying for refuge to the emperor's statue, by giving leave to change their cruel masters; and should God, who in his law also is good to injured servants, by granting them their freedom in divers cases, not consider the wrongs and miseries of a wife, which is no servant? Though herein the countersense of our divines to me, I must confess, seems admirable; who teach that God gave this as a merciful law, not for man whom he here names, and to whom by name he gives this power; but for the wife, whom he names not, and to whom by name he gives no power at all. For certainly if man be liable to injuries in marriage, as well as woman, and man be the worthier person, it were a preposterous law to respect only the less worthy; her whom God made for marriage, and not him at all for whom marriage was made.

Seventhly, The law of marriage gives place to the power of parents: for we hold, that consent of parents not had may break the wedlock, though else accomplished. It gives place to masterly power, for the master might take away from a Hebrew servant the wife which he gave him, Exod. xxi. If it be answered, that the marriage of servants is no matrimony; it is replied, that this in the ancient Roman law is true, not in the Mosaic. If it be added, she was a stranger, not a Hebrew, therefore easily divorced; it will be answered, that strangers not being Canaanites, and they also being converts, might be lawfully married, as Rahab was. And her conversion is here supposed; for a Hebrew master could not lawfully give a heathen wife to a Hebrew servant. However, the divorcing of an Israelitish woman was as easy by the law, as the divorcing of a stranger, and almost in the same words permitted, Deut. xxiv. and Deut. xxi. Lastly, it gives place to the right of war, for a captive woman lawfully married, and afterwards not beloved, might be dismissed, only without ransom, Deut. xxi. If marriage be dissolved by so many exterior powers, not superior, as we think, why may not the power of marriage itself, for its own peace and honour, dissolve itself, where the persons wedded be free persons? Why may not a greater and more natural power complaining dissolve marriage? For the ends, why matrimony was ordained, are certainly and by all logic above the ordinance itself; why may not that dissolve marriage, without which that institution hath no force at all? For the prime ends of marriage are the whole strength and validity thereof, without which matrimony is like an idol, nothing in the world. But those former allowances were all for hardness of heart. Be that granted, until we come where to understand it better; if the law suffer thus far the obstinacy of a bad man, is it not more righteous here, to do willingly what is but equal, to remove in season the extremities of a good man?

Eighthly, If a man had deflowered a virgin, or brought an ill name on his wife, that she came not a virgin to him, he was amerced in certain shekels of silver, and bound never to divorce her all his days, Deut. xxii. which shews that the law gave no liberty to divorce, where the injury was palpable; and that the absolute forbidding to divorce was in part the punishment of a deflowerer, and a defamer. Yet not so but that the wife questionless might depart when she pleased. Otherwise this course had not so much righted her, as delivered her up to more spite and cruel usage. This law therefore doth justly distinguish the privilege of an honest and blameless man in the matter of divorce, from the punishment of a notorious offender.

Ninthly, Suppose it should be imputed to a man, that he was too rash in his choice, and why he took not better heed, let him now smart, and bear his folly as he may; although the law of God, that terrible law, do not thus upbraid the infirmities and unwilling mistakes of man in his integrity: but suppose these and the like proud aggravations of some stern hypocrite, more merciless in his mercies, than any literal law in the rigour of severity, must be patiently heard; yet all law, and God's law especially, grants every where to errour easy remitments, even where the utmost penalty exacted were no undoing. With great reason therefore and mercy doth it here not torment an errour, if it be so, with the endurance of a whole life lost to all household comfort and society, a punishment of too vast and huge dimension for an errour, and the more unreasonable for that the like objection may be opposed against the plea of divorcing for adultery: he might have looked better before to her breeding under religious parents: why did he not more diligently inquire into her manners, into what company she kept? every glance of her eye, every step of her gait, would have prophesied adultery, if the quick scent of these discerners had been took along; they had the divination to have foretold you all this, as they have now the divinity to punish an errour inhumanly. As good reason to be content, and forced to be content with your adulteress, if these objectors might be the judges of human frailty. But God, more mild and good to man, than man to his brother, in all this liberty given to divorcement, mentions not a word of our past errours and mistakes, if any were; which these men objecting from their own inventions, prosecute with all violence

and iniquity. For if the one be to look so narrowly what he takes, at the peril of ever keeping, why should not the other be made as wary what is promised, by the peril of losing? for without those promises the treaty of marriage had not proceeded. Why should his own errour bind him, rather than the other's fraud acquit him? Let the buyer beware, saith the old law-beaten termer. Belike then there is no more honesty, nor ingenuity in the bargain of a wedlock, than in the buying of a colt: we must it seems drive it on as craftily with those whose affinity we seek, as if they were a pack of salemen and complotters. But the deceiver deceives himself in the unprosperous marriage, and therein is sufficiently punished. I answer, that the most of those who deceive are such as either understand not, or value not the true purposes of marriage; they have the prey they seek, not the punishment: yet say it prove to them some cross, it is not equal that errour and fraud should be linked in the same degree of forfeiture, but rather that errour should be acquitted, and fraud bereaved his morsel, if the mistake were not on both sides; for then on both sides the acquitment would be reasonable, if the bondage be intolerable; which this law graciously determines, not unmindful of the wife, as was granted willingly to the common expositors, though beyond the letter of this law, yet not beyond the spirit of charity.

Tenthly, Marriage is a solemn thing, some say a holy, the resemblance of Christ and his church: and so indeed it is where the persons are truly religious; and we know all sacred things, not performed sincerely as they ought, are no way acceptable to God in their outward formality. And that wherein it differs from personal duties, if they be not truly done, the fault is in ourselves; but marriage to be a true and pious marriage is not in the single power of any person; the essence whereof, as of all other covenants, is in relation to another, the making and maintaining causes thereof are all mutual, and must be a communion of spiritual and temporal comforts. If then either of them cannot, or obstinately will not, be answerable in these duties, so as that the other can have no peaceful living, or endure the want of what he justly seeks, and sees no hope, then straight from that dwelling, love, which is the soul of wedlock, takes his flight, leaving only some cold performances of civil and common respects; but the true bond of marriage, if there were ever any there, is already burst like a rotten thread. Then follows dissimulation, suspicion, false colours, false pretences, and worse than these, disturbance, annoyance, vexation, sorrow, temptation even in the faultless person, weary of himself, and of all actions public or domestic; then comes disorder, neglect, hatred, and perpetual strife; all these the enemies of holiness and Christianity, and every one persisted in, a remediless violation of matrimony. Therefore God, who hates all feigning and formality, where there should be all faith and sincereness, and abhors the inevitable discord, where there should be greater concord; when through another's default faith and concord cannot be, counts it neither just to punish the innocent with the transgressor, nor holy, nor honourable for the sanctity of marriage, that should be the union of peace and love, to be made the commitment and close fight of enmity and hate. And therefore doth in this law what best agrees with his goodness, loosening a sacred thing to peace and charity, rather than binding it to hatred and contention; loosening only the outward and formal tie of that which is already inwardly and really broken, or else was really never joined.

Eleventhly, One of the chief matrimonial ends is said to seek a holy seed; but where an unfit marriage administers continual cause of hatred and distemper, there, as was heard before, cannot choose but much unholiness abide. Nothing more unhallows a man, more unprepares him to the service of God in any duty, than a habit of wrath and perturbation, arising from the importunity of troublous causes never absent. And where the household stands in this plight, what love can there be to the unfortunate issue, what care of their breeding, which is of main conducement to their being holy? God therefore, knowing how unhappy it would be for children to be born in such a family, gives this law as a prevention, that, being an unhappy pair, they should not add to be unhappy parents, or else as a remedy that if there be children, while they are fewest, they may follow either parent, as shall be agreed, or judged, from the house of hatred and discord to a place of more holy and peaceable education.

Twelfthly, All law is available to some good end, but the final prohibition of divorce avails to no good end, causing only the endless aggravation of evil, and therefore this permission of divorce was given to the Jews by the wisdom and fatherly providence of God; who knew that law cannot command love, without which matrimony hath no true being, no good, no solace, nothing of God's instituting, nothing but so sordid and so low, as to be disdained of any generous person. Law cannot enable natural inability either of body, or mind, which gives the grievance; it cannot make equal those inequalities, it cannot make fit those unfitnesses; and where there is malice more than defect of nature, it cannot hinder ten thousand injuries, and bitter actions of despight, too subtle and too unapparent for law to deal with. And while it seeks to remedy more outward wrongs, it exposes the injured person to other more inward and more cutting. All these evils unavoidably will redound upon the children, if any be, and upon the whole family. It degenerates and disorders the best spirits, leaves them to unsettled imaginations, and degraded hopes, careless of themselves, their households, and their friends, unactive to all public service, dead to the commonwealth; wherein they are by one mishap, and no willing trespass of theirs, outlawed from all the benefits and comforts of married life and posterity. It confers as little to the honour and inviolable keeping of matrimony, but sooner stirs up temptations and occasions to secret adulteries and unchaste roving. But it maintains public honesty. Public folly rather; who shall judge of public honesty? The law of God and of ancientest Christians, and all civil nations; or the illegitimate law of monks and

canonists, the most malevolent, most unexperienced, most incompetent judges of matrimony?

These reasons, and many more that might be alleged, afford us plainly to perceive both what good cause this law had to do for good men in mischances, and what necessity it had to suffer accidentally the hardheartedness of bad men, which it could not certainly discover, or discovering could not subdue, no nor endeavour to restrain without multiplying sorrow to them, for whom all was endeavoured. The guiltless therefore were not deprived their needful redresses, and the hard hearts of others, unchastisable in those judicial courts, were so remitted there, as bound over to the higher session of conscience.

Notwithstanding all this, there is a loud exception against this law of God, nor can the holy Author save his law from this exception, that it opens a door to all licence and confusion. But this is the rudest, I was almost saying the most graceless objection, and with the least reverence to God and Moses, that could be devised: this is to cite God before man's tribunal, to arrogate a wisdom and holiness above him. Did not God then foresee what event of licence or confusion could follow? Did not he know how to ponder these abuses with more prevailing respects, in the most even balance of his justice and pureness, till these correctors came up to shew him better? The law is, if it stir up sin any way, to stir it up by forbidding, as one contrary excites another, Rom. vii.; but if it once come to provoke sin, by granting licence to sin, according to laws that have no other honest end, but only to permit the fulfilling of obstinate lust, how is God not made the contradicter of himself? No man denies, that best things may be abused; but it is a rule resulting from many pregnant experiences, that what doth most harm in the abusing, used rightly doth most good. And such a good to take away from honest men, for being abused by such as abuse all things, is the greatest abuse of all. That the whole law is no further useful, than as a man uses it lawfully, St. Paul teaches, 1 Tim. i. And that christian liberty may be used for an occasion to the flesh, the same apostle confesses, Gal. v.; yet thinks not of removing it for that, but bids us rather "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath freed us, and not be held again in the yoke of bondage." The very permission, which Christ gave to divorce for adultery, may be foully abused, by any whose hardness of heart can either feign adultery, or dares commit, that he may divorce. And for this cause the pope, and hitherto the church of England, forbid all divorce from the bond of marriage, though for openest adultery. If then it be righteous to hinder, for the fear of abuse, that which God's law, notwithstanding that caution, hath warranted to be done, doth not our righteousness come short of Antichrist? or do we not rather herein conform ourselves to his unrighteousness in this undue and unwise fear? For God regards more to relieve by this law the just complaints of good men, than to curb the licence of wicked men, to the crushing withal, and the overwhelming of his afflicted servants. He loves more that his law should look with pity upon the difficulties of his own, than with rigour upon the boundless riots of them who serve another master, and, hindered here by strictness, will break another way to worse enormities. If this law therefore have many good reasons for which God gave it, and no intention of giving scope to lewdness, but as abuse by accident comes in with every good law, and every good thing; it cannot be wisdom in us, while we can content us with God's wisdom, nor can be purity, if his purity will suffice us, to except against this law, as if it fostered licence. But if they affirm this law had no other end, but to permit obdurate lust, because it would be obdurate, making the law of God intentionally to proclaim and enact sin lawful, as if the will of God were become sinful, or sin stronger than his direct and lawgiving will; the men would be admonished to look well to it, that while they are so eager to shut the door against licence, they do not open a worse door to blasphemy. And yet they shall be here further shewn their iniquity: what more foul common sin among us than drunkenness? And who can be ignorant, that if the importation of wine, and the use of all strong drink, were forbid, it would both clean rid the possibility of committing that odious vice, and men might afterwards live happily and healthfully without the use of those intoxicating liquors? Yet who is there, the severest of them all, that ever propounded to lose his sack, his ale, toward the certain abolishing of so great a sin? who is there of them, the holiest, that less loves his rich canary at meals, though it be fetched from places that hazard the religion of them who fetch it, and though it make his neighbour drunk out of the same tun? While they forbid not therefore the use of that liquid merchandise, which forbidden would utterly remove a most loathsome sin, and not impair either the health or the refreshment of mankind, supplied many other ways: why do they forbid a law of God, the forbidding whereof brings into excessive bondage ofttimes the best of men, and betters not the worse? He, to remove a national vice, will not pardon his cups, nor think it concerns him to forbear the quaffing of that outlandish grape, in his unnecessary fulness, though other men abuse it never so much; nor is he so abstemious as to intercede with the magistrate, that all matter of drunkenness be banished the commonwealth; and yet for the fear of a less inconvenience unpardonably requires of his brethren, in their extreme necessity, to debar themselves the use of God's permissive law, though it might be their saving, and no man's endangering the more. Thus this peremptory strictness we may discern of what sort it is, how unequal, and how unjust.

But it will breed confusion. What confusion it would breed God himself took the care to prevent in the fourth verse of this chapter, that the divorced, being married to another, might not return to her former husband. And Justinian's law counsels the same in his title of "Nuptials." And what confusion else can there be in separation, to separate upon extreme urgency the religious from the irreligious, the fit from the unfit, the willing from the wilful, the abused from

the abuser? Such a separation is quite contrary to confusion. But to bind and mix together holy with atheist, heavenly with hellish, fitness with unfitness, light with darkness, antipathy with antipathy, the injured with the injurer, and force them into the most inward nearness of a detested union; this doubtless is the most horrid, the most unnatural mixture, the greatest confusion that can be confused.

Thus by this plain and Christian Talmud, vindicating the law of God from irreverent and unwary expositions, I trust, where it shall meet with intelligent perusers, some stay at least in men's thoughts will be obtained, to consider these many prudent and righteous ends of this divorcing permission: that it may have, for the great Author's sake, hereafter some competent allowance to be counted a little purer than the prerogative of a legal and public ribaldry, granted to that holy seed. So that from hence we shall hope to find the way still more open to the reconciling of those places, which treat this matter in the gospel. And thither now without interruption the course of method brings us.

MATT. v. 31, 32.

31. "It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement."

32. "But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife," &c.

MATT. xix. 3, 4, &c.

3. "And the Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him," &c.

"IT hath been said."] What hitherto hath been spoke upon the law of God touching matrimony or divorce, he who will deny to have been argued according to reason and all equity of Scripture, I cannot edify how, or by what rule of proportion, that man's virtue calculates, what his elements are, nor what his analytics. Confidently to those who have read good books, and to those whose reason is not an illiterate book to themselves, I appeal, whether they would not confess all this to be the commentary of truth and justice, were it not for these recited words of our Saviour. And if they take not back that which they thus grant, nothing sooner might persuade them that Christ here teaches no new precept, and nothing sooner might direct them to find his meaning than to compare and measure it by the rules of nature and eternal righteousness, which no written law extinguishes, and the gospel least of all. For what can be more opposite and disparaging to the covenant of love, of freedom, and of our manhood in grace, than to be made the yoking pedagogue of new severities, the scribe of syllables and rigid letters, not only grievous to the best of men, but different and strange from the light of reason in them, save only as they are fain to stretch and distort their apprehensions, for fear of displeasing the verbal straitness of a text, which our own servile fear gives us not the leisure to understand aright? If the law of Christ shall be written in our hearts, as was promised to the gospel, Jer. xxxi. how can this in the vulgar and superficial sense be a law of Christ, so far from being written in our hearts, that it injures and disallows not only the free dictates of nature and moral law, but of charity also and religion in our hearts? Our Saviour's doctrine is, that the end and the fulfilling of every command is charity; no faith without it, no truth without it, no worship, no works pleasing to God but as they partake of charity. He himself sets us an example, breaking the solemnest and strictest ordinance of religious rest, and justified the breaking, not to cure a dying man, but such whose cure might without danger have been deferred. And wherefore needs must the sick man's bed be carried on that day by his appointment? And why were the disciples, who could not forbear on that day to pluck the corn, so industriously defended, but to shew us, that, if he preferred the slightest occasions of man's good before the observing of highest and severest ordinances, he gave us much more easy leave to break the intolerable yoke of a never well-joined wedlock for the removing of our heaviest afflictions? Therefore it is, that the most of evangelic precepts are given us in proverbial forms, to drive us from the letter, though we love ever to be sticking there. For no other cause did Christ assure us that whatsoever things we bind, or slacken on earth, are so in heaven, but to signify that the christian arbitrement of charity is supreme decider of all controversy, and supreme resolver of all Scripture, not as the pope determines for his own tyranny, but as the church ought to determine for its own true liberty. Hence Eusebius, not far from the beginning of his history, compares the state of Christians to that of Noah and the patriarchs before the law. And this indeed was the reason why apostolic tradition in the ancient church was counted nigh equal to the written word, though it carried them at length awry, for want of considering that tradition was not left to be imposed as law, but to be a pattern of that christian prudence and liberty, which holy men by right assumed of old; which truth was so evident, that it found entrance even into the council of Trent, when the point of tradition came to be discussed. And Marinaro, a learned Carmelite, for approaching too near the true cause that gave esteem to tradition, that is to say, the difference between the Old and New Testament, the one punctually prescribing written law, the other guiding by the inward spirit, was reprehended by Cardinal Pool as one that had spoken more worthy a German Colloquy, than a general council. I omit many instances, many proofs and arguments of this kind, which alone would compile a just volume, and shall content me here to have shewn briefly, that the great and almost only commandment of the gospel is, to command nothing against the good of man, and much more no civil command against his civil good. If we understand not this, we are but cracked cymbals, we do but tinkle, we know nothing, we do nothing, all the sweat of our toilsomest obedience will but mock

us. And what we suffer superstitiously returns us no thanks. Thus medicining our eyes, we need not doubt to see more into the meaning of these our Saviour's words, than many who have gone before us.

"It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife."] Our Saviour was by the doctors of his time suspected of intending to dissolve the law. In this chapter he wipes off this aspersion upon his accusers, and shews, how they were the lawbreakers. In every commonwealth, when it decays, corruption makes two main steps; first, when men cease to do according to the inward and uncompelled actions of virtue, caring only to live by the outward constraint of law, and turn the simplicity of real good into the craft of seeming so by law. To this hypocritical honesty was Rome declined in that age wherein Horace lived, and discovered it to Quintius.

> Whom do we count a good man, whom but he
> Who keep the laws and statutes of the Senate?
> Who judges in great suits and controversies?
> Whose witness and opinion wins the cause?
> But his own house, and the whole neighbourhood
> Sees his foul inside through his whited skin.

The next declining is, when law becomes now too strait for the secular manners, and those too loose for the cincture of law. This brings in false and crooked interpretations to eke out law, and invents the subtle encroachment of obscure traditions hard to be disproved. To both these descents the Pharisees themselves were fallen. Our Saviour therefore shews them both where they broke the law, in not marking the divine intent thereof, but only the letter; and where they depraved the letter also with sophistical expositions. This law of divorce they had depraved both ways: first, by teaching that to give a bill of divorce was all the duty which that law required, whatever the cause were; next by running to divorce for any trivial, accidental cause; whenas the law evidently stays in the grave causes of natural and immutable dislike. "It hath been said," saith he. Christ doth not put any contempt or disesteem upon the law of Moses, by citing it so briefly; for in the same manner God himself cites a law of greatest caution, Jer. iii. "They say if a man put away his wife, shall he return to her again?" &c. Nor doth he more abolish it than the law of swearing, cited next with the same brevity, and more appearance of contradicting: for divorce hath an exception left it; but we are charged there as absolutely as words can charge us, "not to swear at all;" yet who denies the lawfulness of an oath, though here it be in no case permitted? And what shall become of his solemn protestation not to abolish one law, or one tittle of any law, especially of those which he mentions in this chapter? And that he meant more particularly the not abolishing of Mosaic divorce, is beyond all cavil manifest in Luke xvi. 17, 18, where this clause against abrogating is inserted immediately before the sentence against divorce, as if it were called thither on purpose to defend the equity of this particular law against the foreseen rashness of common textuaries, who abolish laws, as the rabble demolish images, in the zeal of their hammers oft violating the sepulchres of good men: like Pentheus in the tragedies, they see that for Thebes which is not, and take that for superstition, as these men in the heat of their annulling perceive not how they abolish right, and equal and justice, under the appearance of judicial. And yet are confessing all the while, that these sayings of Christ stand not in contradiction to the law of Moses, but to the false doctrine of the Pharisees raised from thence; that the law of God is perfect, not liable to additions or diminutions: and Paræus accuses the Jesuit Maldonatus of greatest falsity for limiting the perfection of that law only to the rudeness of the Jews. He adds, "That the law promiseth life to the performers thereof, therefore needs not perfecter precepts than such as bring to life; that if the corrections of Christ stand opposite, not to the corruptions of the Pharisees, but to the law itself of God, the heresy of Manes would follow, one God of the Old Testament, and another of the New. That Christ saith not here, Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of Moses' law, but of the scribes and Pharisees." That all this may be true: whither is common sense flown asquint, if we can maintain that Christ forbid the Mosaic divorce utterly, and yet abolished not the law that permits it? For if the conscience only were checked, and the law not repealed, what means the fanatic boldness of this age, that dares tutor Christ to be more strict than he thought fit? Ye shall have the evasion, it was a judicial law. What could infancy and slumber have invented more childish? Judicial or not judicial, it was one of those laws expressly which he forewarned us with protestation, that his mind was, not to abrogate: and if we mark the steerage of his words, what course they hold, we may perceive that what he protested not to dissolve (that he might faithfully and not deceitfully remove a suspicion from himself) was principally concerning the judicial law; for of that sort are all these here which he vindicates, except the last. Of the ceremonial law he told them true, that nothing of it should pass "until all were fulfilled." Of the moral law he knew the Pharisees did not suspect he meant to nullify that: for so doing would soon have undone his authority, and advanced theirs. Of the judicial law therefore chiefly this apology was meant: for how is that fulfilled longer than the common equity thereof remains in force? And how is this our Saviour's defence of himself not made fallacious, if the Pharisees' chief fear be lest he should abolish the judicial law, and he, to satisfy them, protests his good intention to the moral law? It is the general grant of divines, that what in the judicial law is not merely judaical,* but reaches to human equity in common, was never in the thought of being abrogated. If our Saviour took away aught of law, it was the burdensome of it, not the ease of burden; it was the bondage, not the liberty of any divine law, that he removed; this he often professed to be the end of his coming.

* The first edition has *judicial*, but as that word may not be so universally understood in this place as *judaical*, (though the meaning of both be here the same,) we have therefore inserted the latter word in the text.

But what if the law of divorce be a moral law, as most certainly it is fundamentally, and hath been so proved in the reasons thereof? For though the giving of a bill may be judicial, yet the act of divorce is altogether conversant in good and evil, and so absolutely moral. So far as it is good, it never can be abolished, being moral; and so far as it is simply evil, it never could be judicial, as hath been shewn at large "in the Doctrine of Divorce," and will be reassumed anon. Whence one of these two necessities follow, that either it was never established, or never abolished. Thus much may be enough to have said on this place. The following verse will be better unfolded in the 19th chapter, where it meets us again, after a large debatement on the question between our Saviour and his adversaries.

MATT. xix. 3, 4, &c.

Ver. 3. "And the Pharisees came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him."

"Tempting him."] The manner of these men coming to our Saviour, not to learn, but to tempt him, may give us to expect, that their answer will be such as is fittest for them; not so much a teaching, as an entangling. No man, though never so willing or so well enabled to instruct, but if he discern his willingness and candour made use of to entrap him, will suddenly draw in himself, and laying aside the facil vein of perspicuity, will know his time to utter clouds and riddles; if he be not less wise than that noted fish, whenas he should be not unwiser than the serpent. Our Saviour at no time expressed any great desire to teach the obstinate and unteachable Pharisees; but when they came to tempt him, then least of all. As now about the liberty of divorce, so another time about the punishment of adultery, they came to sound him; and what satisfaction got they from his answer, either to themselves, or to us, that might direct a law under the gospel, new from that of Moses, unless we draw his absolution of adultery into an edict? So about the tribute, who is there can pick out a full solution, what and when we must give to Cæsar, by the answer which he gave the Pharisees? If we must give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and all be Cæsar's which hath his image, we must either new stamp our coin, or we may go new stamp our foreheads with the superscription of slaves instead of freemen. Besides, it is a general precept not only of Christ, but of all other sages, not to instruct the unworthy and the conceited, who love tradition more than truth, but to perplex and stumble them purposely with contrived obscurities. No wonder then if they, who would determine of divorce by this place, have ever found it difficult and unsatisfying through all the ages of the church, as Austin himself and other great writers confess. Lastly, it is manifest to be the principal scope of our Saviour, both here, and in the fifth of Matthew, to convince the Pharisees of what they being evil did licentiously, not to explain what others being good and blameless men might be permitted to do in case of extremity. Neither was it seasonable to talk of honest and conscientious liberty among them, who had abused legal and civil liberty to uncivil licence. We do not say to a servant what we say to a son; nor was it expedient to preach freedom to those who had transgressed in wantonness. When we rebuke a prodigal, we admonish him of thrift, not of magnificence, or bounty. And to school a proud man, we labour to make him humble, not magnanimous. So Christ, to retort these arrogant inquisitors their own, took the course to lay their haughtiness under a severity which they deserved; not to acquaint them, or to make them judges either of the just man's right and privilege, or of the afflicted man's necessity. And if we may have leave to conjecture, there is a likelihood offered us by Tertullian in his fourth against Marcion, whereby it may seem very probable, that the Pharisees had a private drift of malice against our Saviour's life in proposing this question; and our Saviour had a peculiar aim in the rigour of his answer, both to let them know the freedom of his spirit, and the sharpness of his discerning. "This I must now shew," saith Tertullian, "whence our Lord deduced this sentence, and which way he directed it, whereby it will more fully appear, that he intended not to dissolve Moses." And thereupon tells us, that the vehemence of this our Saviour's speech was chiefly darted against Herod and Herodias. The story is out of Josephus; Herod had been a long time married to the daughter of Aretas king of Petra, till happening on his journey towards Rome to be entertained at his brother Philip's house, he cast his eye unlawfully and unguestlike upon Herodias there, the wife of Philip, but daughter to Aristobulus their common brother, and durst make words of marrying her his niece from his brother's bed. She assented, upon agreement he should expel his former wife. All was accomplished, and by the Baptist rebuked with the loss of his head. Though doubtless that stayed not the various discourses of men upon the fact, which while the Herodian flatterers, and not a few perhaps among the Pharisees, endeavoured to defend by wresting the law, it might be a means to bring the question of divorce into a hot agitation among the people, how far Moses gave allowance. The Pharisees therefore knowing our Saviour to be a friend of John the Baptist, and no doubt but having heard much of his sermon on the mount, wherein he spake rigidly against the licence of divorce, they put him this question, both in hope to find him a contradictor of Moses, and a condemner of Herod; so to insnare him within compass of the same accusation which had ended his friend; and our Saviour so orders his answer, as that they might perceive Herod and his adulteress, only not named: so lively it concerned them both what he spake. No wonder then if the sentence of our Saviour sounded stricter than his custom was; which his conscious attempters doubtless apprehended sooner than his other auditors. Thus much we gain from hence to inform us, that what Christ intends to speak here of divorce, will be rather the forbidding of what we may not do herein passionately and abusively, as Herod and Herodias did, than the discussing of what herein we may do reasonably and necessarily.

"Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?"] It might be rendered more exactly from the Greek, "to loosen or to set free;" which though it seem to have a milder signification than the two Hebrew words commonly used for divorce, yet interpreters have noted, that the Greek also is read in the Septuagint for an act which is not without constraint. As when Achish drove from his presence David, counterfeiting madness, Psal. xxxiv. the Greek word is the same with this here, to put away. And Erasmus quotes Hilary rendering it by an expression not so soft. Whence may be doubted, whether the Pharisees did not state this question in the strict right of the man, not tarrying for the wife's consent. And if our Saviour answered directly according to what was asked in the term of putting away, it will be questionable, whether the rigour of his sentence did not forbid only such putting away as is without mutual consent, in a violent and harsh manner, or without any reason but will, as the tetrarch did. Which might be the cause that those christian emperors feared not in their constitutions to dissolve marriage by mutual consent; in that our Saviour seems here, as the case is most likely, not to condemn all divorce, but all injury and violence in divorce. But no injury can be done to them, who seek it, as the Ethics of Aristotle sufficiently prove. True it is, that an unjust thing may be done to one though willing, and so may justly be forbidden: but divorce being in itself no unjust or evil thing, but only as it is joined with injury or lust; injury it cannot be at law, if consent be, and Aristotle err not. And lust it may as frequently not be, while charity hath the judging of so many private grievances in a misfortuned wedlock, which may pardonably seek a redemption. But whether it be or not, the law cannot discern or examine lust, so long as it walks from one lawful term to another, from divorce to marriage, both in themselves indifferent. For if the law cannot take hold to punish many actions apparently covetous, ambitious, ingrateful, proud, how can it forbid and punish that for lust, which is but only surmised so, and can no more be certainly proved in the divorcing now, than before in the marrying? Whence if divorce be no unjust thing, but through lust, a cause not discernible by law, as law is wont to discern in other cases, and can be no injury, where consent is; there can be nothing in the equity of law, why divorce by consent may not be lawful: leaving secresies to conscience, the thing which our Saviour here aims to rectify, not to revoke the statutes of Moses. In the mean while the word "to put away," being in the Greek to loosen or dissolve, utterly takes away that vain papistical distinction of divorce from bed, and divorce from bond, evincing plainly, that Christ and the Pharisees mean here that divorce, which finally dissolves the bond, and frees both parties to a second marriage.

"For every cause."] This the Pharisees held, that for every cause they might divorce, for every accidental cause, any quarrel or difference that might happen. So both Josephus and Philo, men who lived in the same age, explain; and the Syriac translator, whose antiquity is thought parallel to the Evangelists themselves, reads it conformably, "upon any occasion or pretence." Divines also generally agree, that thus the Pharisees meant. Cameron, a late writer, much applauded, commenting this place not undiligently, affirms that the Greek preposition κατὰ translated unusually (for) hath a force in it implying the suddenness of those pharisaic divorces; and that their question was to this effect, "whether for any cause, whatever it chanced to be, straight as it rose, the divorce might be lawful." This he freely gives, whatever moved him, and I as freely take, nor can deny his observation to be acute and learned. If therefore we insist upon the word of "putting away;" that it imports a constraint without consent, as might be insisted, and may enjoy what Cameron bestows on us, that "for every cause" is to be understood, "according as any cause may happen," with a relation to the speediness of those divorces, and that Herodian act especially, as is already brought us; the sentence of our Saviour will appear nothing so strict a prohibition as hath been long conceived, forbidding only to divorce for casual and temporary causes, that may be soon ended, or soon remedied: and likewise forbidding to divorce rashly, and on the sudden heat, except it be for adultery. If these qualifications may be admitted, as partly we offer them, partly are offered them by some of their own opinion, and that where nothing is repugnant why they should not be admitted, nothing can wrest them from us; the severe sentence of our Saviour will straight unbend the seeming frown into that gentleness and compassion, which was so abundant in all his actions, his office, and his doctrine, from all which otherwise it stands off at no mean distance.

Ver. 4. "And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female?"

Ver. 5. "And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh."

Ver. 6. "Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

4, and 5. "Made them male and female; and said, For this cause," &c.] We see it here undeniably, that the law which our Saviour cites to prove that divorce was forbidden, is not an absolute and tyrannical command without reason, as now-a-days we make it little better, but is grounded upon some rational cause not difficult to be apprehended, being in a matter which equally concerns the meanest and the plainest sort of persons in a household life. Our next way then will be to inquire if there be not more reasons than one; and if there be, whether this be the best and chiefest. That we shall find by turning to the first institution, to which Christ refers our own reading: he himself, having to deal with treacherous assailants, useth brevity, and lighting on the first place in Genesis that mentions any thing tending to marriage in the first chapter, joins it immediately to the twenty-fourth verse of the second chapter, omitting all the prime words

between which create the institution, and contain the noblest and purest ends of matrimony; without which attained, that conjunction hath nothing in it above what is common to us with beasts. So likewise beneath in this very chapter, to the young man, who came not tempting him, but to learn of him, asking him which commandments he should keep; he neither repeats the first table, nor all the second, nor that in order which he repeats. If here then being tempted, he desire to be the shorter, and the darker in his conference, and omit to cite that from the second of Genesis, which all divines confess is a commentary to what he cites out of the first, the "making them male and female;" what are we to do, but to search the institution ourselves? And we shall find there his own authority, giving other manner of reasons why such firm union is to be in matrimony; without which reasons, their being male and female can be no cause of joining them unseparably: for if it be, then no adultery can sever. Therefore the prohibition of divorce depends not upon this reason here expressed to the Pharisees, but upon the plainer and more eminent causes omitted here, and referred to the institution; which causes not being found in a particular and casual matrimony, this sensitive and materious cause alone can no more hinder a divorce against those higher and more human reasons urging it, than it can alone without them to warrant a copulation, but leaves it arbitrary to those who in their chance of marriage find not why divorce is forbid them, but why it is permitted them; and find both here and in Genesis, that the forbidding is not absolute, but according to the reasons there taught us, not here. And that our Saviour taught them no better, but uses the most vulgar, most animal and corporal argument to convince them, is first to shew us, that as through their licentious divorces they made no more of marriage, than as if to marry were no more than to be male and female, so he goes no higher in his confutation; deeming them unworthy to be talked with in a higher strain, but to be tied in marriage by the mere material cause thereof, since their own licence testified that nothing matrimonial was in their thought, but to be male and female. Next, it might be done to discover the brute ignorance of these carnal doctors, who taking on them to dispute of marriage and divorce, were put to silence with such a slender opposition as this, and outed from their hold with scarce one quarter of an argument. That we may believe this, his entertainment of the young man soon after may persuade us. Whom, though he came to preach eternal life by faith only, he dismisses with a salvation taught him by works only. On which place Paræus notes, "That this man was to be convinced by a false persuasion;" and that Christ is wont otherwise to answer hypocrites, otherwise those that are docible." Much rather then may we think, that, in handling these tempters, he forgot not so to frame his prudent ambiguities and concealments, as was to the troubling of those peremptory disputants most wholesome. When therefore we would know what right there may be, in all accidents, to divorce, we must repair thither where God professes to teach his servants by the prime institution, and not where we see him intending to dazzle sophisters: we must not read, "he made them male and female," and not understand he made them more intendedly "a meet help" to remove the evil of being "alone." We must take both these together, and then we may infer completely, as from the whole cause, why a man shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh: but if the full and chief cause why we may not divorce be wanting here, this place may skirmish with the rabbies while it will, but to the true Christian it prohibits nothing beyond the full reason of its own prohibiting, which is best known by the institution.

Ver. 6. "Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh."] This is true in the general right of marriage, but not in the chance-medley of every particular match. For if they who were once undoubtedly one flesh, yet become twain by adultery, then sure they who were never one flesh rightly, never helps meet for each other according to the plain prescript of God, may with less ado than a volume be concluded still twain. And so long as we account a magistrate no magistrate, if there be but a flaw in his election, why should we not much rather count a matrimony no matrimony, if it cannot be in any reasonable manner according to the words of God's institution.

"What therefore God hath joined, let not man put asunder."] But here the christian prudence lies to consider what God hath joined; shall we say that God hath joined errour, fraud, unfitness, wrath, contention, perpetual loneliness, perpetual discord; whatever lust, or wine, or witchery, threat or inticement, avarice or ambition hath joined together, faithful and unfaithful, Christian with antichristian, hate with hate, or hate with love; shall we say this is God's joining?

"Let not man put asunder."] That is to say, what God hath joined; for if it be, as how oft we see it may be, not of God's joining, and his law tells us he joins not unmatchable things, but hates to join them, as an abominable confusion, then the divine law of Moses puts them asunder, his own divine will in the institution puts them asunder, as oft as the reasons be not extant, for which only God ordained their joining. Man only puts asunder when his inordinate desires, his passion, his violence, his injury makes the breach: not when the utter want of that which lawfully was the end of his joining, when wrongs and extremities and unsupportable grievances compel him to disjoin: when such as Herod and the Pharisees divorce beside law, or against law, then only man separates, and to such only this prohibition belongs. In a word, if it be unlawful for man to put asunder that which God hath joined, let man take heed it be not detestable to join that by compulsion which God hath put asunder.

Ver. 7. "They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?"

Ver. 8. "He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so."

"Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you."] Hence the divinity now current argues, that this judicial law of Moses is abolished. But suppose it were so, though it hath been proved otherwise, the firmness of such right to divorce, as here pleads is fetched from the prime institution, does not stand or fall with the judicial Jew, but is as moral as what is moralest. Yet as I have shewn positively, that this law cannot be abrogated, both by the words of our Saviour pronouncing the contrary, and by that unabolishable equity which it conveys to us; so I shall now bring to view those appearances of strength, which are levied from this text to maintain the most gross and massy paradox that ever did violence to reason and religion, bred only under the shadow of these words, to all other piety or philosophy strange and insolent, that God by act of law drew out a line of adultery almost two thousand years long: although to detect the prodigy of this surmise, the former book set forth on this argument hath already been copious. I shall not repeat much, though I might borrow of mine own; but shall endeavour to add something either yet untouched, or not largely enough explained. First, it shall be manifest, that the common exposition cannot possibly consist with christian doctrine: next, a truer meaning of this our Saviour's reply shall be left in the room. The received exposition is, that God, though not approving, did enact a law to permit adultery by divorcement simply unlawful. And this conceit they feed with fond supposals, that have not the least footing in Scripture: as that the Jews learned this custom of divorce in Egypt, and therefore God would not unteach it them till Christ came, but let it stick as a notorious botch of deformity in the midst of his most perfect and severe law. And yet he saith, Lev. xviii. "After the doings of Egypt ye shall not do." Another while they invent a slander, (as what thing more bold than teaching ignorance when he shifts to hide his nakedness?) that the Jews were naturally to their wives the cruellest men in the world; would poison, brain, and do I know not what, if they might not divorce. Certain, if it were a fault heavily punished, to bring an evil report upon the land which God gave, what is it to raise a groundless calumny against the people which God made choice of? But that this bold interpretament, how commonly soever sided with, cannot stand a minute with any competent reverence to God, or his law, or his people, nor with any other maxim of religion, or good manners, might be proved through all the heads and topics of argumentation; but I shall willingly be as concise as possible. First the law, not only the moral, but the judicial, given by Moses, is just and pure; for such is God who gave it. "Hearken, O Israel," saith Moses, Deut. iv. "unto the statutes and the judgments which I teach you, to do them, that ye may live, &c. Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you." And onward in the chapter, "Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me. Keep therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom and your understanding. For what nation hath God so nigh unto them, and what nation hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before ye this day?" Is it imaginable there should be among these a law which God allowed not, a law giving permissions laxative to unmarry a wife, and marry a lust, a law to suffer a kind of tribunal adultery? Many other scriptures might be brought to assert the purity of this judicial law, and many I have alleged before; this law therefore is pure and just. But if it permit, if it teach, if it defend that which is both unjust and impure, as by the common doctrine it doth, what think we? The three general doctrines of Justinian's law are, "To live in honesty, To hurt no man, To give every one his due." Shall the Roman civil law observe these three things, as the only end of law, and shall a statute be found in the civil law of God, enacted simply and totally against all these three precepts of nature and morality?

Secondly, The gifts of God are all perfect, and certainly the law is of all his other gifts one of the perfectest. But if it give that outwardly which it takes away really, and give that seemingly, which, if a man take it, wraps him into sin and damns him; what gift of an enemy can be more dangerous and destroying than this?

Thirdly, Moses every where commends his laws, prefers them before all of other nations, and warrants them to be the way of life and safety to all that walk therein, Lev. xviii. But if they contain statutes which God approves not, and train men unweeting to commit injustice and adultery under the shelter of law; if those things be sin, and death sin's wages, what is this law but the snare of death?

Fourthly, The statutes and judgments of the Lord, which, without exception, are often told us to be such, as doing we may live by them, are doubtless to be counted the rule of knowledge and of conscience. "For I had not known lust," saith the apostle, "but by the law." But if the law come down from the state of her incorruptible majesty to grant lust his boon, palpably it darkens and confounds both knowledge and conscience; it goes against the common office of all goodness and friendliness, which is at least to counsel and admonish; it subverts the rules of all sober education, and is itself a most negligent and debauching tutor.

Fifthly, If the law permits a thing unlawful, it permits that which elsewhere it hath forbid; so that hereby it contradicts itself, and transgresses itself. But if the law become a transgressor, it stands guilty to itself, and how then shall it save another? It makes a confederacy with sin, how then can it justly condemn a sinner? And thus reducing itself to the state of neither saving nor condemning, it will not fail to expire solemnly ridiculous.

Sixthly, The prophets in Scripture declare severely against the decreeing of that which is unjust, Psal. xciv. 20; Isaiah x. But it was done, they say, for hardness of heart: to which objection the apostle's

rule, "not to do evil that good may come thereby," gives an invincible repulse; and here especially, where it cannot be shown how any good came by doing this evil, how rather more evil did not hereon abound; for the giving way to hardness of heart hardens the more, and adds more to the number. God to an evil and adulterous generation would not "grant a sign;" much less would he for their hardness of heart pollute his law with adulterous permission. Yea, but to permit evil, is not to do evil. Yes, it is in a most eminent manner to do evil: where else are all our grave and faithful sayings, that he whose office is to forbid and forbids not, bids, exhorts, encourages? Why hath God denounced his anger against parents, masters, friends, magistrates, neglectful of forbidding what they ought, if law, the common father, master, friend, and perpetual magistrate, shall not only not forbid, but enact, exhibit, and uphold with countenance and protection, a deed every way dishonest, whatever the pretence be? If it were of those inward vices, which the law cannot by outward constraint remedy, but leaves to conscience and persuasion, it had been guiltless in being silent: but to write a decree of that which can be no way lawful, and might with ease be hindered, makes law by the doom of law itself accessory in the highest degree.

Seventhly, It makes God the direct author of sin: for although he be not made the author of what he silently permits in his providence, yet in his law, the image of his will, when in plain expression he constitutes and ordains a fact utterly unlawful; what wants he to authorize it, and what wants that to be the author?

Eighthly, To establish by law a thing wholly unlawful and dishonest, is an affirmation was never heard of before in any law, reason, philosophy, or religion, till it was raised by inconsiderate glossists from the mistake of this text. And though the civilians have been contented to chew this opinion, after the canon had subdued them, yet they never could bring example or authority, either from divine writ, or human learning, or human practice in any nation, or well-formed republic, but only from the customary abuse of this text. Usually they allege the epistle of Cicero to Atticus; wherein Cato is blamed for giving sentence to the scum of Romulus, as if he were in Plato's commonwealth. Cato would have called some great one into judgment for bribery; Cicero, as the time stood, advised against it. Cato, not to endamage the public treasury, would not grant to the Roman knights, that the Asian taxes might be farmed them at a less rate. Cicero wished it granted. Nothing in all this will be like the establishing of a law to sin: here are no laws made, here only the execution of law is craved might be suspended: between which and our question is a broad difference. And what if human lawgivers have confessed they could not frame their laws to that perfection which they desired? We hear of no such confession from Moses concerning the laws of God, but rather all praise and high testimony of perfection given them. And although man's nature cannot bear exactest laws, yet still within the confines of good it may and must, so long as less good is far enough from altogether evil. As for what they instance of usury, let them first prove usury to be wholly unlawful, as the laws allow it; which learned men as numerous on the other side will deny them. Or if it be altogether unlawful, why is it tolerated more than divorce? He who said divorce not, said also, "Lend, hoping for nothing again," Luke vi. 35. But then they put in, that trade could not stand; and so to serve the commodity of insatiable trading, usury shall be permitted: but divorce, the only means ofttimes to right the innocent and outrageously wronged, shall be utterly forbid. This is egregious doctrine, and for which one day charity will much thank them. Beza not finding how to solve this perplexity, and Cameron since him, would secure us; although the latter confesses, that to "permit a wicked thing by law, is a wickedness which God abhors; yet to limit sin, and prescribe it a certain measure, is good." First, this evasion will not help here; for this law bounded no man: he might put away whatever found not favour in his eyes. And how could it forbid to divorce, whom it could not forbid to dislike, or command to love? If these be the limits of law to restrain sin, who so lame a sinner, but may hop over them more easily than over those Romulean circumscriptions, not as Remus did with hard success, but with all indemnity? Such a limiting as this were not worth the mischief that accompanies it. This law therefore, not bounding the supposed sin, by permitting enlarges it, gives it enfranchisement. And never greater confusion, than when law and sin move their landmarks, mix their territories, and correspond, have intercourse, and traffic together. When law contracts a kindred and hospitality with transgression, becomes the godfather of sin, and names it lawful; when sin revels and gossips within the arsenal of law, plays and dandles the artillery of justice that should be bent against her, this is a fair limitation indeed. Besides, it is an absurdity to say that law can measure sin, or moderate sin; sin is not in a predicament to be measured and modified, but is always an excess. The least sin that is exceeds the measure of the largest law that can be good; and is as boundless as that vacuity beyond the world. If once it square to the measure of law, it ceases to be an excess, and consequently ceases to be a sin; or else law conforming itself to the obliquity of sin, betrays itself to be not straight, but crooked, and so immediately no law. And the improper conceit of moderating sin by law will appear, if we can imagine any lawgiver so senseless as to decree, that so far a man may steal, and thus far be drunk, that moderately he may couzen, and moderately commit adultery. To the same extent it would be as pithily absurd to publish, that a man may moderately divorce, if to do that be entirely naught. But to end this moot; the law of Moses is manifest to fix no limit therein at all, or such at least as impeaches the fraudulent abuser no more than if it were not set; only requires the dismissive writing without other caution, leaves that to the inner man, and the bar of conscience. But it stopped other sins. This is as vain as the rest, and dangerously uncertain: the contrary

to be feared rather, that one sin, admitted courteously by law, opened the gate to another. However, evil must not be done for good. And it were a fall to be lamented, and indignity unspeakable, if law should become tributary to sin her slave, and forced to yield up into his hands her awful minister. punishment; should buy out our peace with sin for sin, paying as it were her so many Philistian foreskins to the proud demand of transgression. But suppose it any way possible to limit sin, to put a girdle about that Chaos, suppose it also good; yet if to permit sin by law be an abomination in the eyes of God, as Cameron acknowledges, the evil of permitting will eat out the good of limiting. For though sin be not limited, there can but evil come out of evil; but if it be permitted and decreed lawful by divine law, of force then sin must proceed from the infinite good, which is a dreadful thought. But if the restraining of sin by this permission being good, as this author testifies, be more good than the permission of more sin by the restraint of divorce, and that God weighing both these like two ingots, in the perfect scales of his justice and providence, found them so, and others, coming without authority from God, shall change this counterpoise, and judge it better to let sin multiply by setting a judicial restraint upon divorce which Christ never set; then to limit sin by this permission, as God himself thought best to permit it, it will behove them to consult betimes whether these their balances be not false and abominable; and this their limiting that which God loosened, and their loosening the sins that he limited, which they confess was good to do: and were it possible to do by law, doubtless it would be most morally good; and they so believing, as we hear they do, and yet abolishing a law so good and moral, the limiter of sin, what are they else but contrary to themselves? For they can never bring us to that time wherein it will not be good to limit sin, and they can never limit it better than so as God prescribed in his law.

Others conceive it a more defensible retirement to say, this permission to divorce sinfully for hardness of heart was a dispensation. But surely they either know not, or attended not to what a dispensation means. A dispensation is for no long time, is particular to some persons, rather than general to a whole people; always hath charity the end, is granted to necessities and infirmities, not to obstinate lust. This permission is another creature, hath all those evils and absurdities following the name of a dispensation, as when it was named a law; and is the very antarctic pole against charity, nothing more adverse, ensnaring and ruining those that trust in it, or use it; so lewd and criminous as never durst enter into the head of any politician, Jew, or proselyte, till they became the apt scholars of this canonistic exposition. Aught in it, that can allude in the least manner to charity, or goodness, belongs with more full right to the Christian under grace and liberty, than to the Jew under law and bondage. To Jewish ignorance it could not be dispensed, without a horrid imputation laid upon the law, to dispense foully, instead of teaching fairly; like that dispensation that first polluted Christendom with idolatry, permitting to laymen images instead of books and preaching. Sloth or malice in the law would they have this called? But what ignorance can be pretended for the Jews, who had all the same precepts about marriage, that we know? for Christ refers all to the institution. It was as reasonable for them to know then as for us now, and concerned them alike: for wherein hath the gospel altered the nature of matrimony? All these considerations, or many of them, have been further amplified in "the Doctrine of Divorce." And what Rivetus and Paræus have objected, or given over as past cure, hath been there discussed. Whereby it may be plain enough to men of eyes, that the vulgar exposition of a permittance by law to an intire sin, whatever the colour may be, is an opinion both ungodly, unpolitic, unvirtuous, and void of all honesty and civil sense. It appertains therefore to every zealous Christian, both for the honour of God's law, and the vindication of our Saviour's words, that such an irreligious depravement no longer may be soothed and flattered through custom, but with all diligence and speed solidly refuted, and in the room a better explanation given; which is now our next endeavour.

"Moses suffered you to put away," &c.] Not commanded you, says the common observer, and therefore cared not how soon it were abolished, being but suffered; herein declaring his annotation to be slight, and nothing law-prudent. For in this place "commanded" and "suffered" are interchangeably used in the same sense both by our Saviour and the Pharisees. Our Saviour, who here saith, "Moses suffered you," in the 10th of Mark saith, "Moses wrote you this command." And the Pharisees, who here say, "Moses commanded," and would mainly have it a command, in that place of Mark say, "Moses suffered," which had made against them in their own mouths, if the word of "suffering" had weakened the command. So that suffered and commanded is here taken for the same thing on both sides of the controversy: as Cameron also and others on this place acknowledge. And lawyers know that all the precepts of law are divided into obligatory and permissive, containing either what we must do, or what we may do; and of this latter sort are as many precepts as of the former, and all as lawful. Tutelage, an ordainment than which nothing more just, being for the defence of orphans, the Institutes of Justinian say "is given and permitted by the civil law:" and "to parents it is permitted to choose and appoint by will the guardians of their children." What more equal, and yet the civil law calls this "permission." So likewise to "manumise," to adopt, to make a will, and to be made an heir, is called "permission" by law. Marriage itself, and this which is already granted, to divorce for adultery, obliges no man, is but a permission by law, is but suffered. By this we may see how weakly it hath been thought, that all divorce is utterly unlawful, because the law is said to suffer it: whenas to "suffer" is but the legal phrase denoting what by law a man may do or not do.

"Because of the hardness of your hearts."] Hence

they argue that therefore he allowed it not; and therefore it must be abolished. But the contrary to this will sooner follow, that because he suffered it for a cause, therefore in relation to that cause he allowed it. Next, if he in his wisdom, and in the midst of his severity, allowed it for hardness of heart, it can be nothing better than arrogance and presumption to take stricter courses against hardness of heart, than God ever set an example; and that under the gospel, which warrants them to do no judicial act of compulsion in this matter, much less to be more severe against hardness of extremity, than God thought good to be against hardness of heart. He suffered it, rather than worse inconveniences; these men wiser, as they make themselves, will suffer the worst and heinousest inconveniences to follow, rather than they will suffer what God suffered. Although they can know when they please, that Christ spake only to the conscience, did not judge on the civil bench, but always disavowed it. What can be more contrary to the ways of God, than these their doings? If they be such enemies to hardness of heart, although this groundless rigour proclaims it to be in themselves, they may yet learn, or consider, that hardness of heart hath a twofold acceptation in the gospel. One, when it is in a good man taken for infirmity, and imperfection, which was in all the apostles, whose weakness only, not utter want of belief, is called hardness of heart, Mark xvi. Partly for this hardness of heart, the imperfection and decay of man from original righteousness, it was that God suffered not divorce only, but all that which by civilians is termed the "secondary law of nature and of nations." He suffered his own people to waste and spoil and slay by war, to lead captives, to be some masters, some servants, some to be princes, others to be subjects; he suffered propriety to divide all things by several possession, trade, and commerce, not without usury; in his commonwealth some to be undeservedly rich, others to be undeservingly poor. All which till hardness of heart came in was most unjust; whenas prime nature made us all equal, made us equal coheirs by common right and dominion over all creatures. In the same manner, and for the same cause, he suffered divorce as well as marriage, our imperfect and degenerate condition of necessity requiring this law among the rest, as a remedy against intolerable wrong and servitude above the patience of man to bear. Nor was it given only because our infirmity, or if it must be so called, hardness of heart, could not endure all things; but because the hardness of another's heart might not inflict all things upon an innocent person, whom far other ends brought into a league of love, and not of bondage and indignity. If therefore we abolish divorce as only suffered for hardness of heart, we may as well abolish the whole law of nations, as only suffered for the same cause; it being shewn us by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. that the very seeking of a man's right by law, and at the hands of a worldly magistrate, is not without the hardness of our hearts. "For why do ye not rather take wrong," saith he, "why suffer ye not rather yourselves to be defrauded?" If nothing now must be suffered for hardness of heart, I say the very prosecution of our right by way of civil justice can no more be suffered among Christians, for the hardness of heart wherewith most men pursue it. And that would next remove all our judicial laws, and this restraint of divorce also in the number; which would more than half end the controversy. But if it be plain, that the whole juridical law and civil power is only suffered under the gospel, for the hardness of our hearts, then wherefore should not that which Moses suffered, be suffered still by the same reason?

In a second signification, hardness of heart is taken for a stubborn resolution to do evil. And that God ever makes any law purposely to such, I deny; for he vouchsafes to enter covenant with them, but as they fortune to be mixed with good men, and pass undiscovered; much less that he should decree an unlawful thing only to serve their licentiousness. But that God "suffers" this reprobate hardness of heart I affirm, not only in this law of divorce, but throughout all his best and purest commandments. He commands all to worship in singleness of heart according to all his ordinances; and yet suffers the wicked man to perform all the rites of religion hypocritically, and in the hardness of his heart. He gives us general statutes and privileges in all civil matters, just and good of themselves, yet suffers unworthiest men to use them, and by them to prosecute their own right, or any colour of right, though for the most part maliciously, covetously, rigorously, revengefully. He allowed by law the discreet father and husband to forbid, if he thought fit, the religious vows of his wife or daughter, Numb. xxx.; and in the same law suffered the hardheartedness of impious and covetous fathers or husbands abusing this law, to forbid their wives or daughters in their offerings and devotions of greatest zeal. If then God suffer hardness of heart equally in the best laws, as in this of divorce, there can be no reason that for this cause this law should be abolished. But other laws, they object, may be well used, this never. How often shall I answer, both from the institution of marriage, and from other general rules in Scripture, that this law of divorce hath many wise and charitable ends besides the being suffered for hardness of heart, which is indeed no end, but an accident happening through the whole law; which gives to good men right, and to bad men, who abuse right under false pretences, gives only sufferance. Now although Christ express no other reasons here, but only what was suffered, it nothing follows that this law had no other reason to be permitted but for hardness of heart. The Scripture seldom or never in one place sets down all the reasons of what it grants or commands, especially when it talks to enemies and tempters. St. Paul permitting marriage, 1 Cor. vii. seems to permit even that also for hardness of heart only, lest we should run into fornication: yet no intelligent man thence concludes marriage allowed in the gospel only to avoid an evil, because no other end is there expressed. Thus Moses of necessity suffered many to put away their wives for hardness of heart; but enacted the law of divorce doubtless for other good causes, not for this only sufferance. He permitted not

divorce by law as an evil, for that was impossible to divine law, but permitted by accident the evil of them who divorced against the law's intention undiscoverably. This also may be thought not improbably, that Christ, stirred up in his spirit against these tempting Pharisees, answered them in a certain form of indignation usual among good authors; whereby the question or the truth is not directly answered, but something which is fitter for them, who ask, to hear. So in the ecclesiastical stories, one demanding how God employed himself before the world was made? had answer, that he was making hell for curious questioners. Another (and Libanus the sophist, as I remember) asking in derision some Christian, What the carpenter, meaning our Saviour, was doing, now that Julian so prevailed? had it returned him, that the carpenter was making a coffin for the apostate. So Christ being demanded maliciously why Moses made the law of divorce, answers them in a vehement scheme, not telling them the cause why he made it, but what was fittest to be told them, that "for the hardness of their hearts" he suffered them to abuse it. And albeit Mark say not "he suffered" you, but, "to you he wrote this precept;" Mark may be warrantably expounded by Matthew the larger. And whether he suffered, or gave precept, being all one as was heard, it changes not the trope of indignation, fittest account for such askers. Next, for the hardness of "your hearts, to you he wrote this precept," infers not therefore for this cause only he wrote it, as was paralleled by other Scriptures. Lastly, it may be worth the observing, that Christ, speaking to the Pharisees, does not say in general that for hardness of heart he gave this precept, but "you he suffered, and to you he gave this precept, for your hardness of heart." It cannot be easily thought, that Christ here included all the children of Israel under the person of these tempting Pharisees, but that he conceals wherefore he gave the better sort of them this law, and expresses by saying emphatically "To you" how he gave it to the worser, such as the Pharisees best represented, that is to say, for the hardness of your hearts: as indeed to wicked men and hardened hearts he gives the whole law and the gospel also, to harden them the more. Thus many ways it may orthodoxally be understood how God or Moses suffered such as the demanders were, to divorce for hardness of heart. Whereas the vulgar expositor, beset with contradictions and absurdities round, and resolving at any peril to make an exposition of it, (as there is nothing more violent and boisterous than a reverend ignorance in fear to be convicted,) rushes brutely and impetuously against all the principles both of nature, piety, and moral goodness; and in the fury of his literal expounding overturns them all.

"But from the beginning it was not so."] Not how from the beginning? Do they suppose that men might not divorce at all, not necessarily, not deliberately, except for adultery, but that some law, like canon law, presently attached them, both before and after the flood, till stricter Moses came, and with law brought licence into the world? that were a fancy indeed to smile at. Undoubtedly as to point of judicial law, divorce was more permissive from the beginning before Moses than under Moses. But from the beginning, that is to say, by the institution in Paradise, it was not intended that matrimony should dissolve for every trivial cause, as you Pharisees accustom. But that it was not thus suffered from the beginning ever since the race of men corrupted, and laws were made, he who will affirm must have found out other antiquities than are yet known. Besides, we must consider now, what can be so as from the beginning, not only what should be so. In the beginning, had men continued perfect, it had been just that all things should have remained as they began to Adam and Eve. But after that the sons of men grew violent and injurious, it altered the lore of justice, and put the government of things into a new frame. While man and woman were both perfect each to other, there needed no divorce; but when they both degenerated to imperfection, and ofttimes grew to be an intolerable evil each to other, then law more justly did permit the alienating of that evil which estate made proper, than it did the appropriating of that good which nature at first made common. For if the absence of outward good be not so bad as the presence of a close evil, and that propriety, whether by covenant or possession, be but the attainment of some outward good, it is more natural and righteous that the law should sever us from an intimate evil, than appropriate any outward good to us from the community of nature. The gospel indeed tending ever to that which is perfectest, aimed at the restorement of all things as they were in the beginning; and therefore all things were in common to those primitive Christians in the Acts, which Ananias and Sapphira dearly felt. That custom also continued more or less till the time of Justin Martyr, as may be read in his second Apology, which might be writ after that act of communion perhaps some forty years above a hundred. But who will be the man that shall introduce this kind of commonwealth, as Christianity now goes? If then marriage must be as in the beginning, the persons that marry must be such as then were; the institution must make good, in some tolerable sort, what it promises to either party. If not, it is but madness to drag this one ordinance back to the beginning, and draw down all other to the present necessity and condition, far from the beginning, even to the tolerating of extortions and oppressions. Christ only told us, that from the beginning it was not so; that is to say, not so as the Pharisees manured the business; did not command us that it should be forcibly so again in all points, as at the beginning; or so at least in our intentions and desires, but so in execution, as reason and present nature can bear. Although we are not to seek, that the institution itself from the first beginning was never but conditional, as all covenants are: because thus and thus, therefore so and so; if not thus, then not so. Then moreover was perfectest to fulfil each law in itself; now is perfectest in this estate of things, to ask of charity how much law may be fulfilled: else the fulfilling ofttimes is the greatest breaking. If any therefore de-

mand, which is now most perfection, to ease an extremity by divorce, or to enrage and fester it by the grievous observance of a miserable wedlock, I am not destitute to say, which is most perfection (although some, who believe they think favourably of divorce, esteem it only venial to infirmity). Him I hold more in the way to perfection, who foregoes an unfit, ungodly, and discordant wedlock, to live according to peace and love, and God's institution in a fitter choice, than he who debars himself the happy experience of all godly, which is peaceful, conversation in his family, to live a contentious and unchristian life not to be avoided, in temptations not to be lived in, only for the false keeping of a most unreal nullity, a marriage that hath no affinity with God's intention, a daring phantasm, a mere toy of terrour awing weak senses, to the lamentable superstition of ruining themselves; the remedy whereof God in his law vouchsafes us. Which not to dare use, he warranting, is not our perfection, is our infirmity, our little faith, our timorous and low conceit of charity: and in them who force us, it is their masking pride and vanity, to seem holier and more circumspect than God. So far is it that we need impute to him infirmity, who thus divorces: since the rule of perfection is not so much that which was done in the beginning, as that which is now nearest to the rule of charity. This is the greatest, the perfectest, the highest commandment.

Ver. 9. "And I say unto you, whoso shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery."

"And I say unto you."] That this restrictive denouncement of Christ contradicts and refutes that permissive precept of Moses common expositors themselves disclaim: and that it does not traverse from the closet of conscience to the courts of civil or canon law, with any Christian rightly commenced, requires not long evincing. If Christ then did not here check permissive Moses, nor did reduce matrimony to the beginning more than all other things, as the reason of man's condition could bear; we would know precisely what it was which he did, and what the end was of his declaring thus austerely against divorce. For this is a confessed oracle in law, that he who looks not at the intention of a precept, the more superstitious he is of the letter, the more he misinterprets. Was it to shame Moses? that had been monstrous: or all those purest ages of Israel, to whom the permission was granted? that were as incredible. Or was it that he who came to abrogate the burden of law, not the equity, should put this yoke upon a blameless person, to league himself in chains with a begirting mischief, not to separate till death? He who taught us, that no man puts a piece of new cloth upon an old garment, or new wine into old bottles, that he should sew this patch of strictness upon the old apparel of our frailty, to make a rent more incurable, whenas in all other amendments his doctrine still charges, that regard be had to the garment, and to the vessel, what it can endure; this were an irregular and single piece of rigour, not only sounding disproportion to the whole gospel, but outstretching the most rigorous nerves of law and rigour itself. No other end therefore can be left imaginable of this excessive restraint, but to bridle those erroneous and licentious postillers the Pharisees; not by telling them what may be done in necessity, but what censure they deserve who divorce abusively, which their tetrarch had done. And as the offence was in one extreme, so the rebuke, to bring more efficaciously to a rectitude and mediocrity, stands not in the middle way of duty, but in the other extreme. Which art of powerful reclaiming, wisest men have also taught in their ethical precepts and Gnomologies, resembling it, as when we bend a crooked wand the contrary way; not that it should stand so bent, but that the overbending might reduce it to a straightness by its own reluctance. And as the physician cures him who hath taken down poison, not by the middling temper of nourishment, but by the other extreme of antidote; so Christ administers here a sharp and corrosive sentence against a foul and putrid licence; not to eat into the flesh, but into the sore. And knowing that our divines through all their comments make no scruple, where they please, to soften the high and vehement speeches of our Saviour, which they call hyperboles: why in this one text should they be such crabbed Masorites of the letter, as not to mollify a transcendence of literal rigidity, which they confess to find often elsewhere in his manner of delivery, but must make their exposition here such an obdurate Cyclops, to have but one eye for this text, and that only open to cruelty and enthralment, such as no divine or human law before ever heard of? No, let the foppish canonist, with his fardel of matrimonial cases, go and be vendible where men be so unhappy as to cheapen him: the words of Christ shall be asserted from such elemental notaries, and resolved by the now only lawgiving mouth of charity; which may be done undoubtedly by understanding them as follows.

"Whosoever shall put away his wife."] That is to say, shall so put away as the propounders of this question, the Pharisees, were wont to do, and covertly defended Herod for so doing; whom to rebuke, our Saviour here mainly intends, and not to determine all the cases of divorce, as appears by St. Paul. Whosoever shall put away, either violently without mutual consent for urgent reasons, or conspiringly by plot of lust, or cunning malice, shall put away for any sudden mood, or contingency of disagreement, which is not daily practice, but may blow soon over, and be reconciled, except it be fornication; whosoever shall put away rashly, as his choler prompts him, without due time of deliberating, and think his conscience discharged only by the bill of divorce given, and the outward law satisfied; whosoever, lastly, shall put away his wife, that is a wife indeed, and not in name only, such a one who both can and is willing to be a meet help toward the chief ends of marriage both civil and sanctified, except fornication be the cause, that man, or that pair, commit adultery. Not he who puts away by mutual consent, with all the considerations and respects

of humanity and gentleness, without malicious or lustful drift. Not he who after sober and cool experience, and long debate within himself, puts away, whom though he cannot love or suffer as a wife with that sincere affection that marriage requires, yet loves at least with that civility and goodness, as not to keep her under a neglected and unwelcome residence, where nothing can be hearty, and not being, it must needs be both unjoyous, and injurious to any perceiving person so detained, and more injurious than to be freely and upon good terms dismissed. Nor doth he put away adulterously who complains of causes rooted in immutable nature, utter unfitness, utter disconformity, not conciliable, because not to be amended without a miracle. Nor he who puts away an unquenchable vexation from his bosom, and flies an evil, than which a greater cannot befall human society. Nor he who puts away with the full suffrage and applause of his conscience, not relying on the written bill of law, but claiming by faith and fulness of persuasion the rights and promises of God's institution, of which he finds himself in a mistaken wedlock defrauded. Doubtless this man hath bail enough to be no adulterer, giving divorce for these causes.

"His wife."] This word is not to be idle here, a mere word without sense, much less a fallacious word signifying contrary to what it pretends; but faithfully signifies a wife, that is, a comfortable help and society, as God instituted; does not signify deceitfully under this name an intolerable adversary, not a helpless, unaffectionate, and sullen mass, whose very company represents the visible and exactest figure of loneliness itself. Such an associate he who puts away, divorces not a wife, but disjoins a nullity which God never joined, if she be neither willing, nor to her proper and requisite duties sufficient, as the words of God institute her. And this also is Bucer's explication of this place.

"Except it be for fornication," or "saving for the cause of fornication," as Matt. v.] This declares what kind of causes our Saviour meant; fornication being no natural and perpetual cause, but only accidental and temporary; therefore shews that head of causes from whence it is excepted, to be meant of the same sort. For exceptions are not logically deduced from a diverse kind, as to say whoso puts away for any natural cause except fornication, the exception would want salt. And if they understand it, whoso for any cause whatever, they cast themselves; granting divorce for frigidity a natural cause of their own allowing, though not here expressed, and for desertion without infidelity, whenas he who marries, as they allow him for desertion, deserts as well as is deserted, and finally puts away for another cause besides adultery. It will with all due reason therefore be thus better understood, whoso puts away for any accidental and temporary causes, except one of them, which is fornication. Thus this exception finds out the causes from whence it is excepted, to be of the same kind, that is, casual, not continual.

"Saving for the cause of fornication."] The New Testament, though it be said originally writ in Greek, yet hath nothing near so many Atticisms as Hebraisms, and Syriacisms, which was the majesty of God, not filing the tongue of Scripture to a Gentilish idiom, but in a princely manner offering to them as to Gentiles and foreigners grace and mercy, though not in foreign words, yet in a foreign style that might induce them to the fountains; and though their calling were high and happy, yet still to acknowledge God's ancient people their betters, and that language the metropolitan language. He therefore who thinks to scholiaze upon the gospel, though Greek, according to his Greek analogies, and hath not been auditor to the oriental dialects, shall want in the heat of his analysis no accommodation to stumble. In this place, as the 5th of Matth. reads it, "Saving for the cause of fornication," the Greek, such as it is, sounds it, except for the "word, report, speech, or proportion" of fornication. In which regard, with other inducements, many ancient and learned writers have understood this exception, as comprehending any fault equivalent and proportional to fornication. But truth is, the evangelist here Hebraizes, taking "word or speech for cause or matter" in the common Eastern phrase, meaning perhaps no more than if he had said for fornication, as in this 19th chapter. And yet the word is found in the 5th of Exodus also signifying proportion; where the Israelites are commanded to do their tasks, "the matter of each day in his day." A task we know is a proportion of work, not doing the same thing absolutely every day, but so much. Whereby it may be doubtful yet, whether here be not excepted not only fornication itself, but other causes equipollent, and proportional to fornication. Which very word also to understand rightly, we must of necessity have recourse again to the Hebrew. For in the Greek and Latin sense by fornication is meant the common prostitution of body for sale. So that they who are so exact for the letter shall be dealt with by the Lexicon, and the Etymologicon too if they please, and must be bound to forbid divorce for adultery also, until it come to open whoredom and trade, like that for which Claudius divorced Messalina. Since therefore they take not here the word fornication in the common significance, for an open exercise in the stews, but grant divorce for one single act of privatest adultery, notwithstanding that the word speaks a public and notorious frequency of fact, not without price; we may reason with as good leave, and as little straining to the text, that our Saviour on set purpose chose this word fornication, improperly applied to the lapse of adultery, that we might not think ourselves bound from all divorce, except when that fault hath been actually committed. For the language of Scripture signifies by fornication (and others besides St. Austin so expounded it) not only the trespass of body, nor perhaps that between married persons, unless in a degree or quality as shameless as the bordello; but signifies also any notable disobedience, or intractable carriage of the wife to the husband, as Judg. xix. 2, whereof at large in "the Doctrine of Divorce," l. 2. c. 18. Secondly, signifies the apparent alienation of mind not to idolatry, (which may seem to answer the act of adultery,)

but far on this side, to any point of will-worship, though to the true God; sometimes it notes the love of earthly things, or worldly pleasures, though in a right believer, sometimes the least suspicion of unwitting idolatry. As Numb. xv. 39, wilful disobedience to any of the least of God's commandments is called fornication: Psal. lxxiii. 26, 27. a distrust only in God, and withdrawing from that nearness of zeal and confidence which ought to be, is called fornication. We may be sure it could not import thus much less than idolatry in the borrowed metaphor between God and man, unless it signified as much less than adultery in the ordinary acceptation between man and wife. Add also, that there was no need our Saviour should grant divorce for adultery, it being death by law, and law then in force. Which was the cause why Joseph sought to put away his betrothed wife privately, lest he should make her an example of capital punishment, as learnedest expounders affirm, Herod being a great zealot of the Mosaic law, and the Pharisees great masters of the text, as the woman taken in adultery doubtless had cause to fear. Or if they can prove it was neglected, which they cannot do, why did our Saviour shape his answer to the corruption of that age, and not rather tell them of their neglect? If they say he came not to meddle with their judicatures, much less then was it in his thought to make them new ones, or that divorce should be judicially restrained in a stricter manner by these his words, more than adultery judicially acquitted by those his words to the adulteress. His sentence doth no more by law forbid divorce here, than by law it doth absolve adultery there. To them therefore, who have drawn this yoke upon Christians from his words thus wrested, nothing remains but the guilt of a presumption and perverseness, which will be hard for them to answer. Thus much that the word fornication is to be understood as the language of Christ understands it for a constant alienation and disaffection of mind, or for the continual practice of disobedience and crossness from the duties of love and peace; that is, in sum, when to be a tolerable wife is either naturally not in their power, or obstinately not in their will: and this opinion also is St. Austin's, lest it should hap to be suspected of novelty. Yet grant the thing here meant were only adultery, the reason of things will afford more to our assertion, than did the reason of words. For why is divorce unlawful but only for adultery? because, say they, that crime only breaks the matrimony. But this, I reply, the institution itself gainsays: for that which is most contrary to the words and meaning of the institution, that most breaks the matrimony; but a perpetual unmeetness and unwillingness to all the duties of help, of love, and tranquillity, is most contrary to the words and meaning of the institution; that therefore much more breaks matrimony than the act of adultery, though repeated. For this, as it is not felt, nor troubles him who perceives it not, so being perceived, may be soon repented, soon amended: soon, if it can be pardoned, may be redeemed with the more ardent love and duty in her who hath the pardon. But this natural unmeetness both cannot be unknown long, and ever after cannot be amended, if it be natural, and will not, if it be far gone obstinate. So that wanting aught in the instant to be as great a breach as adultery, it gains it in the perpetuity to be greater. Next, adultery does not exclude her other fitness, her other pleasingness; she may be otherwise both loving and prevalent, as many adulteresses be; but in this general unfitness or alienation she can be nothing to him that can please. In adultery nothing is given from the husband, which he misses, or enjoys the less, as it may be subtly given; but this unfitness defrauds him of the whole contentment which is sought in wedlock. And what benefit to him, though nothing be given by the stealth of adultery to another, if that which there is to give, whether it be solace, or society, be not such as may justly content him? and so not only deprives him of what it should give him, but gives him sorrow and affliction, which it did not owe him. Besides, is adultery the greatest breach of matrimony in respect of the offence to God, or of the injury to man? If in the former, then other sins may offend God more, and sooner cause him to disunite his servant from being one flesh with such an offender. If in respect of the latter, other injuries are demonstrated therein more heavy to man's nature than the iterated act of adultery. God therefore, in his wisdom, would not so dispose his remedies, as to provide them for the less injuries, and not allow them for the greater. Thus is won both from the word fornication, and the reason of adultery, that the exception of divorce is not limited to that act, but enlarged to the causes above specified.

"And whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery."] By this clause alone, if by nothing else, we may assure us that Christ intended not to deliver here the whole doctrine of divorce, but only to condemn abuses. Otherwise to marry after desertion, which the apostle, and the reformed churches at this day, permit, is here forbid, as adultery. Be she never so wrongfully deserted, or put away, as the law then suffered, if thus forsaken and expulsed, she accept the refuge and protection of any honester man who would love her better, and give herself in marriage to him; by what the letter guides us, it shall be present adultery to them both. This is either harsh and cruel, or all the churches, teaching as they do to the contrary, are loose and remiss; besides that the apostle himself stands deeply fined in a contradiction against our Saviour. What shall we make of this? what rather the common interpreter can make of it, for they be his own markets, let him now try; let him try which way he can wind in his Vertumnian distinctions and evasions, if his canonical gabardine of text and letter do not now sit too close about him, and pinch his activity: which if I err not, hath here hampered itself in a spring fit for those who put their confidence in alphabets. Spanheim, a writer of "Evangelic Doubts," comes now and confesses, that our Saviour's words are "to be limited beyond the limitation there expressed, and excepted beyond their own exception," as not speaking of what happened rarely, but what most commonly. Is it so rare, Spanheim, to be deserted? or was it then so rare

to put away injuriously, that a person so hatefully expelled, should to the heaping of more injury be turned like an infectious thing out of all marriage fruition upon pain of adultery, as not considerable to the brevity of this half sentence? Of what then speaks our Saviour? "of that collusion," saith he, "which was then most frequent among the Jews, of changing wives and husbands through inconstancy and unchaste desires." Colluders yourselves, as violent to this law of God by your unmerciful binding, as the Pharisees by their unbounded loosening! Have thousands of christian souls perished as to this life, and God knows what hath betided their consciences, for want of this healing explanation; and is it now at last obscurely drawn forth, only to cure a scratch, and leave the main wound spouting? "Whosoever putteth away his wife, except for fornication, committeth adultery." That shall be spoke of all ages, and all men, though never so justly otherwise moved to divorce: in the very next breath, "And whoso marrieth her which is put away committeth adultery:" the men are new and miraculous, they tell you now, "you are to limit it to that age, when it was in fashion to chop matrimonies; and must be meant of him who puts away with his wife's consent through the lightness and lewdness of them both." But by what rule of logic, or indeed of reason, is our commission to understand the antecedent one way and the consequent another? for in that habitude this whole verse may be considered: or at least to take the parts of a copulate axiom, both absolutely affirmative, and to say, the first is absolutely true, the other not, but must be limited to a certain time and custom; which is no less than to say they are both false? For in this compound axiom, be the parts never so many, if one of them do but falter, and be not equally absolute and general, the rest are all false. If therefore, that "he who marries her which is put away commits adultery," be not generally true, neither is it generally true, that "he commits adultery who puts away for other cause than fornication." And if the marrying her which is put away must be understood limited, which they cannot but yield it must, with the same limitation must be understood the putting away. Thus doth the common exposition confound itself and justify this which is here brought; that our Saviour, as well in the first part of this sentence as in the second, prohibited only such divorces as the Jews then made through malice or through plotted licence, not those which are for necessary and just causes; where charity and wisdom disjoins, that which not God, but errour and disaster, joined.

And there is yet to this our exposition, a stronger siding friend, than any can be an adversary, unless St. Paul be doubted, who repeating a command concerning divorce, 1 Cor. vii. which is agreed by writers to be the same with this of our Saviour, and appointing that the "wife remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband," leaves it infallible, that our Saviour spake chiefly against putting away for casual and choleric disagreements, or any other cause which may with human patience and wisdom be reconciled; not hereby meaning to hale and dash together the irreconcileable aversations of nature, nor to tie up a faultless person like a parricide, as it were into one sack with an enemy, to be his causeless tormentor and executioner the length of a long life. Lastly, let this sentence of Christ be understood how it will, yet that it was never intended for a judicial law, to be enforced by the magistrate, besides that the office of our Saviour had no such purpose in the gospel, this latter part of the sentence may assure us, "And whoso marrieth her which is put away, commits adultery." Shall the exception for adultery belong to this clause or not? If not, it would be strange, that he who marries a woman really divorced for adultery, as Christ permitted, should become an adulterer by marrying one who is now no other man's wife, himself being also free, who might by this means reclaim her from common whoredom. And if the exception must belong hither, then it follows that he who marries an adulteress divorced commits no adultery; which would soon discover to us what an absurd and senseless piece of injustice this would be, to make a civil statute of in penal courts: whereby the adulteress put away may marry another safely; and without a crime to him that marries her; but the innocent and wrongfully divorced shall not marry again without the guilt of adultery both to herself and to her second husband. This saying of Christ therefore cannot be made a temporal law, were it but for this reason. Nor is it easy to say what coherence there is at all in it from the letter, to any perfect sense not obnoxious to some absurdity, and seems much less agreeable to whatever else of the gospel is left us written: doubtless by our Saviour spoken in that fierceness and abstruse intricacy, first to amuse his tempters, and admonish in general the abusers of that Mosaic law; next, to let Herod know a second knower of his unlawful act, though the Baptist were beheaded; last, that his disciples and all good men might learn to expound him in this place, as in all other his precepts, not by the written letter, but by that unerring paraphrase of christian love and charity, which is the sum of all commands, and the perfection.

Ver. 10. "His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry."

This verse I add, to leave no objection behind unanswered: for some may think, if this our Saviour's sentence be so fair, as not commanding aught that patience or nature cannot brook, why then did the disciples murmur and say, "it is not good to marry?" I answer, that the disciples had been longer bred up under the pharisæan doctrine, than under that of Christ, and so no marvel though they yet retained the infection of loving old licentious customs; no marvel though they thought it hard they might not for any offence, that thoroughly angered them, divorce a wife, as well as put away a servant, since it was but giving her a bill, as they were taught. Secondly, it was no unwonted thing with them not to understand our Saviour in matters far easier. So that be it granted their conceit of

this text was the same which is now commonly conceived, according to the usual rate of their capacity then, it will not hurt a better interpretation. But why did not Christ, seeing their errour, inform them? for good cause, it was his professed method not to teach them all things at all times, but each thing in due place and season. Christ said, Luke xxii. that "he who had no sword, should sell his garment and buy one:" the disciples took it in a manifest wrong sense, yet our Saviour did not there inform them better. He told them, "it was easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye," than a rich man in at heaven-gate. They were "amazed exceedingly:" he explained himself to mean of those "who trust in riches," Mark x. "They were amazed then out of measure," for so Mark relates it; as if his explaining had increased their amazement in such a plain case, and which concerned so nearly their calling to be informed in. Good reason therefore, if Christ at that time did not stand amplifying, to the thick prejudice and tradition wherein they were, this question of more difficulty, and less concernment to any perhaps of them in particular. Yet did he not omit to sow within them the seeds of a sufficient determining, against the time that his promised Spirit should bring all things to their memory. He had declared in their hearing not long before, how distant he was from abolishing the law itself of divorce; he had referred them to the institution; and after all this, gives them a set answer, from which they might collect what was clear enough, that "all men cannot receive all sayings," ver. 11. If such regard be had to each man's receiving of marriage or single life, what can arise, that the same christian regard should not be had in most necessary divorce? All which instructed both them and us, that it beseemed his disciples to learn the deciding of this question, which hath nothing new in it, first by the institution, then by the general grounds of religion, not by a particular saying here and there, tempered and levelled only to an incident occasion, the riddance of a tempting assault. For what can this be but weak and shallow apprehension, to forsake the standard principles of institution, faith and charity; then to be blank and various at every occurrence in Scripture, and in a cold spasm of scruple, to rear peculiar doctrines upon the place, that shall bid the gray authority of most unchangeable and sovereign rules to stand by and be contradicted? Thus to this evangelic precept of famous difficulty, which for these many ages weakly understood, and violently put in practice, hath made a shambles rather than an ordinance of matrimony, I am firm a truer exposition cannot be given. If this or that argument here used please not every one, there is no scarcity of arguments, any half of them will suffice. Or should they all fail, as truth itself can fail as soon, I should content me with the institution alone to wage this controversy, and not distrust to evince. If any need it not, the happier; yet Christians ought to study earnestly what may be another's need. But if, as mortal mischances are, some hap to need it, let them be sure they abuse not, and give God his thanks, who hath revived this remedy, not too late for them, and scowered off an inveterate misexposition from the gospel: a work not to perish by the vain breath or doom of this age. Our next industry shall be, under the same guidance, to try with what fidelity that remaining passage in the Epistles touching this matter hath been commented.

1 Cor. vii. 10, &c.

10. "And unto the married I command," &c.

11. "And let not the husband put away his wife."

This intimates but what our Saviour taught before, that divorce is not rashly to be made, but reconcilement to be persuaded and endeavoured, as oft as the cause can have to do with reconcilement, and is not under the dominion of blameless nature; which may have reason to depart, though seldomest and last from charitable love, yet sometimes from friendly, and familiar, and something oftener from conjugal love, which requires not only moral, but natural causes to the making and maintaining; and may be warrantably excused to retire from the deception of what it justly seeks, and the ill requitals which unjustly it finds. For nature hath her zodiac also, keeps her great annual circuit over human things, as truly as the sun and planets in the firmament; hath her anomalies, hath her obliquities in ascensions and declinations, accesses and recesses, as blamelessly as they in heaven. And sitting in her planetary orb with two reins in each hand, one strait, the other loose, tempers the course of minds as well as bodies to several conjunctions and oppositions, friendly or unfriendly aspects, consenting oftest with reason, but never contrary. This in the effect no man of meanest reach but daily sees; and though to every one it appear not in the cause, yet to a clear capacity, well nurtured with good reading and observation, it cannot but be plain and visible. Other exposition therefore than hath been given to former places, that give light to these two summary verses, will not be needful: save only that these precepts are meant to those married who differ not in religion.

"But to the rest speak I, not the Lord: if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away."

Now follows what is to be done, if the persons wedded be of a different faith. The common belief is, that a Christian is here commanded not to divorce, if the infidel please to stay, though it be but to vex, or to deride, or to seduce the Christian. This doctrine will be the easy work of a refutation. The other opinion is, that a Christian is here conditionally permitted to hold wedlock with a misbeliever only, upon hopes limited by christian prudence, which without much difficulty shall be defended. That this here spoken by Paul, not by the Lord, cannot be a command, these reasons avouch. First, the law of Moses, Exod. xxxiv. 16, Deut. vii. 3, 6, interpreted by Ezra and Nehemiah, two infallible authors, commands to divorce an infidel not for the fear only of a ceremonious defilement, but of an irreligious seducement, feared both in respect of the believer himself, and of his children in danger to be

perverted by the misbelieving parent, Nehem. xiii. 24, 26. And Peter Martyr thought this a convincing reason. If therefore the legal pollution vanishing have abrogated the ceremony of this law, so that a Christian may be permitted to retain an infidel without uncleanness, yet the moral reason of divorcing stands to eternity, which neither apostle nor angel from heaven can countermand. All that they reply to this is their human warrant, that God will preserve us in our obedience to this command against the danger of seducement. And so undoubtedly he will, if we understand his commands aright; if we turn not this evangelic permission into a legal, and yet illegal, command; if we turn not hope into bondage, the charitable and free hope of gaining another into the forced and servile temptation of losing ourselves: but more of this beneath. Thus these words of Paul by common doctrine made a command, are made a contradiction to the moral law.

Secondly, Not the law only, but the gospel from the law, and from itself, requires even in the same chapter, where divorce between them of one religion is so narrowly forbid, rather than our christian love should come into danger of backsliding, to forsake all relations how near soever, and the wife expressly, with promise of a high reward, Matt. xix. And he who hates not father or mother, wife or children, hindering his christian course, much more if they despise or assault it, cannot be a disciple, Luke xiv. How can the apostle then command us to love and continue in that matrimony, which our Saviour bids us hate and forsake? They can as soon teach our faculty of respiration to contract and to dilate itself at once, to breathe and to fetch breath in the same instant, as teach our minds how to do such contrary acts as these towards the same object, and as they must be done in the same moment. For either the hatred of her religion, and her hatred to our religion, will work powerfully against the love of her society, or the love of that will by degrees flatter out all our zealous hatred and forsaking, and soon ensnare us to unchristianly compliances.

Thirdly, In marriage there ought not only to be a civil love, but such a love as Christ loves his church; but where the religion is contrary without hope of conversion, there can be no love, no faith, no peaceful society, (they of the other opinion confess it,) nay there ought not to be, further than in expectation of gaining a soul; when that ceases, we know God hath put an enmity between the seed of the woman, and the seed of the serpent. Neither should we "love them that hate the Lord," as the prophet told Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xix. And this apostle himself in another place warns us, that we "be not unequally yoked with infidels," 2 Cor. vi. for that there can be no fellowship, no communion, no concord between such. Outward commerce and civil intercourse cannot perhaps be avoided; but true friendship and familiarity there can be none. How vainly therefore, not to say how impiously, would the most inward and dear alliance of marriage or continuance in marriage be commanded, where true friendship is confessed impossible! For, say they, we are forbid here to marry with an infidel, not bid to divorce. But to rob the words thus of their full sense, will not be allowed them: it is not said, enter not into yoke, but "be not unequally yoked;" which plainly forbids the thing in present act, as well as in purpose: and his manifest conclusion is, not only that "we should not touch," but that having touched, "we should come out from among them, and be separate;" with the promise of a blessing thereupon, that "God will receive us, will be our father, and we his sons and daughters," ver. 17, 18. Why we should stay with an infidel after the expense of all our hopes can be but for a civil relation; but why we should depart from a seducer, setting aside the misconstruction of this place, is from a religious necessity of departing. The worse cause therefore of staying (if it be any cause at all, for civil government forces it not) must not overtop the religious cause of separating, executed with such an urgent zeal, and such a prostrate humiliation, by Ezra and Nehemiah. What God hates to join, certainly he cannot love should continue joined; it being all one in matter of ill consequence, to marry, or to continue married with an infidel, save only so long as we wait willingly, and with a safe hope. St. Paul therefore citing here a command of the Lord Almighty, for so he terms it, that we should separate, cannot have bound us with that which he calls his own, whether command or counsel, that we should not separate.

Which is the fourth reason, for he himself takes care lest we should mistake him, "but to the rest speak I, not the Lord." If the Lord spake not, then man spake it, and man hath no lordship to command the conscience: yet modern interpreters will have it a command, maugre St. Paul himself; they will make him a prophet like Caiaphas, to speak the word of the Lord, not thinking, nay denying to think: though he disavow to have received it from the Lord, his word shall not be taken; though an apostle, he shall be borne down in his own epistle, by a race of expositors who presume to know from whom he spake, better than he himself. Paul deposes, that the Lord speaks not this; they, that the Lord speaks it: can this be less than to brave him with a full-faced contradiction? Certainly to such a violence as this, for I cannot call it an expounding, what a man should answer I know not, unless that if it be their pleasure next to put a gag into the apostle's mouth, they are already furnished with a commodious audacity toward the attempt. Beza would seem to shun the contradictory, by telling us that the Lord spake it not in person, as he did the former precept. But how many other doctrines doth St. Paul deliver, which the Lord spake not in person, and yet never uses this preamble but in things indifferent! So long as we receive him for a messenger of God, for him to stand sorting sentences, what the Lord spake in person, and what he, not the Lord in person, would be but a chill trifling, and his readers might catch an ague the while. But if we shall supply the grammatical ellipsis regularly, and as we must in the same tense, all will be then clear, for we cannot supply it thus, to the rest I speak, the Lord spake not; but I speak, the Lord speaks not. If then the Lord neither spake in

person, nor speaks it now, the apostle testifying both, it follows duly, that this can be no command. Forsooth the fear is, lest this, not being a command, would prove an evangelic counsel, and so make way for supererogations. As if the apostle could not speak his mind in things indifferent, as he doth in four or five several places of this chapter with the like preface of not commanding, but that the doubted inconvenience of supererogating must needs rush in. And how adds it to the word of the Lord, (for this also they object,) whenas the apostle by his christian prudence guides us in the liberty which God hath left us to, without command? Could not the Spirit of God instruct us by him what was free, as well as what was not? But what need I more, when Cameron, an ingenuous writer, and in high esteem, solidly confutes the surmise of a command here, and among other words hath these; that "when Paul speaks as an apostle, he uses this form," The Lord saith, not I, ver. 10; "but as a private man he saith, I speak, not the Lord." And thus also all the prime fathers, Austin, Jerom, and the rest, understood this place.

Fifthly, The very stating of the question declares this to be no command; "If any brother hath an unbelieving wife, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away." For the Greek word συνευδοκεῖ does not imply only her being pleased to stay, but his being pleased to let her stay; it must be a consent of them both. Nor can the force of this word be rendered less, without either much negligence or iniquity of him that otherwise translates it. And thus the Greek church also and their synods understood it, who best knew what their own language meant, as appears by Matthæus Monachus, an author set forth by Leunclavius, and of antiquity perhaps not inferior to Balsamon, who writes upon the canons of the apostles: this author in his chap. "That marriage is not to be made with heretics," thus recites the second canon of the 6th synod: "As to the Corinthians, Paul determines; If the believing wife choose to live with the unbelieving husband, or the believing husband with the unbelieving wife. Mark," saith he, "how the apostle here condescends, if the believer please to dwell with the unbeliever; so that if he please not, out of doubt the marriage is dissolved. And I am persuaded it was so in the beginning, and thus preached." And thereupon gives an example of one, who though not deserted, yet by the decree of Theodotus the patriarch divorced an unbelieving wife. What therefore depends in the plain state of this question on the consent and well liking of them both must not be a command. Lay next the latter end of the 11th verse to the 12th, (for wherefore else is logic taught us?) in a discreet axiom, as it can be no other by the phrase; "The Lord saith, Let not the husband put away his wife: but I say, Let him not put away a misbelieving wife." This sounds as if by the judgment of Paul a man might put away any wife but the misbelieving; or else the parts are not discrete, or dissentany, for both conclude not putting away, and consequently in such a form the proposition is ridiculous. Of necessity therefore the former part of this sentence must be conceived, as understood, and silently granted, that although the Lord command to divorce an infidel, yet I, not the Lord, command you. No, but give my judgment, that for some evangelic reasons a Christian may be permitted not to divorce her. Thus while we reduce the brevity of St. Paul to a plainer sense, by the needful supply of that which was granted between him and the Corinthians, the very logic of his speech extracts him confessing, that the Lord's command lay in a seeming contrariety to this his counsel: and that he meant not to thrust out a command of the Lord by a new one of his own, as one nail drives another, but to release us from the rigour of it, by the right of the gospel, so far forth as a charitable cause leads us in the hope of winning another soul without the peril of losing our own. For this is the glory of the gospel, to teach us that "the end of the commandment is charity," 1 Tim. i. not the drudging out a poor and worthless duty forced from us by the tax and tale of so many letters. This doctrine therefore can be no command, but it must contradict the moral law, the gospel, and the apostle himself, both elsewhere and here also even in the act of speaking.

If then it be no command, it must remain to be a permission, and that not absolute, for so it would be still contrary to the law, but with such a caution as breaks not the law, but as the manner of the gospel is, fulfils it through charity. The law had two reasons, the one was ceremonial, the pollution that all Gentiles were to the Jews; this the vision of Peter had abolished, Acts x. and cleansed all creatures to the use of a Christian. The Corinthians understood not this, but feared lest dwelling in matrimony with an unbeliever, they were defiled. The apostle discusses that scruple with an evangelic reason, shewing them that although God heretofore under the law, not intending the conversion of the Gentiles, except some special ones, held them as polluted things to the Jew, yet now purposing to call them in, he hath purified them from that legal uncleanness wherein they stood, to use and to be used in a pure manner.

For saith he, "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband, else were your children unclean; but now they are holy." That is, they are sanctified to you, from that legal impurity which you so fear; and are brought into a near capacity to be holy, if they believe, and to have free access to holy things. In the mean time, as being God's creatures, a Christian hath power to use them according to their proper use; in as much as now, "all things to the pure are become pure." In this legal respect therefore ye need not doubt to continue in marriage with an unbeliever. Thus others also expound this place, and Cameron especially. This reason warrants us only what we may do without fear of pollution, does not bind us that we must. But the other reason of the law to divorce an infidel was moral, the avoiding of enticement from the true faith. This cannot shrink; but remains in as full force as ever, to save the actual Christian from the snare of a misbeliever. Yet if a Christian full of grace and spi-

ritual gifts, finding the misbeliever not frowardly affected, fears not a seducing, but hopes rather a gaining, who sees not that this moral reason is not violated by not divorcing, which the law commanded to do, but better fulfilled by the excellence of the gospel working through charity? For neither the faithful is seduced, and the unfaithful is either saved, or with all discharge of love and evangelic duty sought to be saved. But contrariwise, if the infirm Christian shall be commanded here against his mind, against his hope, and against his strength, to dwell with all the scandals, the household persecutions, or alluring temptations of an infidel, how is not the gospel by this made harsher than the law, and more yoking? Therefore the apostle, ere he deliver this other reason why we need not in all haste put away an infidel, his mind misgiving him, lest he should seem to be the imposer of a new command, stays not for method, but with an abrupt speed inserts the declaration of their liberty in this matter.

"But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart; a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace."

"But if the unbelieving depart."] This cannot be restrained to local departure only: for who knows not that an offensive society is worse than a forsaking? If his purpose of cohabitation be to endanger the life, or the conscience, Beza himself is half persuaded, that this may purchase to the faithful person the same freedom that a desertion may; and so Gerard and others whom he cites. If therefore he depart in affection; if he depart from giving hope of his conversion; if he disturb, or scoff at religion, seduce or tempt; if he rage, doubtless not the weak only, but the strong may leave him: if not for fear, yet for the dignity's sake of religion, which cannot be liable to all base affronts, merely for the worshipping of a civil marriage. I take therefore "departing" to be as large as the negative of being well pleased: that is, if he be not pleased for the present to live lovingly, quietly, inoffensively, so as may give good hope; which appears well by that which follows.

"A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases."] If St. Paul provide seriously against the bondage of a Christian, it is not the only bondage to live unmarried for a deserting infidel, but to endure his presence intolerably, to bear indignities against his religion in words or deeds, to be wearied with seducements, to have idolatries and superstitions ever before his eyes, to be tormented with impure and prophane conversation; this must needs be bondage to a Christian: is this left all unprovided for, without remedy, or freedom granted? Undoubtedly no; for the apostle leaves it further to be considered with prudence, what bondage a brother or sister is not under, not only in this case, but as he speaks himself plurally, "in such cases."

"But God hath called us to peace."] To peace, not to bondage, not to brabbles and contentions with him who is not pleased to live peaceably, as marriage and Christianity require. And where strife arises from a cause hopeless to be allayed, what better way to peace than by separating that which is ill joined? It is not divorce that first breaks the peace of a family, as some fondly comment on this place, but it is peace already broken, which, when other cures fail, can only be restored to the faultless person by a necessary divorce. And St. Paul here warrants us to seek peace, rather than to remain in bondage. If God hath called us to peace, why should we not follow him? why should we miserably stay in perpetual discord under a servitude not required?

"For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband," &c.] St. Paul having thus cleared himself, not to go about the mining of our christian liberty, not to cast a snare upon us, which to do he so much hated, returns now to the second reason of that law, to put away an infidel for fear of seducement, which he does not here contradict with a command now to venture that; but if neither the infirmity of the Christian, nor the strength of the unbeliever, be feared, but hopes appearing that he may be won, he judges it no breaking of that law, though the believer be permitted to forbear divorce, and can abide, without the peril of seducement, to offer the charity of a salvation to wife or husband, which is the fulfilling, not the transgressing, of that law; and well worth the undertaking with much hazard and patience. For what knowest thou, whether thou shalt save thy wife that is, till all means convenient and possible with discretion and probability, as human things are, have been used. For Christ himself sends not our hope on pilgrimage to the world's end; but sets it bounds, beyond which we need not wait on a brother, much less on an infidel. If after such a time we may count a professing Christian no better than a heathen, after less time perhaps we may cease to hope of a heathen, that he will turn Christian. Otherwise, to bind us harder than the law, and tell us we are not under bondage, is mere mockery. If, till the unbeliever please to part, we may not stir from the house of our bondage, then certain this our liberty is not grounded in the purchase of Christ, but in the pleasure of a miscreant. What knows the loyal husband, whether he may not save the adulteress? he is not therefore bound to receive her. What knows the wife, but she may reclaim her husband who hath deserted her? Yet the reformed churches do not enjoin her to wait longer than after the contempt of an ecclesiastical summons. Beza himself here befriends us with a remarkable speech, "What could be firmly constituted in human matters, if under pretence of expecting grace from above, it should be never lawful for us to seek our right?" And yet in other cases not less reasonable to obtain a most just and needful remedy by divorce, he turns the innocent party to a task of prayers beyond the multitude of beads and rosaries, to beg the gift of chastity in recompense of an injurious marriage. But the apostle is evident enough, "we are not under bondage;" trusting that he writes to those who are not ignorant what bondage is, to let supercilious determiners cheat them of their freedom. God hath

called us to peace, and so doubtless hath left in our hands how to obtain it seasonably: if it be not our own choice to sit ever like novices wretchedly servile.

Thus much the apostle in this question between Christian and pagan, to us now of little use; yet supposing it written for our instruction, as it may be rightly applied, I doubt not but that the difference between a true believer and a heretic, or any one truly religious either deserted or seeking divorce from any one grossly erroneous or prophane, may be referred hither. For St. Paul leaves us here the solution not of this case only, which little concerns us, but of such like cases, which may occur to us. For where the reasons directly square, who can forbid why the verdict should not be the same? But this the common writers allow us not. And yet from this text, which in plain words give liberty to none, unless deserted by an infidel, they collect the same freedom, though the desertion be not for religion, which, as I conceive, they need not do; but may, without straining, reduce it to the cause of fornication. For first, they confess that desertion is seldom without a just suspicion of adultery: next, it is a breach of marriage in the same kind, and in some sort worse: for adultery, though it give to another, yet it bereaves not all; but the deserter wholly denies all right, and makes one flesh twain, which is counted the absolutest breach of matrimony, and causes the other, as much as in him lies, to commit sin, by being so left. Nevertheless, those reasons, which they bring of establishing by this place the like liberty from any desertion, are fair and solid: and if the thing be lawful, and can be proved so, more ways than one, so much the safer. Their arguments I shall here recite, and that they may not come idle, shall use them to make good the like freedom to divorce for other causes; and that we are no more under bondage to any heinous default against the main ends of matrimony, than to a desertion: first they allege that 1 to Tim. v. 8, "If any provide not for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." But a deserter, say they, "can have no care of them who are most his own; therefore the deserted party is not less to be righted against such a one, than against an infidel." With the same evidence I argue, that man or wife, who hates in wedlock, is perpetually unsociable, unpeaceful, or unduteous, either not being able, or not willing to perform what the main ends of marriage demand in help and solace, cannot be said to care for who should be dearest in the house; therefore is worse than an infidel in both regards, either in undertaking a duty which he cannot perform, to the undeserved and unspeakable injury of the other party so defrauded and betrayed, or not performing what he hath undertaken, whenas he may or might have, to the perjury of himself, more irreligious than heathenism. The blameless person therefore hath as good a plea to sue out his delivery from this bondage, as from the desertion of an infidel. Since most writers cannot but grant that desertion is not only a local absence, but an intolerable society; or if they grant it not, the reasons of St. Paul grant it, with as much leave as they grant to enlarge a particular freedom from paganism, into a general freedom from any desertion. Secondly, they reason from the likeness of either fact, "the same loss redounds to the deserted by a Christian, as by an infidel, the same peril of temptation." And I in like manner affirm, that if honest and free persons may be allowed to know what is most to their own loss, the same loss and discontent, but worse disquiet, with continual misery and temptation, resides in the company, or better called the persecution of an unfit, or an unpeaceable consort, than by his desertion. For then the deserted may enjoy himself at least. And he who deserts is more favourable to the party whom his presence afflicts, than that importunate thing, which is and will be ever conversant before the eyes, a loyal and individual vexation. As for those who still rudely urge it no loss to marriage, no desertion, so long as the flesh is present, and offers a benevolence that hates, or is justly hated; I am not of that vulgar and low persuasion, to think such forced embracements as these worth the honour, or the humanity of marriage, but far beneath the soul of a rational and freeborn man. Thirdly, they say, "It is not the infidelity of the deserter, but the desertion of the infidel, from which the apostle gives this freedom:" and I join, that the apostle could as little require our subjection to an unfit and injurious bondage present, as to an infidel absent. To free us from that which is an evil by being distant, and not from that which is an inmate, and in the bosom evil, argues an improvident and careless deliverer. And thus all occasions, which way soever they turn, are not unofficious to administer something which may conduce to explain or to defend the assertion of this book touching divorce. I complain of nothing, but that it is indeed too copious to be the matter of a dispute, or a defence, rather to be yielded, as in the best ages, a thing of common reason, not of controversy. What have I left to say? I fear to be more elaborate in such a perspicuity as this; lest I should seem not to teach, but to upbraid the dulness of an age; not to commune with reason in men, but to deplore the loss of reason from among men: this only, and not the want of more to say, is the limit of my discourse.

Who among the fathers have interpreted the words of Christ concerning divorce, as is here interpreted; and what the civil law of christian emperors in the primitive church determined.

Although testimony be in logic an argument rightly called "inartificial," and doth not solidly fetch the truth by multiplicity of authors, nor argue a thing false by the few that hold so; yet seeing most men from their youth so accustom, as not to scan reason, nor clearly to apprehend it, but to trust for that the names and numbers of such, as have got, and many times undeservedly, the reputation among them to know much; and because there is a vulgar also of teachers, who are as blindly by whom they fancy led, as they lead the people, it will not be amiss for them who had rather list themselves under this weaker sort, and follow authorities, to take notice that this opinion, which I bring, hath been favoured, and by some of those affirmed,

who in their time were able to carry what they taught, had they urged it, through all christendom; or to have left it such a credit with all good men, as they who could not boldly use the opinion, would have feared to censure it. But since by his appointment on whom the times and seasons wait, every point of doctrine is not fatal to be thoroughly sifted out in every age; it will be enough for me to find, that the thoughts of wisest heads heretofore, and hearts no less reverenced for devotion, have tended this way, and contributed their lot in some good measure towards this which hath been here attained. Others of them, and modern especially, have been as full in the assertion, though not so full in the reason; so that either in this regard, or in the former, I shall be manifest in a middle fortune to meet the praise or dispraise of being something first.

But I defer not what I undertook to shew, that in the church both primitive and reformed, the words of Christ have been understood to grant divorce for other causes than adultery; and that the word fornication in marriage hath a larger sense than that commonly supposed.

Justin Martyr in his first Apology, written within fifty years after St. John died, relates a story which Eusebius transcribes, that a certain matron of Rome, the wife of a vicious husband, herself also formerly vicious, but converted to the faith, and persuading the same to her husband, at least the amendment of his wicked life; upon his not yielding to her daily entreaties and persuasions in this behalf, procured by law to be divorced from him. This was neither for adultery, nor desertion, but as the relation says, " esteeming it an ungodly thing to be the consort of bed with him, who against the law of nature and of right sought out voluptuous ways." Suppose he endeavoured some unnatural abuse, as the Greek admits that meaning, it cannot yet be called adultery; it therefore could be thought worthy of divorce no otherwise than as equivalent, or worse; and other vices will appear in other respects as much divorcive. Next, it is said her friends advised her to stay a while; and what reason gave they? not because they held unlawful what she purposed, but because they thought she might longer yet hope his repentance. She obeyed, till the man going to Alexandria, and from thence reported to grow still more impenitent, not for any adultery or desertion, whereof neither can be gathered, but saith the Martyr, and speaks it like one approving, " lest she should be partaker of his unrighteous and ungodly deeds, remaining in wedlock, the communion of bed and board with such a person, she left him by a lawful divorce." This cannot but give us the judgment of the church in those pure and next to apostolic times. For how else could the woman have been permitted, or here not reprehended? and if a wife might then do this without reproof, a husband certainly might no less, if not more.

Tertullian in the same age, writing his fourth Book against Marcion, witnesses " that Christ, by his answer to the Pharisees, protected the constitution of Moses as his own, and directed the institution of the Creator," for I alter not his Carthaginian phrase; " he excused rather than destroyed the constitution of Moses; I say, he forbid conditionally, if any one therefore put away, that he may marry another: so that if he prohibited conditionally, then not wholly: and what he forbad not wholly, he permitted otherwise, where the cause ceases for which he prohibited:" that is, when a man makes it not the cause of his putting away, merely that he may marry again. " Christ teaches not contrary to Moses, the justice of divorce hath Christ the asserter: he would not have marriage separate, nor kept with ignominy, permitting then a divorce;" and guesses that this vehemence of our Saviour's sentence was chiefly bent against Herod, as was cited before. Which leaves it evident how Tertullian interpreted this prohibition of our Saviour: for whereas the text is, " Whosoever putteth away, and marrieth another," wherefore should Tertullian explain it, " Whosoever putteth away that he may marry another," but to signify his opinion, that our Saviour did not forbid divorce from an unworthy yoke, but forbid the malice or the lust of a needless change, and chiefly those plotted divorces then in use?

Origen in the next century testifies to have known certain who had the government of churches in his time, who permitted some to marry, while yet their former husbands lived, and excuses the deed, as done " not without cause, though without Scripture," which confirms that cause not to be adultery; for how then was it against Scripture that they married again? And a little beneath, for I cite his seventh homily on Matthew, saith he, " to endure faults worse than adultery and fornication, seems a thing unreasonable;" and disputes therefore that Christ did not speak by " way of precept, but as it were expounding." By which and the like speeches, Origen declares his mind, far from thinking that our Saviour confined all the causes of divorce to actual adultery.

Lactantius, of the age that succeeded, speaking of this matter in the 6th of his " Institutions," hath these words: " But lest any think he may circumscribe divine precepts, let this be added, that all misinterpreting, and occasion of fraud or death may be removed, he commits adultery who marries the divorced wife; and besides the crime of adultery, divorces a wife that he may marry another." To divorce and marry another, and to divorce that he may marry another, are two different things; and imply that Lactantius thought not this place the forbidding of all necessary divorce, but such only as proceeded from the wanton desire of a future choice, not from the burden of a present affliction.

About this time the council of Eliberis in Spain decreed the husband excommunicate, " if he kept his wife being an adulteress; but if he left her, he might after ten years be received into communion, if he retained her any while in his house after the adultery known." The council of Neocæsaria, in the year 314, decreed, That if the wife of any laic were convicted of adultery, that man could not be admitted into the ministry: if after ordination it were committed, he was to divorce her; if not he could not hold his ministry. The coun-

cil of Nantes condemned in seven years' penance the husband, that would reconcile with an adulteress. But how proves this that other causes may divorce? It proves thus: There can be but two causes why these councils enjoined so strictly the divorcing of an adulteress, either as an offender against God, or against the husband; in the latter respect they could not impose on him to divorce; for every man is the master of his own forgiveness; who shall hinder him to pardon the injuries done against himself? It follows therefore, that the divorce of an adulteress was commanded by these three councils, as it was a sin against God; and by all consequence they could not but believe that other sins as heinous might with equal justice be the ground of a divorce.

Basil in his 73d rule, as Chamier numbers it, thus determines; "That divorce ought not to be, unless for adultery, or the hinderance to a godly life." What doth this but proclaim aloud more causes of divorce than adultery, if by other sins besides this, in wife or husband, the godliness of the better person may be certainly hindered and endangered?

Epiphanius no less ancient, writing against heretics, and therefore should himself be orthodoxal above others, acquaints us in his second book, Tom. 1, not that his private persuasion was, but that the whole church in his time generally thought other causes of divorce lawful besides adultery, as comprehended under that name: "If," saith he, "a divorce happen for any cause, either fornication or adultery, or any heinous fault, the word of God blames not either the man or wife marrying again, nor cuts them off from the congregation, or from life, but bears with the infirmity; not that he may keep both wives, but that leaving the former he may be lawfully joined to the latter: the holy word, and the holy church of God, commiserates this man, especially if he be otherwise of good conversation, and live according to God's law." This place is clearer than exposition, and needs no comment.

Ambrose, on the 16th of Luke, teaches "that all wedlock is not God's joining:" and to the 19th of Prov. "That a wife is prepared of the Lord," as the old Latin translates it, he answers, that the Septuagint renders it, "a wife is fitted by the Lord, and tempered to a kind of harmony; and where that harmony is, there God joins; where it is not, there dissension reigns, which is not from God, for God is love." This he brings to prove the marrying of Christian with Gentile to be no marriage, and consequently divorced without sin: but he who sees not this argument how plainly it serves to divorce any untunable, or unatonable matrimony, sees little. On the first to the Cor. vii. he grants a woman may leave her husband not only for fornication, "but for apostacy, and inverting nature, though not marry again; but the man may;" here are causes of divorce assigned other than adultery. And going on, he affirms, "that the cause of God is greater than the cause of matrimony; that the reverence of wedlock is not due to him who hates the author thereof; that no matrimony is firm without devotion to God; that dishonour done to God acquits the other being deserted from the bond of matrimony; that the faith of marriage is not to be kept with such." If these contorted sentences be aught worth, it is not the desertion that breaks what is broken, but the impiety; and who then may not for that cause better divorce, than tarry to be deserted? or these grave sayings of St. Ambrose are but knacks.

Jerom on the 19th of Matthew explains, that for the cause of fornication, or the "suspicion thereof, a man may freely divorce." What can breed that suspicion, but sundry faults leading that way? By Jerom's consent therefore divorce is free not only for actual adultery, but for any cause that may incline a wise man to the just suspicion thereof.

Austin also must be remembered among those who hold, that this instance of fornication gives equal inference to other faults equally hateful, for which to divorce: and therefore in his books to Pollentius he disputes, "that infidelity, as being a greater sin than adultery, ought so much the rather cause a divorce." And on the sermon on the mount, under the name of fornication, will have "idolatry, or any harmful superstition," contained, which are not thought to disturb matrimony so directly as some other obstinacies and disaffections, more against the daily duties of that covenant, and in the Eastern tongues not unfrequently called fornication, as hath been shewn. "Hence is understood," saith he, "that not only for bodily fornication, but for that which draws the mind from God's law, and foully corrupts it, a man may without fault put away his wife, and a wife her husband; because the Lord excepts the cause of fornication, which fornication we are constrained to interpret in a general sense." And in the first book of his "Retractations," chap. 16, he retracts not this his opinion, but commends it to serious consideration; and explains that he counted not there all sin to be fornication, but the more detestable sort of sins. The cause of fornication therefore is not in this discourse newly interpreted to signify other faults infringing the duties of wedlock, besides adultery.

Lastly, the council of Agatha in the year 506, Can. 25, decreed, that "if laymen who divorced without some great fault, or giving no probable cause, therefore divorced, that they might marry some unlawful person, or some other man's, if before the provincial bishops were made acquainted, or judgment passed, they presumed this, excommunication was the penalty." Whence it follows, that if the cause of divorce were some great offence, or that they gave probable causes for what they did, and did not therefore divorce, that they might presume with some unlawful person, or what was another man's, the censure of church in those days did not touch them.

Thus having alleged enough to shew, after what manner the primitive church for above 500 years understood our Saviour's words touching divorce, I shall now, with a labour less dispersed, and sooner dispatched, bring under view what the civil law of those times constituted about this matter: I say the civil law, which is the honour of every true civilian to stand for, rather than to count that for law, which the ponti-

fical canon had enthralled them to, and instead of interpreting a generous and elegant law, made them the drudges of a blockish Rubric.

Theodosius and Valentinian, pious emperors both, ordained that, "as by consent lawful marriages were made, so by consent, but not without the bill of divorce, they might be dissolved; and to dissolve was the more difficult, only in favour of the children." We see the wisdom and piety of that age, one of the purest and learnedest since Christ, conceived no hinderance in the words of our Saviour, but that a divorce, mutually consented, might be suffered by the law, especially if there were no children, or if there were, careful provision was made. And further saith that law, (supposing there wanted the consent of either,) "We design the causes of divorce by this most wholesome law; for as we forbid the dissolving of marriage without just cause, so we desire that a husband or a wife distressed by some adverse necessity, should be freed though by an unhappy, yet a necessary relief." What dram of wisdom or religion (for charity is the truest religion) could there be in that knowing age, which is not virtually summed up in this most just law? As for those other christian emperors, from Constantine the first of them, finding the Roman law in this point so answerable to the Mosaic, it might be the likeliest cause why they altered nothing to restraint; but if aught, rather to liberty, for the help and consideration of the weaker sex, according as the gospel seems to make the wife more equal to her husband in these conjugal respects, than the law of Moses doth. Therefore "if a man were absent from his wife four years, and in that space not heard of, though gone to war in the service of the empire," she might divorce, and marry another, by the edict of Constantine to Dalmatius, Cod. l. 5, tit. 17. And this was an age of the church, both ancient and cried up still for the most flourishing in knowledge and pious government since the apostles. But to return to this law of Theodosius, with this observation by the way, that still as the church corrupted, as the clergy grew more ignorant, and yet more usurping on the magistrate, who also now declined, so still divorce grew more restrained; though certainly if better times permitted the thing that worse times restrained, it would not weakly argue that the permission was better, and the restraint worse. This law therefore of Theodosius, wiser in this than the most of his successors, though no wiser than God and Moses, reduced the causes of divorce to a certain number, which by the judicial law of God, and all recorded humanity, were left before to the breast of each husband, provided that the dismiss was not without reasonable conditions to the wife. But this was a restraint not yet come to extremes. For besides adultery, and that not only actual, but suspected by many signs there set down, any fault equally punishable with adultery, or equally infamous, might be the cause of a divorce. Which informs us how the wisest of those ages understood that place in the gospel, whereby not the pilfering of a benevolence was considered as the main and only breach of wedlock, as is now thought, but the breach of love and peace, a more holy union than that of the flesh; and the dignity of an honest person was regarded not to be held in bondage with one whose ignominy was infectious. To this purpose was constituted Cod. l. 5, tit. 17, and Authent. collat. 4, tit. i. Novell. 22, where Justinian added three causes more. In the 117 Novell. most of the same causes are allowed, but the liberty of divorcing by consent is repealed: but by whom? by Justinian, not a wiser, not a more religious emperor than either of the former, but noted by judicious writers for his fickle head in making and unmaking laws; and how Procopius, a good historian, and a counsellor of state then living, deciphers him in his other actions, I willingly omit. Nor was the church then in better case, but had the corruption of a hundred declining years swept on it, when the statute of "Consent" was called in; which, as I said, gives us every way more reason to suspect this restraint, more than that liberty: which therefore in the reign of Justin, the succeeding emperor, was recalled, Novell. 140, and established with a preface more wise and christianly than for those times, declaring the necessity to restore that Theodosian law, if no other means of reconcilement could be found. And by whom this law was abrogated, or how long after, I do not find; but that those other causes remained in force as long as the Greek empire subsisted, and were assented to by that church, is to be read in the canons and edicts compared by Photius the patriarch, with the avertiments of Balsamon and Matthæus Monachus thereon.

But long before those days, Leo, the son of Basilius Macedo, reigning about the year 886, and for his excellent wisdom surnamed the "Philosopher," constituted, "that in case of madness, the husband might divorce after three years, the wife after five." Constit. Leon. 111, 112. This declares how he expounded our Saviour, and derived his reasons from the institution, which in his preface with great eloquence are set down; whereof a passage or two may give some proof, though better not divided from the rest. "There is not," saith he, "a thing more necessary to preserve mankind, than the help given him from his own rib; both God and nature so teaching us: which doing so, it was requisite that the providence of law, or if any other care be to the good of man, should teach and ordain those things which are to the help and comfort of married persons, and confirm the end of marriage purposed in the beginning, not those things which afflict and bring perpetual misery to them." Then answers the objection, that they are one flesh; "If matrimony had held so as God ordained it, he were wicked that would dissolve it. But if we respect this in matrimony, that it be contracted to the good of both, how shall he, who for some great evil feared, persuades not to marry though contracted, not persuade to unmarry, if after marriage a calamity befall? Should we bid beware lest any fall into an evil, and leave him helpless who by human errour is fallen therein? This were as if we should use remedies to prevent a disease, but let the sick die without remedy." The rest will be worth reading in the author.

And thus we have the judgment first of primitive fathers; next of the imperial law not disallowed by the universal church in ages of her best authority; and lastly, of the whole Greek church and civil state, incorporating their canons and edicts together, that divorce was lawful for other causes equivalent to adultery, contained under the word fornication. So that the exposition of our Saviour's sentence here alleged hath all these ancient and great asserters; is therefore neither new nor licentious, as some would persuade the commonalty; although it be nearer truth that nothing is more new than those teachers themselves, and nothing more licentious than some known to be, whose hypocrisy yet shames not to take offence at this doctrine for licence; wheras indeed they fear it would remove licence, and leave them but few companions.

That the pope's canon law, encroaching upon civil magistracy, abolished all divorce even for adultery. What the reformed divines have recovered; and that the famousest of them have taught according to the assertion of this book.

But in these western parts of the empire, it will appear almost unquestionable, that the cited law of Theodosius and Valentinian stood in force until the blindest and corruptest times of popedom displaced it. For, that the volumes of Justinian never came into Italy, or beyond Illyricum, is the opinion of good antiquaries. And that only manuscript thereof found in Apulia, by Lotharius the Saxon, and given to the states of Pisa, for their aid at sea against the Normans of Sicily, was received as a rarity not to be matched. And although the Goths, and after them the Lombards and Franks, who overrun the most of Europe, except this island, (unless we make our Saxons and Normans a limb of them,) brought in their own customs, yet that they followed the Roman laws in their contracts in marriages, Agathias the historian is alleged. And other testimonies relate, that Alaricus and Theodoric, their kings, writ their statutes out of this Theodosian code, which hath the recited law of divorce. Nevertheless, while the monarchs of christendom were yet barbarous, and but half-christian, the popes took this advantage of their weak superstition, to raise a corpulent law out of the canons and decretals of audacious priests; and presumed also to set this in the front: "That the constitutions of princes are not above the constitutions of clergy, but beneath them." Using this very instance of divorce, as the first prop of their tyranny; by a false consequence drawn from a passage of Ambrose upon Luke, where he saith, though "man's law grant it, yet God's law prohibits it:" whence Gregory the pope, writing to Theoctista, infers that ecclesiastical courts cannot be dissolved by the magistrate. A fair conclusion from a double errour. First, in saying that the divine law prohibited divorce: (for what will he make of Moses?) next, supposing that it did, how will it follow, that whatever Christ forbids in his evangelic precepts, should be haled into a judicial constraint against the pattern of a divine law? Certainly the gospel came not to enact such compulsions. In the mean while we may note here, that the restraint of divorce was one of the first fair seeming pleas which the pope had, to step into secular authority, and with his antichristian rigour to abolish the permissive law of christian princes conforming to a sacred lawgiver. Which if we consider, this papal and unjust restriction of divorce need not be so dear to us, since the plausible restraining of that was in a manner the first loosening of Antichrist, and, as it were, the substance of his eldest horn. Nor do we less remarkably owe the first means of his fall here in England, to the contemning of that restraint by Henry the VIII, whose divorce he opposed. Yet was not that rigour executed anciently in spiritual courts, until Alexander the IIId, who trod upon the neck of Frederic Barbarossa the emperor, and summoned our Henry IId into Normandy, about the death of Becket. He it was, that the worthy author may be known, who first actually repealed the imperial law of divorce, and decreed this tyrannous decree, that matrimony for no cause should be dissolved, though for many causes it might separate; as may be seen Decret. Gregor. l. 4, tit. 19, and in other places of the canonical tomes. The main good of which invention, wherein it consists, who can tell? but that it hath one virtue incomparable, to fill all christendom with whoredoms and adulteries, beyond the art of Balaams, or of devils. Yet neither can these, though so perverse, but acknowledge that the words of Christ, under the name of fornication, allow putting away for other causes than adultery, both from "bed and board," but not from the "bond;" their only reason is, because marriage they believe to be a "sacrament." But our divines, who would seem long since to have renounced that reason, have so forgot themselves, as yet to hold the absurdity, which but for that reason, unless there be some mystery of Satan in it, perhaps the papist would not hold. It is true, we grant divorce for actual and proved adultery, and not for less than many tedious and unrepairable years of desertion, wherein a man shall lose all his hope of posterity, which great and holy men have bewailed, ere he can be righted; and then perhaps on the confines of his old age, when all is not worth the while. But grant this were seasonably done; what are these two cases to many other, which afflict the state of marriage as bad, and yet find no redress? What hath the soul of man deserved, if it be in the way of salvation, that it should be mortgaged thus, and may not redeem itself according to conscience out of the hands of such ignorant and slothful teachers as these, who are neither able nor mindful to give due tendance to that precious cure which they rashly undertake; nor have in them the noble goodness, to consider these distresses and accidents of man's life, but are bent rather to fill their mouths with tithe and oblation? Yet if they can learn to follow, as well as they can seek to be followed, I shall direct them to a fair number of renowned men, worthy to be their leaders, who will commend to them a doctrine in this point wiser than their own; and if they be not impatient, it will be the same doctrine which this treatise hath defended.

Wickliff, that Englishman honoured of God to be the first preacher of a general reformation to all Europe, was not in this thing better taught of God, than to teach among his chiefest recoveries of truth, "that divorce is lawful to the Christian for many other causes equal to adultery." This book indeed, through the poverty of our libraries, I am forced to cite from "Arnisæus of Halberstad on the Rite of Marriage," who cites it from Corasius of Toulouse, c. 4. Cent. Sect. and he from Wickliff, l. 4. Dial. c. 21. So much the sorrier, for that I never looked into an author cited by his adversary upon this occasion, but found him more conducible to the question than his quotation rendered him.

Next, Luther, how great a servant of God! in his book of "Conjugal Life" quoted by Gerard out of the Dutch, allows divorce for the obstinate denial of conjugal duty; and "that a man may send away a proud Vashti, and marry an Esther in her stead." It seems, if this example shall not be impertinent, that Luther meant not only the refusal of benevolence, but a stubborn denial of any main conjugal duty; or if he did not, it will be evinced from what he allows. For out of question, with men that are not barbarous, love, and peace, and fitness, will be yielded as essential to marriage, as corporal benevolence. "Though I give my body to be burnt," saith St. Paul, "and have not charity, it profits me nothing." So though the body prostitute itself to whom the mind affords no other love or peace, but constant malice and vexation, can this bodily benevolence deserve to be called a marriage between Christians and rational creatures?

Melancthon, the third great luminary of reformation, in his book "concerning Marriage," grants divorce for cruel usage, and danger of life, urging the authority of that Theodosian law, which he esteems written with the grave deliberation of godly men; "and that they who reject this law, and think it disagreeing from the gospel, understand not the difference of law and gospel; that the magistrate ought not only to defend life, but to succour the weak conscience; lest, broke with grief and indignation, it relinquish prayer, and turn to some unlawful thing." What if this heavy plight of despair arise from other discontents in wedlock, which may go to the soul of a good man more than the danger of his life, or cruel using, which a man cannot be liable to? suppose it be ingrateful usage, suppose it be perpetual spite and disobedience, suppose a hatred; shall not the magistrate free him from this disquiet which interrupts his prayers, and disturbs the course of his service to God and his country all as much, and brings him such a misery, as that he more desires to leave his life, than fears to lose it? Shall not this equally concern the office of civil protection, and much more the charity of a true church, to remedy?

Erasmus, who for learning was the wonder of his age, both in his Notes on Matthew, and on the first to the Corinthians, in a large and eloquent discourse, and in his answer to Phimostomus, a papist, maintains (and no protestant then living contradicted him) that the words of Christ comprehend many other causes of divorce under the name of fornication.

Bucer, (whom our famous Dr. Rainolds was wont to prefer before Calvin,) in his comment on Matthew, and in his second book "of the Kingdom of Christ," treats of divorce at large, to the same effect as is written in "the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" lately published, and the translation is extant: whom, lest I should be thought to have wrested to mine own purpose, take something more out of his 49th chapter, which I then for brevity omitted. "It will be the duty of pious princes, and all who govern church or commonwealth, if any, whether husband or wife, shall affirm their want of such, who either will or can tolerably perform the necessary duties of married life, to grant that they may seek them such, and marry them; if they make it appear that such they have not." This book he wrote here in England, where he lived the greatest admired man; and this he dedicated to Edward the VIth.

Fagius, ranked among the famous divines of Germany, whom Frederic, at that time the Palatine, sent for to be the reformer of his dominion, and whom afterwards England sought to, and obtained of him to come and teach her, differs not in this opinion from Bucer, as his notes on the Chaldee Paraphrast well testify.

The whole church of Strasburgh in her most flourishing time, when Zellius, Hedio, Capito, and other great divines, taught there, and those two renowned magistrates, Farrerus and Sturmius, governed that commonwealth and academy to the admiration of all Germany, hath thus in the 21st article: "We teach, that if according to the word of God, yea, or against it, divorces happen, to do according to God's word, Deut. xxiv. 1. Matt. xix. 1 Cor. vii. and the observation of the primitive church, and the christian constitution of pious Cæsars."

Peter Martyr seems in word our easy adversary, but is indeed for us: toward which, though it be something when he saith of this opinion, "that it is not wicked, and can hardly be refuted," this which follows is much more; "I speak not here," saith he, "of natural impediments, which may so happen, that the matrimony can no longer hold:" but adding, that he often wondered "how the ancient and most christian emperors established those laws of divorce, and neither Ambrose, who had such influence upon the laws of Theodosius, nor any of those holy fathers found fault, nor any of the churches, why the magistrates of this day should be so loth to constitute the same. Perhaps they fear an inundation of divorces, which is not likely; whenas we read not either among the Hebrews, Greeks, or Romans, that they were much frequent where they were most permitted. If they judge christian men worse than Jews or pagans, they both injure that name, and by this reason will be constrained to grant divorces the rather; because it was permitted as a remedy of evil, for who would remove the medicine, while the disease is yet so rife?" This being read both in "his Commonplaces," and on the first to the Corinthians, with what we shall relate more of him yet ere the end, sets him absolutely on this side. Not to insist that in both these, and other places of his commentaries, he

grants divorce not only for desertion, but for the seducement and scandalous demeanour of an heretical consort.

Musculus, a divine of no obscure fame, distinguishes between the religious and the civil determination of divorce; and leaving the civil wholly to the lawyers, pronounces a conscionable divorce for impotence not only natural, but accidental, if it be durable. His equity it seems, can enlarge the words of Christ to one cause more than adultery; why may not the reason of another man as wise enlarge them to another cause?

Gualter of Zuric, a well-known judicious commentator, in his homilies on Matthew, allows divorce for "leprosy, or any other cause which renders unfit for wedlock," and calls this rather "a nullity of marriage than a divorce." And who, that is not himself a mere body, can restrain all the unfitness of marriage only to a corporeal defect?

Hemingius, an author highly esteemed, and his works printed at Geneva, writing of divorce, confesses that learned men "vary in this question, some granting three causes thereof, some five, others many more;" he himself gives us six, "adultery, desertion, inability, errour, evil usage, and impiety," using argument "that Christ under one special contains the whole kind, and under the name and example of fornication, he includes other causes equipollent." This discourse he wrote at the request of many who had the judging of these causes in Denmark and Norway, who by all likelihood followed his advice.

Hunnius, a doctor of Wittenberg, well known both in divinity and other arts, on the 19th of Matt. affirms, "That the exception of fornication expressed by our Saviour, excludes not other causes equalling adultery, or destructive to the substantials of matrimony; but was opposed to the custom of the Jews, who made divorce for every light cause."

Felix Bidenbachius, an eminent divine in the duchy of Wirtemberg, affirms, "That the obstinate refusal of conjugal due is a lawful cause of divorce;" and gives an instance, "that the consistory of that state so judged."

Gerard cites Harbardus, an author not unknown, and Arnisæus cites Wigandus, both yielding divorce in case of cruel usage; and another author, who testifies to "have seen, in a dukedom of Germany, marriages disjointed for some implacable enmities arising."

Beza, one of the strictest against divorce, denies it not "for danger of life from a heretic, or importunate solicitation to do aught against religion:" and counts it "all one whether the heretic desert, or would stay upon intolerable conditions." But this decision, well examined, will be found of no solidity. For Beza would be asked why, if God so strictly exact our stay in any kind of wedlock, we had not better stay and hazard a murdering for religion at the hand of a wife or husband as he and others enjoin us to stay and venture it for all other causes but that? and why a man's life is not as well and warrantably saved by divorcing from an orthodox murderer, as an heretical? Again, if desertion be confessed by him to consist not only in the forsaking, but in the unsufferable conditions of staying, man may as well deduce the lawfulness of divorcing from any intolerable conditions, (if his grant be good, that we may divorce thereupon from a heretic,) as he can deduce it lawful to divorce from any deserter, by finding it lawful to divorce from a deserting infidel. For this is plain, if St. Paul's permission to divorce an infidel deserter infer it lawful for any malicious desertion, then doth Beza's definition of a deserter transfer itself with like facility from the cause of religion, to the cause of malice, and proves it as good to divorce from him who intolerably stays, as from him who purposely departs; and leaves it as lawful to depart from him who urgently requires a wicked thing, though professing the same religion, as from him who urges a heathenish or superstitious compliance in a different faith. For if there be such necessity of our abiding, we ought rather to abide the utmost for religion, than for any other cause; seeing both the cause of our stay is pretended our religion to marriage, and the cause of our suffering is supposed our constant marriage to religion. Beza therefore, by his own definition of a deserter, justifies a divorce from any wicked or intolerable conditions rather in the same religion than in a different.

Aretius, a famous divine of Bern, approves many causes of divorce in his "Problems," and adds, "that the laws and consistories of Switzerland approve them also." As first, "adultery, and that not actual only, but intentional;" alleging Matthew v. "Whosoever looketh to lust, hath committed adultery already in his heart. Whereby," saith he, "our Saviour shews, that the breach of matrimony may be not only by outward act, but by the heart and desire; when that hath once possessed, it renders the conversation intolerable, and commonly the fact follows." Other causes to the number of nine or ten, consenting in most with the imperial laws, may be read in the author himself, who avers them "to be grave and weighty." All these are men of name in divinity; and to these, if need were, might be added more. Nor have the civilians been all so blinded by the canon, as not to avouch the justice of those old permissions touching divorce.

Alciat of Milain, a man of extraordinary wisdom and learning, in the sixth book of his "Parerga," defends those imperial laws, "not repugnant to the gospel," as the church then interpreted. "For," saith he, "the ancients understood him separate by man, whom passions and corrupt affections divorced, not if the provincial bishops first heard the matter, and judged, as the council of Agatha declares:" and on some part of the Code he names Isidorus Hispalensis, the first computer of canons, "to be in the same mind." And in the former place gives his opinion, "that divorce might be more lawfully permitted than usury."

Corasius, recorded by Helvicus among the famous lawyers, hath been already cited of the same judgment.

Wesembechius, a much-named civilian, in his comment on this law defends it, and affirms, "That our Saviour excluded not other faults equal to adultery; and that the word fornication signifies larger among the Hebrews than with us, comprehending every fault,

which alienates from him to whom obedience is due, and that the primitive church interpreted so."

Grotius, yet living, and of prime note among learned men, retires plainly from the canon to the ancient civility, yea, to the Mosaic law, "as being most just and undeceivable." On the 5th of Matth. he saith, "That Christ made no civil laws, but taught us how to use law: that the law sent not a husband to the judge about this matter of divorce, but left him to his own conscience; that Christ therefore cannot be thought to send him; that adultery may be judged by a vehement suspicion; that the exception of adultery seems an example of other like offences;" proves it "from the manner of speech, the maxims of law, the reason of charity, and common equity."

These authorities, without long search, I had to produce, all excellent men, some of them such as many ages had brought forth none greater: almost the meanest of them might deserve to obtain credit in a singularity; what might not then all of them joined in an opinion so consonant to reason? For although some speak of this cause, others of that, why divorce may be, yet all agreeing in the necessary enlargement of that textual straitness, leave the matter to equity, not to literal bondage; and so the opinion closes. Nor could I have wanted more testimonies, had the cause needed a more solicitous inquiry. But herein the satisfaction of others hath been studied, not the gaining of more assurance to mine own persuasion: although authorities contributing reason withal be a good confirmation and a welcome. But God (I solemnly attest him!) withheld from my knowledge the consenting judgment of these men so late, until they could not be my instructors, but only my unexpected witnesses to partial men, that in this work I had not given the worst experiment of an industry joined with integrity, and the free utterance, though of an unpopular truth. Which yet to the people of England may, if God so please, prove a memorable informing; certainly a benefit which was intended them long since by men of highest repute for wisdom and piety, Bucer and Erasmus. Only this one authority more, whether in place or out of place, I am not to omit; which if any can think a small one, I must be patient, it is no smaller than the whole assembled authority of England both church and state; and in those times which are on record for the purest and sincerest that ever shone yet on the reformation of this island, the time of Edward the Sixth. That worthy prince, having utterly abolished the canon law out of his dominions, as his father did before him, appointed by full vote of parliament a committee of two and thirty chosen men, divines and lawyers, of whom Cranmer the archbishop, Peter Martyr, and Walter Haddon, (not without the assistance of Sir John Cheeke the king's tutor, a man at that time counted the learnedest of Englishmen, and for piety not inferior,) were the chief, to frame anew some ecclesiastical laws, that might be instead of what was abrogated. The work with great diligence was finished, and with as great approbation of that reforming age was received; and had been doubtless, as the learned preface thereof testifies, established by act of parliament, had not the good king's death, so soon ensuing, arrested the further growth of religion also, from that season to this. Those laws, thus founded on the memorable wisdom and piety of that religious parliament and synod, allow divorce and second marriage, "not only for adultery or desertion, but for any capital enmity or plot laid against the other's life, and likewise for evil and fierce usage:" nay the twelfth chapter of that title by plain consequence declares, "that lesser contentions, if they be perpetual, may obtain divorce:" which is all one really with the position by me held in the former treatise published on this argument, herein only differing, that there the cause of perpetual strife was put for example in the unchangeable discord of some natures; but in these laws intended us by the best of our ancestors, the effect of continual strife is determined no unjust plea of divorce, whether the cause be natural or wilful. Whereby the wariness and deliberation, from which that discourse proceeded, will appear, and that God hath aided us to make no bad conclusion of this point; seeing the opinion, which of late hath undergone ill censures among the vulgar, hath now proved to have done no violence to Scripture, unless all these famous authors alleged have done the like; nor hath affirmed aught more than what indeed the most nominated fathers of the church, both ancient and modern, are unexpectedly found affirming; the laws of God's peculiar people, and of primitive christendom found to have practised, reformed churches and states to have imitated, and especially the most pious church-times of this kingdom to have framed and published, and, but for sad hinderances in the sudden change of religion, had enacted by the parliament. Henceforth let them, who condemn the assertion of this book for new and licentious, be sorry; lest, while they think to be of the graver sort, and take on them to be teachers, they expose themselves rather to be pledged up and down by men who intimately know them, to the discovery and contempt of their ignorance and presumption.

COLASTERION:

A REPLY TO A NAMELESS ANSWER AGAINST THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE.

WHEREIN THE TRIVIAL AUTHOR OF THAT ANSWER IS DISCOVERED, THE LICENSER CONFERRED WITH, AND THE OPINION, WHICH THEY TRADUCE, DEFENDED.

Prov. xxvi. 5. "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit."

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After many rumours of confutations and convictions, forthcoming against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, and now and then a by-blow from the pulpit, feathered with a censure strict indeed, but how true, more beholden to the authority of that devout place, which it borrowed to be uttered in, than to any sound reason which it could oracle; while I still hoped as for a blessing to see some piece of diligence, or learned discretion, come from them, it was my hap at length, lighting on a certain parcel of queries, that seek and find not, to find not seeking, at the tail of anabaptistical, antinomian, heretical, atheistical epithets, a jolly slander, called "Divorce at Pleasure." I stood awhile and wondered, what we might do to a man's heart, or what anatomy use, to find in it sincerity; for all our wonted marks every day fail us, and where we thought it was, we see it is not, for alter and change residence it cannot sure. And yet I see no good of body or of mind secure to a man for all his past labours, without perpetual watchfulness and perseverance: whenas one above others, who hath suffered much and long in the defence of truth, shall after all this give her cause to leave him so destitute and so vacant of her defence, as to yield his mouth to be the common road of truth and falsehood, and such falsehood as is joined with a rash and heedless calumny of his neighbour. For what book hath he ever met with, as his complaint is, "printed in the city," maintaining either in the title, or in the whole pursuance, "Divorce at Pleasure?" It is true, that to divorce upon extreme necessity, when through the perverseness, or the apparent unfitness of either, the continuance can be to both no good at all, but an intolerable injury and temptation to the wronged and the defrauded; to divorce then, there is a book that writes it lawful. And that this law is a pure and wholesome national law, not to be withheld from good men, because others likely enough may abuse it to their pleasure, cannot be charged upon that book, but must be entered a bold and impious accusation against God himself; who did not for this abuse withhold it from his own people. It will be just therefore, and best for the reputation of him who in his Subitanes hath thus censured, to recall his sentence. And if, out of the abundance of his volumes, and the readiness of his quill, and the vastness of his other employments, especially in the great audit for accounts, he can spare us aught to the better understanding of this point, he shall be thanked in public; and what hath offended in the book shall willingly submit to his correction. Provided he be sure not to come with those old and stale suppositions, unless he can take away clearly what that discourse hath urged against them, by one who will expect other arguments to be persuaded the good health of a sound answer, than the gout and dropsy of a big margin, littered and overlaid with crude and huddled quotations. But as I still was waiting, when these light-armed refuters would have done pelting at their three lines uttered with a sage delivery of no reason, but an impotent and worse than Bonnerlike censure, to burn that which provokes them to a fair dispute; at length a book was brought to my hands, intitled "An Answer to the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." Gladly I received it, and very attentively composed myself to read; hoping that now some good man had vouchsafed the pains to instruct me better, than I could yet learn out of all the volumes, which for this purpose I had visited. Only this I marvelled, and other men have since, whenas I, in a subject so new to this age, and so hazardous to please, concealed not my name, why this author, defending that part which is so creeded by the people, would conceal his. But ere I could enter three leaves into the pamphlet, (for I defer the peasantly rudeness, which by the licenser's leave I met with afterwards,) my satisfaction came in abundantly, that it could be nothing why he durst not name himself, but the guilt of his own wretchedness. For first, not to

speak of his abrupt and bald beginning, his very first page notoriously bewrays him an illiterate and arrogant presumer in that which he understands not, bearing us in hand as if he knew both Greek and Hebrew, and is not able to spell it; which had he been, it had been either written as it ought, or scored upon the printer. If it be excused as the carelessness of his deputy, be it known, the learned author himself is inventoried, and summoned up to the utmost value of his livery-cloak. Whoever he be, though this to some may seem a slight contest, I shall yet continue to think that man full of other secret injustice, and deceitful pride, who shall offer in public to assume the skill though it be but of a tongue which he hath not, and would catch his readers to believe of his ability, that which is not in him. The licenser indeed, as his authority now stands, may license much; but if these Greek orthographies were of his licensing, the boys at school might reckon with him at his grammar. Nor did I find this his want of the pretended languages alone, but accompanied with such a low and homespun expression of his mother English all along, without joint or frame, as made me, ere I knew further of him, often stop and conclude, that this author could for certain be no other than some mechanic. Nor was the style flat and rude, and the matter grave and solid, for then there had been pardon; but so shallow and so unwary was that also, as gave sufficiently the character of a gross and sluggish, yet a contentious and overweening, pretender. For first, it behoving him to shew, as he promises, what divorce is, and what the true doctrine and discipline thereof, and this being to do by such principles and proofs as are received on both sides, he performs neither of these; but shews it first from the judaical practice, which he himself disallows, and next from the practice of canon law, which the book he would confute utterly rejects, and all laws depending thereon; which this puny clerk calls "the Laws of England," and yet pronounceth them by an ecclesiastical judge: as if that were to be accounted the law of England which dependeth on the popery of England; or if it were, this parliament he might know hath now damned that judicature. So that whether his meaning were to inform his own party, or to confute his adversary, instead of shewing us the true doctrine and discipline of divorce, he shews us nothing but his own contemptible ignorance. For what is the Mosaic law to his opinion? And what is the canon, now utterly antiquated, either to that, or to mine? Ye see already what a faithful definer we have him. From such a wind-egg of definition as this, they who expect any of his other arguments to be well hatched, let them enjoy the virtue of their worthy champion. But one thing more I observed, a singular note of his stupidity, and that his trade is not to meddle with books, much less with confutations; whenas the "Doctrine of Divorce" had now a whole year been published the second time, with many arguments added, and the former ones bettered and confirmed, this idle pamphlet comes reeling forth against the first edition only; as may appear to any by the pages quoted: which put me in mind of what by chance I had notice of to this purpose the last summer, as nothing so serious but happens ofttimes to be attended with a ridiculous accident: it was then told me, that the "Doctrine of Divorce" was answered, and the answer half printed against the first edition, not by one, but by a pack of heads; of whom the chief, by circumstance, was intimated to me, and since ratified to be no other, if any can hold laughter, and I am sure none will guess him lower, than an actual serving-man. This creature, for the story must on, (and what though he be the lowest person of an interlude, he may deserve a canvassing,) transplanted himself, and to the improvement of his wages, and your better notice of his capacity, turned solicitor. And having conversed much with a stripling divine or two of those newly-fledged probationers, that usually come scouting from the university, and lie here no lame legers to pop into the Bethesda of some knight's chaplainship, where they bring grace to his good cheer, but no peace or benediction else to his house; these made the cham-party, he contributed the law, and both joined in the divinity. Which made me intend following the advice also of friends, to lay aside the thought of mispending a reply to the buz of such a drone's nest. But finding that it lay, whatever was the matter, half a year after unfinished in the press, and hearing for certain that a divine of note, out of his good will to the opinion, had taken it into his revise, and something had put out, something put in, and stuck it here and there with a clove of his own calligraphy, to keep it from tainting: and further, when I saw the stuff, though very coarse and threadbare, garnished and trimly faced with the commendations of a licenser, I resolved, so soon as leisure granted me the recreation, that my man of law should not altogether lose his soliciting. Although I impute a share of the making to him whose name I find in the approbation, who may take, as his mind serves him, this reply. In the mean while it shall be seen, I refuse no occasion, and avoid no adversary, either to maintain what I have begun, or to give it up for better reason.

To begin then with the licenser and his censure. For a licenser is not contented now to give his single Imprimatur, but brings his chair into the title-leaf; there sits and judges up, or judges down, what book he pleases: if this be suffered, what worthless author, or what cunning printer, will not be ambitious of such a stale to put off the heaviest gear; which may in time bring in round fees to the licenser, and wretched misleading to the people? But to the matter: he "approves the publishing of this book, to preserve the strength and honour of marriage against those sad breaches and dangerous abuses of it." Belike then the wrongful suffering of all those sad breaches and abuses in marriage to a remediless thraldom is the strength and honour of marriage; a boisterous and bestial strength, a dishonourable honour, an infatuated doctrine, whose than the Salvo jure of tyrannizing, which we all fight against. Next he saith, that "common discontents make these breaches in unstaid minds, and men given to change." His words may be apprehended, as if they disallowed only to divorce for com-

mon discontents, in unstaid minds, having no cause, but a desire of change, and then we agree. But if he take all discontents on this side adultery, to be common, that is to say, not difficult to endure, and to affect only unstaid minds, it might administer just cause to think him the unfittest man that could be, to offer at a comment upon Job;* as seeming by this to have no more true sense of a good man in his afflictions, than those Edomitish friends had, of whom Job complains, and against whom God testifies his anger. Shall a man of your own coat, who hath espoused his flock, and represents Christ more in being the true husband of his congregation, than an ordinary man doth in being the husband of his wife, (and yet this representment is thought a chief cause why marriage must be inseparable,) shall this spiritual man ordinarily for the increase of his maintenances or any slight cause, forsake that wedded cure of souls, that should be dearest to him, and marry another and another? And shall not a person wrongfully afflicted, and persecuted even to extremity, forsake an unfit, injurious, and pestilent mate, tied only by a civil and fleshly covenant? If you be a man so much hating change, hate that other change; if yourself be not guilty, counsel your brethren to hate it; and leave to be the supercilious judge of other men's miseries and changes, that your own be not judged. "The reasons of your licensed pamphlet," you say, "are good;" they must be better than your own then; I shall wonder else how such a trivial fellow was accepted and commended, to be the confuter of so dangerous an opinion as ye give out mine.

Now therefore to your attorney, since no worthier an adversary makes his appearance, nor this neither his appearance, but lurking under the safety of his nameless obscurity; such as ye turn him forth at the postern, I must accept him; and in a better temper than Ajax do mean to scourge this ram for ye, till I meet with his Ulysses.

He begins with law, and we have it of him as good cheap as any huckster at law, newly set up, can possibly afford, and as impertinent; but for that he hath received his handsel. He presumes also to cite the civil law, which I perceive, by his citing, never came within his dormitory: yet what he cites, makes but against himself.

His second thing therefore is to refute the adverse position, and very methodically, three pages before he sets it down; and sets his own in the place, "that disagreement of mind or disposition, though shewing itself in much sharpness, is not by the law of God or man a just cause of divorce."

To this position I answer; That it lays no battery against mine, no nor so much as faces it, but tacks about, long ere it come near, like a harmless and respectful confutement. For I confess that disagreement of mind or disposition, though in much sharpness, is not always a just cause of divorce; for much may be endured. But what if the sharpness be much more than his much? To that point it is our mishap we have not here his grave decision. He that will contradict the position which I alleged, must hold that no disagreement of mind or disposition can divorce, though shewn in most sharpness; otherwise he leaves a place for equity to appoint limits, and so his following arguments will either not prove his own position, or not disprove mine.

His first argument, all but what bobbles to no purpose, is this; "Where the Scripture commands a thing to be done, it appoints when, how, and for what, as in the case of death, or excommunication. But the Scripture directs not what measure of disagreement or contrariety may divorce: therefore the Scripture allows not any divorce for disagreement."—Answer. First, I deny your major; the Scripture appoints many things, and yet leaves the circumstance to man's discretion, particularly in your own examples: excommunication is not taught when and for what to be, but left to the church. How could the licenser let pass this childish ignorance, and call it "good?" Next, in matters of death, the laws of England, whereof you have intruded to be an opiniastrous subadvocate, and are bound to defend them, conceive it not enjoined in Scripture, when or for what cause they shall put to death, as in adultery, theft, and the like. Your minor also is false, for the Scripture plainly sets down for what measure of disagreement a man may divorce, Deut. xxiv. 1. Learn better what that phrase means, "if she find no favour in his eyes."

Your second argument, without more tedious fumbling, is briefly thus: "If diversity in religion, which breeds a greater dislike than any natural disagreement, may not cause a divorce, then may not the lesser disagreement: But diversity of religion may not; Ergo."

Answ. First, I deny in the major, that diversity of religion breeds a greater dislike to marriage-duties than natural disagreement. For between Israelite, or Christian, and infidel, more often hath been seen too much love: but between them who perpetually clash in natural contrarieties, it is repugnant that there should be ever any married love or concord. Next, I deny your minor, that it is commanded not to divorce in diversity of religion, if the infidel will stay: for that place in St. Paul commands nothing, as that book at large affirmed, though you overskipped it.

Secondly, If it do command, it is but with condition that the infidel be content, and well-pleased to stay, which cuts off the supposal of any great hatred or disquiet between them, seeing the infidel had liberty to depart at pleasure; and so this comparison avails nothing.

Your third argument is from Deut. xxii. "If a man hate his wife, and raise an ill report, that he found her no virgin;" if this were false, "he might not put her away," though hated never so much.

Ans. This was a malicious hatred, bent against her life, or to send her out of doors without her portion. Such a hater loses by due punishment that privilege, Deut. xxiv. 1, to divorce for a natural dislike; which, though it could not love conjugally, yet sent away

* Mr. Caryl.

civilly, and with just conditions. But doubtless the wife in that former case had liberty to depart from her false accuser, lest his hatred should prove mortal; else that law peculiarly made to right the woman, had turned to her greatest mischief.

Your fourth argument is; "One Christian ought to bear the infirmities of another, but chiefly of his wife."

Ans. I grant infirmities, but not outrages, not perpetual defraudments of truest conjugal society, not injuries and vexations as importunate as fire. Yet to endure very much, might do well an exhortation, but not a compulsive law. For the Spirit of God himself, by Solomon, declares that such a consort "the earth cannot bear, and better dwell in a corner of the house-top, or in the wilderness." Burdens may be borne, but still with consideration to the strength of an honest man complaining. Charity indeed bids us forgive our enemies, yet doth not force us to continue friendship and familiarity with those friends who have been false or unworthy towards us; but is contented in our peace with them, at a fair distance. Charity commands not the husband to receive again into his bosom the adulterous wife, but thinks it enough, if he dismiss her with a beneficent and peaceful dismission. No more doth charity command, nor can her rule compel, to retain in nearest union of wedlock one whose other grossest faults, or disabilities to perform what was covenanted, are the just causes of as much grievance and dissension in a family, as the private act of adultery. Let not therefore, under the name of fulfilling charity, such an unmerciful and more than legal yoke be padlocked upon the neck of any Christian.

Your fifth argument: "If the husband ought to love his wife, as Christ his church, then ought she not to be put away for contrariety of mind."

Answ. This similitude turns against him: for if the husband must be as Christ to the wife, then must the wife be as the church to her husband. If there be a perpetual contrariety of mind in the church toward Christ, Christ himself threatens to divorce such a spouse, and hath often done it. If they urge, this was no true church, I urge again that was no true wife.

His sixth argument is from Matth. v. 32, which he expounds after the old fashion, and never takes notice of what I brought against that exposition; let him therefore seek his answer there. Yet can he not leave this argument, but he must needs first shew us a curvet of his madness, holding out an objection, and running himself upon the point. "For," saith he, "if Christ except no cause but adultery, then all other causes, as frigidity, incestuous marriage, &c. are no cause of divorce;" and answers, "that the speech of Christ holds universally, as he intended it; namely, to condemn such divorce as was groundlessly practised among the Jews, for every cause which they thought sufficient; not checking the law of consanguinities or affinities, or forbidding other cause which makes marriage void, ipso facto."

Answ. Look to it now, you be not found taking fees on both sides; for if you once bring limitations to the universal words of Christ, another will do as much with as good authority; and affirm, that neither did he check the law, Deut. xxiv. 1, nor forbid the causes that make marriage void actually; which if any thing in the world doth, unfitness doth, and contrariety of mind; yea, more than adultery, for that makes not the marriage void, nor much more unfit, but for the time, if the offended party forgive: but unfitness and contrariety frustrates and nullifies for ever, unless it be a rare chance, all the good and peace of wedded conversation; and leaves nothing between them enjoyable, but a prone and savage necessity, not worth the name of marriage, unaccompanied with love. Thus much his own objection hath done against himself.

Argument 7th. He insists, "that man and wife are one flesh, therefore must not separate." But must be sent to look again upon the* 35th page of that book, where he might read an answer, which he stirs not. Yet can he not abstain, but he must do us another pleasure ere he goes; although I call the common pleas to witness, I have not hired his tongue, whatever men may think by his arguing. For besides adultery, he excepts other causes which dissolve the union of being one flesh, either directly, or by consequence. If only adultery be excepted by our Saviour, and he voluntarily can add other exceptions that dissolve that union, both directly and by consequence; these words of Christ, the main obstacle of divorce, are open to us by his own invitation, to include whatever causes dissolve that union of flesh, either directly or by consequence. Which, till he name other causes more likely, I affirm to be done soonest by unfitness and contrariety of mind; for that induces hatred, which is the greatest dissolver both of spiritual and corporal union, turning the mind, and consequently the body, to other objects. Thus our doughty adversary, either directly or by consequence, yields us the question with his own mouth: and the next thing he does, recants it again.

His 8th argument shivers in the uttering, and he confesseth to be "not over-confident of it:" but of the rest it may be sworn he is. St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. saith, that the "married have trouble in the flesh," therefore we must bear it, though never so intolerable.

I answer, if this be a true consequence, why are not all troubles to be borne alike? Why are we suffered to divorce adulteries, desertions, or frigidities? Who knows not that trouble and affliction is the decree of God upon every state of life? Follows it therefore, that, though they grow excessive and insupportable, we must not avoid them? If we may in all other conditions, and not in marriage, the doom of our suffering ties us not by the trouble, but by the bond of marriage: and that must be proved inseparable from other reasons, not from this place. And his own confession declares the weakness of this argument, yet his ungoverned arrogance could not be dissuaded from venting it.

His 9th argument is, "that a husband must love his wife as himself; therefore he may not divorce for any disagreement, no more than he may separate his soul

* First Edition.

from his body." I answer: if he love his wife as himself, he must love her so far as he may preserve him to her in a cheerful and comfortable manner, and not so as to ruin himself by anguish and sorrow, without any benefit to her. Next, if the husband must love his wife as himself, she must be understood a wife in some reasonable measure, willing and sufficient to perform the chief duties of her covenant, else by the hold of this argument it would be his great sin to divorce either for adultery or desertion. The rest of this will run circuit with the union of one flesh, which was answered before. And that to divorce a relative and metaphorical union of two bodies into one flesh cannot be likened in all things to the dividing of that natural union of soul and body into one person, is apparent of itself.

His last argument he fetches " from the inconvenience that would follow upon his freedom of divorce, to the corrupting of men's minds, and the overturning of all human society."

But for me let God and Moses answer this blasphemer, who dares bring in such a foul indictment against the divine law. Why did God permit this to his people the Jews, but that the right and good, which came directly thereby, was more in his esteem than the wrong and evil, which came by accident? And for those weak supposes of infants that would be left in their mothers' belly, (which must needs be good news for chamber-maids, to hear a serving-man grown so provident for great bellies,) and portions and jointures likely to incur embezzlement hereby, the ancient civil law instructs us plentifully how to award, which our profound opposite knew not, for it was not in his tenures.

His arguments are spun; now follows the chaplain with his antiquities, wiser if he had refrained, for his very touching aught that is learned soils it, and lays him still more and more open, a conspicuous gull. There being both fathers and councils more ancient, wherewith to have served his purpose better than with what he cites, how may we do to know the subtle drift, that moved him to begin first with the "twelfth council of Toledo?" I would not undervalue the depth of his notion; but perhaps he had heard that the men of Toledo had store of good blade-mettle, and were excellent at cuttling; who can tell but it might be the reach of his policy, that these able men of decision would do best to have the prime stroke among his testimonies in deciding this cause? But all this craft avails himself not; for seeing they allow no cause of divorce by fornication, what do these keen doctors here, but cut him over the sinews with their toledoes, for holding in the precedent page other causes of divorce besides, both directly and by consequence? As evil doth that Saxon council, next quoted, bestead him. For if it allow divorce precisely for no cause but fornication, it thwarts his own exposition: and if it understand fornication largely, it sides with whom he would confute. However, the authority of that synod can be but small, being under Theodorus, the Canterbury bishop, a Grecian monk of Tarsus, revolted from his own church to the pope. What have we next? the civil law stuffed in between two councils, as if the Code had been some synod; for that he understood himself in this quotation, is incredible; where the law, Cod. l. 3, tit. 38, leg. 11, speaks not of divorce, but against the dividing of possessions to divers heirs, whereby the married servants of a great family were divided, perhaps into distant countries and colonies; father from son, wife from husband, sore against their will. Somewhat lower he confesseth, that the civil law allows many reasons of divorce, but the canon law decrees otherwise; a fair credit to his cause! And I amaze me, though the fancy of this dolt be as obtuse and sad as any mallet, how the licenser could sleep out all this, and suffer him to uphold his opinion by canons and Gregorial decretals; a law which not only his adversary, but the whole reformation of this church and state, hath branded and rejected. As ignorantly, and too ignorantly to deceive any reader but an unlearned, he talks of Justin Martyr's Apology, not telling us which of the twain; for that passage in the beginning of his first, which I have cited elsewhere, plainly makes against him: so doth Tertullian, cited next, and next Erasmus, the one against Marcion, the other in his annotations on Matthew, and to the Corinthians. And thus ye have the list of his choice antiquities, as pleasantly chosen as ye would wish from a man of his handy vocation, puffed up with no luck at all above the stint of his capacity.

Now he comes to the position, which I set down whole; and, like an able textman, slits it into four, that he may the better come at it with his barber-surgery, and his sleeves turned up. Wherein first, he denies "that any disposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, is unchangeable in nature, but that by the help of diet and physic it may be altered."

I mean not to dispute philosophy with this pork, who never read any. But I appeal to all experience, though there be many drugs to purge these redundant humours and circulations, that commonly impair health, and are not natural, whether any man can with the safety of his life bring a healthy constitution into physic with this design, to alter his natural temperament and disposition of mind. How much more vain and ridiculous would it be, by altering and rooting up the grounds of nature, which is most likely to produce death or madness, to hope the reducing of a mind to this or that fitness, or two disagreeing minds to a mutual sympathy! Suppose they might, and that with great danger of their lives and right senses, alter one temperature, how can they know that the succeeding disposition will not be as far from fitness and agreement? They would perhaps change melancholy into sanguine; but what if phlegm and choler in as great a measure come instead, the unfitness will be still as difficult and troublesome? But lastly, whether these things be changeable or not, experience teaches us, and our position supposes that they seldom do change in any time commensurable to the necessities of man, or convenient to the ends of marriage: and if the fault be in the one, shall the other live all his days in bondage and misery for another's perverseness, or immedi-

cable disaffection? To my friends, of which may fewest be so unhappy, I have a remedy, as they know, more wise and manly to prescribe: but for his friends and followers, (of which many may deserve justly to feel themselves the unhappiness which they consider not in others,) I send them by his advice to sit upon the stool and strain, till their cross dispositions and contrarieties of mind shall change to a better correspondence, and to a quicker apprehension of common sense, and their own good.

His second reason is as heedless; "because that grace may change the disposition, therefore no indisposition may cause divorce."

Answ. First, it will not be deniable that many persons, gracious both, may yet happen to be very unfitly married, to the great disturbance of either. Secondly, What if one have grace, the other not, and will not alter, as the Scriptures testify there be of those, in whom we may expect a change, when "the blackamoor changes his colour, or the leopard his spots," Jer. xiii. 23. Shall the gracious therefore dwell in torment all his life, for the ungracious? We see that holiest precepts, than which there can no better physic be administered to the mind of man, and set on with powerful preaching, cannot work this cure, no not in the family, not in the wife of him that preaches day and night to her. What an unreasonable thing is it, that men, and clergymen especially, should exact such wonderous changes in another man's house, and are seen to work so little in their own!

To the second point of the position, that this unfitness hinders the main ends and benefits of marriage; he answers, "if I mean the unfitness of choler, or sullen disposition, that soft words, according to Solomon, pacify wrath."

But I reply, that the saying of Solomon is a proverb, frequently true, not universally, as both the event shews, and many other sentences written by the same author, particularly of an evil woman, Prov. xxi. 9, 19, and in other chapters, that she is better shunned than dwelt with, and a desert is preferred before her society. What need the Spirit of God put this choice into our heads, if soft words could always take effect with her? How frivolous is not only this disputer, but he that taught him thus, and let him come abroad!

To his second answer I return this, that although there be not easily found such an antipathy, as to hate one another like a toad or poison; yet that there is oft such a dislike in both, or either, to conjugal love, as hinders all the comfort of matrimony, scarce any can be so simple as not to apprehend. And what can be that favour, found or not found, in the eyes of the husband, but a natural liking or disliking; whereof the law of God, Deut. xxiv. bears witness, as of an ordinary accident, and determines wisely and divinely thereafter. And this disaffection happening to be in the one, not without the unspeakable discomfort of the other, must he be left like a thing consecrated to calamity and despair, without redemption?

Against the third branch of the position, he denies that "solace and peace, which is contrary to discord and variance, is the main end of marriage." What then? He will have it "the solace of male and female." Came this doctrine out of some school, or some sty? Who but one forsaken of all sense and civil nature, and chiefly of Christianity, will deny that peace, contrary to discord, is the calling and the general end of every Christian, and of all his actions, and more especially of marriage, which is the dearest league of love, and the dearest resemblance of that love which in Christ is dearest to his church? How then can peace and comfort, as it is contrary to discord, which God hates to dwell with, not be the main end of marriage? Discord then we ought to fly, and to pursue peace, far above the observance of a civil covenant already broken, and the breaking daily iterated on the other side. And what better testimony than the words of the institution itself, to prove that a conversing solace, and peaceful society, is the prime end of marriage, without which no other help or office can be mutual, beseeming the dignity of reasonable creatures, that such as they should be coupled in the rites of nature by the mere compulsion of lust, without love or peace, worse than wild beasts? Nor was it half so wisely spoken as some deem, though Austin spake it, that if God had intended other than copulation in marriage, he would for Adam have created a friend, rather than a wife, to converse with; and our own writers blame him for this opinion; for which and the like passages, concerning marriage, he might be justly taxed with rusticity in these affairs. For this cannot but be with ease conceived, that there is one society of grave friendship, and another amiable and attractive society of conjugal love, besides the deed of procreation, which of itself soon cloys, and is despised, unless it be cherished and reincited with a pleasing conversation. Which if ignoble and swinish minds cannot apprehend, shall such merit therefore be the censures of more generous and virtuous spirits?

Against the last point of the position, to prove that contrariety of mind is not a greater cause of divorce than corporal frigidity, he enters into such a tedious and drawling tale "of burning, and burning, and lust and burning," that the dull argument itself burns too for want of stirring; and yet all this burning is not able to expel the frigidity of his brain. So long therefore as that cause in the position shall be proved a sufficient cause of divorce, rather than spend words with this phlegmy clod of an antagonist, more than of necessity and a little merriment, I will not now contend whether it be a greater cause than frigidity or no.

His next attempt is upon the arguments which I brought to prove the position. And for the first, not finding it of that structure as to be scaled with his short ladder, he retreats with a bravado, that it deserves no answer. And I as much wonder what the whole book deserved, to be thus troubled and solicited by such a paltry solicitor. I would he had not cast the gracious eye of his duncery upon the small deserts of a pamphlet, whose every line meddled with uncases him to scorn and laughter.

That which he takes for the second argument, if he look better, is no argument, but an induction to those

that follow. Then he stumbles that I should say, "the gentlest ends of marriage," confessing that he understands it not. And I believe him heartily: for how should he, a serving-man both by nature and by function, an idiot by breeding, and a solicitor by presumption, ever come to know or feel within himself what the meaning is of "gentle?" He blames it for "a neat phrase," for nothing angers him more than his own proper contrary. Yet altogether without art sure he is not; for who could have devised to give us more briefly a better description of his own servility?

But what will become now of the business I know not; for the man is suddenly taken with a lunacy of law, and speaks revelations out of the attorney's academy only from a lying spirit: for he says, "that where a thing is void ipso facto, there needs no legal proceeding to make it void:" which is false, for marriage is void by adultery or frigidity, yet not made void without legal proceeding. Then asks my opinion of John-a-Noaks and John-a-Stiles: and I answer him, that I, for my part, think John Dory was a better man than both of them; for certainly they were the greatest wranglers that ever lived, and have filled all our law-books with the obtunding story of their suits and trials.

After this he tells a miraculous piece of antiquity, how "two Romans, Titus and Sempronius, made feoffments," at Rome sure, and levied fines by the common law. But now his fit of law past, yet hardly come to himself, he maintains, that if marriage be void, as being neither of God nor nature, "there needs no legal proceeding to part it," and I tell him that offends not me: then, quoth he, "this is nothing to your book, being the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." But that I deny him; for all discipline is not legal, that is to say, juridical, but some is personal, some economical, and some ecclesiastical.

Lastly, If I prove that contrary dispositions are joined neither of God nor nature, and so the marriage void, "he will give me the controversy." I have proved in that book to any wise man, and without more ado the institution proves it.

Where I answer an objection usually made, that "the disposition ought to be known before marriage," and shew how difficult it is to choose a fit consort, and how easy to mistake: the servitor would know "what I mean by conversation," declaring his capacity nothing refined since his law-puddering, but still the same it was in the pantry, and at the dresser. Shall I argue of conversation with this hoyden, to go and practise at his opportunities in the larder? To men of quality I have said enough; and experience confirms by daily example, that wisest, soberest, justest men are sometimes miserably mistaken in their choice. Whom to leave thus without remedy, tossed and tempested in a most unquiet sea of afflictions and temptations, I say is most unchristianly.

But he goes on to untruss my arguments, imagining them his master's points. Only in the passage following I cannot but admire the ripeness and the pregnance of his native treachery, endeavouring to be more a fox than his wit will suffer him. Whereas I briefly mentioned certain heads of discourse, which I referred to a place more proper according to my method, to be treated there at full with all their reasons about them, this brain-worm, against all the laws of dispute, will needs deal with them here. And as a country hind, sometimes ambitious to shew his betters that he is not so simple as you take him, and that he knows his advantages, will teach us a new trick to confute by. And would you think to what a pride he swells in the contemplation of his rare stratagem, offering to carp at the language of a book, which yet he confesses to be generally commended; while himself will be acknowledged, by all that read him, the basest and the hungriest enditer, that could take the boldness to look abroad. Observe now the arrogance of a groom, how it will mount. I had written, that common adultery is a thing which the rankest politician would think it shame and disworship, that his law should countenance. First, it offends him, that "rankest" should signify aught but his own smell: who that knows English should not understand me, when I say a rank serving-man, a rank pettifogger, to mean a mere serving-man, a mere and arrant pettifogger, who lately was so hardy, as to lay aside his buckram-wallet, and make himself a fool in print, with confuting books which are above him? Next, the word "politician" is not used to his maw, and thereupon he plays the most notorious hobby-horse, jesting and frisking in the luxury of his nonsense with such poor fetches to cog a laughter from us, that no antic hobnail at a morris, but is more handsomely facetious.

Concerning that place Deut. xxiv. 1, which he saith to be "the main pillar of my opinion," though I rely more on the institution than on that: these two pillars I do indeed confess are to me as those two in the porch of the temple, Jachin and Boaz, which names import establishment and strength; nor do I fear who can shake them. The exposition of Deut. which I brought, is the received exposition, both ancient and modern, by all learned men, unless it be a monkish papist here and there: and the gloss, which he and his obscure assistant would persuade us to, is merely new and absurd, presuming out of his utter ignorance in the Hebrew to interpret those words of the text; first, in a mistaken sense of uncleanness, against all approved writers. Secondly, in a limited sense, whenas the original speaks without limitation, "some uncleanness, or any:" and it had been a wise law indeed to mean itself particular, and not to express the case which this acute rabbi hath all this while been hooking for; whereby they who are most partial to him may guess that something is in this doctrine which I allege, that forces the adversary to such a new and strained exposition; wherein he does nothing for above four pages, but founder himself to and fro in his own objections; one while denying that divorce was permitted, another while affirming that it was permitted for the wife's sake, and after all, distrusts himself. And for his surest retirement, betakes him to those old suppositions, "that Christ abolished the Mosaic law of divorce; that the Jews had not sufficient knowledge in this point, through the darkness of the dispensation of heavenly things; that under the plen-

teous grace of the gospel we are tied by cruellest compulsion to live in marriage till death with the wickedest, the worst, the most persecuting mate." These ignorant and doting surmises he might have read confuted at large, even in the first edition; but found it safer to pass that part over in silence. So that they who see not the sottishness of this his new and tedious exposition, are worthy to love it dearly.

His explanation done, he charges me with a wicked gloss, and almost blasphemy, for saying that Christ in teaching meant not always to be taken word for word; but like a wise physician, administering one excess against another, to reduce us to a perfect mean. Certainly to teach us were no dishonest method: Christ himself hath often used hyperboles in his teaching; and gravest authors, both Aristotle in the second of his "Ethics to Nichomachus," and Seneca in his seventh "de Beneficiis," advise us to stretch out the line of precept ofttimes beyond measure, that while we tend further, the mean might be the easier attained. And whoever comments that 5th of Matthew, when he comes to the turning of cheek after cheek to blows, and the parting both with cloak and coat, if any please to be the rifler, will be forced to recommend himself to the same exposition, though this chattering lawmonger be bold to call it wicked. Now note another precious piece of him; Christ, saith he, "doth not say that an unchaste look is adultery, but the lusting after her;" as if the looking unchastely could be without lusting. This gear is licensed for good reason; "Imprimatur."

Next he would prove, that the speech of Christ is not uttered in excess against the Pharisees, first, "because he speaks it to his disciples," Matth. v. which is false, for he spake it to the multitude, as by the first verse is evident, among which in all likelihood were many Pharisees, but out of doubt all of them pharisean disciples, and bred up in their doctrine; from which extremes of errour and falsity Christ throughout his whole sermon labours to reclaim the people. Secondly, saith he, "because Christ forbids not only putting away, but marrying her who is put away." Acutely, as if the Pharisees might not have offended as much in marrying the divorced, as in divorcing the married. The precept may bind all, rightly understood; and yet the vehement manner of giving it may be occasioned only by the Pharisees.

Finally, he winds up his text with much doubt and trepidation; for it may be his trenchers were not scraped, and that which never yet afforded corn of savour to his noddle, the saltcellar was not rubbed: and therefore in this haste easily granting, that his answers fall foul upon each other, and praying, you would not think he writes as a prophet, but as a man, he runs to the black jack, fills his flagon, spreads the table, and serves up dinner.

After waiting and voiding, he thinks to void my second argument, and the contradictions that will follow both in the law and gospel, if the Mosaic law were abrogated by our Saviour, and a compulsive prohibition fixed instead: and sings his old song, "that the gospel counts unlawful that which the law allowed," instancing in circumcision, sacrifices, washings. But what are these ceremonial things to the changing of a moral point, in household duty, equally belonging to Jew and Gentile? Divorce was then right, now wrong; then permitted in the rigorous time of law, now forbidden by law, even to the most extremely afflicted, in the favourable time of grace and freedom. But this is not for an unbuttoned fellow to discuss in the garret at his trestle, and dimension of candle by the snuff; which brought forth his scullionly paraphrase on St. Paul, whom he brings in discoursing such idle stuff to the maids and widows, as his own servile inurbanity forbears not to put into the apostle's mouth, "of the soul's conversing:" and this he presumes to do, being a bayard, who never had the soul to know what conversing means, but as his provender and the familiarity of the kitchen schooled his conceptions.

He passes to the third argument, like a boar in a vineyard, doing nought else, but still as he goes champing and chewing over, what I could mean by this chimæra of a "fit conversing soul," notions and words never made for those chops; but like a generous wine, only by overworking the settled mud of his fancy, to make him drunk, and disgorge his vileness the more openly. All persons of gentle breeding (I say "gentle," though this barrow grunt at the word) I know will apprehend, and be satisfied in what I spake, how unpleasing and discontenting the society of body must needs be between those whose minds cannot be sociable. But what should a man say more to a snout in this pickle? What language can be low and degenerate enough?

The fourth argument which I had was, that marriage being a covenant, the very being whereof consists in the performance of unfeigned love and peace; if that were not tolerably performed, the covenant became broke and revocable. Which how can any, in whose mind the principles of right reason and justice are not cancelled, deny? For how can a thing subsist, when the true essence thereof is dissolved? Yet this he denies, and yet in such a manner as alters my assertion; for he puts in, "though the main end be not attained in full measure:" but my position is, if it be not tolerably attained, as throughout the whole discourse is apparent.

Now for his reasons: "Heman found not that peace and solace which is the main end of communion with God, should he therefore break off that communion?"

I answer, that if Heman found it not, the fault was certainly his own; but in marriage it happens far otherwise: sometimes the fault is plainly not his who seeks divorce; sometimes it cannot be discerned whose fault it is; and therefore cannot in reason or equity be the matter of an absolute prohibition.

His other instance declares, what a right handicraftsman he is of petty cases, and how unfit to be aught else at highest, but a hackney of the law. "I change houses with a man; it is supposed I do it for my own ends; I attain them not in this house; I shall not therefore go from my bargain." How without fear might the young Charinus in Andria now cry out,

"What likeness can be here to a marriage?" In this bargain was no capitulation, but the yielding of possession to one another, wherein each of them had his several end apart. In marriage there is a solemn vow of love and fidelity each to other: this bargain is fully accomplished in the change; in marriage the covenant still is in performing. If one of them perform nothing tolerably, but instead of love, abound in disaffection, disobedience, fraud, and hatred; what thing in the nature of a covenant shall bind the other to such a perdurable mischief? Keep to your problems of ten groats, these matters are not for pragmatics and folkmooters to babble in.

Concerning the place of Paul, "that God hath called us to peace," 1 Cor. vii. and therefore, certainly, if any where in this world, we have a right to claim it reasonably in marriage; it is plain enough in the sense which I gave, and confessed by Paræus, and other orthodox divines, to be a good sense, and this answerer doth not weaken it. The other place, that "he who hateth, may put away," which if I shew him, he promises to yield the whole controversy, is, besides Deut. xxiv. 1, Deut. xxi. 14, and before this, Exod. xxi. 8. Of Malachi I have spoken more in another place; and say again, that the best interpreters, all the ancient, and most of the modern, translate it as I cite it, and very few otherwise, whereof perhaps Junius is the chief.

Another thing troubles him, that marriage is called "the mystery of joy." Let it still trouble him; for what hath he to do either with joy or with mystery? He thinks it frantic divinity to say, it is not the outward continuance of marriage that keeps the covenant of marriage whole; but whosoever doth most according to peace and love, whether in marriage or divorce, he breaks marriage least. If I shall spell it to him, he breaks marriage least, is to say, he dishonours not marriage; for least is taken in the Bible, and other good authors, for, not at all. And a particular marriage a man may break, if for a lawful cause, and yet not break, that is, not violate, or dishonour the ordinance of marriage. Hence those two questions that follow are left ridiculous; and the maids at Aldgate, whom he flouts, are likely to have more wit than the serving-man at Addle-gate.

Whereas he taxes me of adding to the Scripture in that I said love only is the fulfilling of every commandment, I cited no particular scripture, but spake a general sense, which might be collected from many places. For seeing love includes faith, what is there that can fulfil every commandment but only love? and I meant, as any intelligent reader might apprehend, every positive and civil commandment, whereof Christ hath taught us that man is the lord. It is not the formal duty of worship, or the sitting still, that keeps the holy rest of sabbath; but whosoever doth most according to charity, whether he works or works not, he breaks the holy rest of sabbath least. So marriage being a civil ordinance, made for man, not man for it; he who doth that which most accords with charity, first to himself, next to whom he next owes it, whether in marriage or divorce, he breaks the ordinance of marriage least. And what in religious prudence can be charity to himself, and what to his wife, either in continuing or in dissolving the marriage-knot, hath been already oft enough discoursed. So that what St. Paul saith of circumcision, the same I stick not to say of a civil ordinance, made to the good and comfort of man, not to his ruin; marriage is nothing, and divorce is nothing, "but faith which worketh by love." And this I trust none can mistake.

Against the fifth argument, that a Christian, in a higher order of priesthood than that Levitical, is a person dedicate to joy and peace; and therefore needs not in subjection to a civil ordinance, made to no other end but for his good, (when without his fault he finds it impossible to be decently or tolerably observed,) to plunge himself into immeasurable distractions and temptations, above his strength; against this he proves nothing, but gads into silly conjectures of what abuses would follow, and with as good reason might declaim against the best things that are.

Against the sixth argument, that to force the continuance of marriage between minds found utterly unfit and disproportional, is against nature, and seems forbid under that allegorical precept of Moses, "not to sow a field with divers seeds, lest both be defiled; not to plough with an ox and an ass together," which I deduced by the pattern of St. Paul's reasoning what was meant by not muzzling the ox; he rambles over a long narration, to tell us that "by the oxen are meant the preachers:" which is not doubted. Then he demands, "if this my reasoning be like St. Paul's." And I answer him, yes. He replies, that sure St. Paul would be ashamed to reason thus. And I tell him, no. He grants that place which I alleged, 2 Cor. vi. of unequal yoking, may allude to that of Moses, but says, "I cannot prove it makes to my purpose," and shews not first how he can disprove it. Weigh, gentlemen, and consider, whether my affirmations, backed with reason, may hold balance against the bare denials of this ponderous confuter, elected by his ghostly patrons to be my copesmate.

Proceeding on to speak of mysterious things in nature, I had occasion to fit the language thereafter; matters not, for the reading of this odious fool, who thus ever, when he meets with aught above the cogitation of his breeding, leaves the noisome stench of his rude slot behind him, maligning that any thing should be spoke or understood above his own genuine baseness; and gives sentence that his confuting hath been employed about a frothy, immeritous, and undeserving discourse. Who could have believed so much insolence durst vent itself from out the hide of a varlet, as thus to censure, that which men of mature judgment have applauded to be writ from good reason? But this contents him not, he falls now to rave in his barbarous abusiveness; and why? a reason befitting such an artificer, because he saith the book is contrary to all human learning; whereas the world knows, that all both human and divine learning, till the canon law, allowed divorce by consent, and for many causes without con-

sent. Next, he dooms it as contrary to truth; whenas it hath been disputable among learned men, ever since it was prohibited: and is by Peter Martyr thought an opinion not impious, but hard to be refuted; and by Erasmus deemed a doctrine so charitable and pious, as, if it cannot be used, were to be wished it could; but is by Martin Bucer, a man of dearest and most religious memory in the church, taught and maintained to be either most lawfully used, or most lawfully permitted. And for this, for I affirm no more than Bucer, what censure do you think, readers, he hath condemned the book to? To a death no less impious than to be burnt by the hangman. Mr. Licenser, (for I deal not now with this caitiff, never worth my earnest, and now not seasonable for my jest,) you are reputed a man discreet enough, religious enough, honest enough, that is, to an ordinary competence in all these. But now your turn is, to hear what your own hand hath earned ye; that when you suffered this nameless hangman to cast into public such a despiteful contumely upon a name and person deserving of the church and state equally to yourself; and one who hath done more to the present advancement of your own tribe, than you or many of them have done for themselves; you forgot to be either honest, religious, or discreet. Whatever the state might do concerning it, supposed a matter to expect evil from, I should not doubt to meet among them with wise, and honourable, and knowing men: but as to this brute libel, so much the more impudent and lawless for the abused authority which it bears; I say again, that I abominate the censure of rascals and their licensers.

With difficulty I return to what remains of this ignoble task, for the disdain I have to change a period more with the filth and venom of this gourmand, swelled into a confuter; yet for the satisfaction of others I endure all this.

Against the seventh argument, that if the canon law and divines allow divorce for conspiracy of death, they may as well allow it to avoid the same consequence from the likelihood of natural causes.

First, he denies that the canon so decrees.

I answer, that it decrees for danger of life, as much as for adultery, Decret. Gregor. l. 4, tit. 19, and in other places: and the best civilians, who cite the canon law, so collect, as Schneidewin in Instit. tit. 10, p. 4, de Divort. And indeed, who would have denied it, but one of a reprobate ignorance in all he meddles with?

Secondly, he saith the case alters; for there the offender, "who seeks the life, doth implicitly at least act a divorce."

And I answer, that here nature, though no offender, doth the same. But if an offender, by acting a divorce, shall release the offended, this is an ample grant against himself. He saith, nature teaches to save life from one who seeks it. And I say, she teaches no less to save it from any other cause that endangers it. He saith, that here they are both actors. Admit they were, it would not be uncharitable to part them; yet sometimes they are not both actors, but the one of them most lamentedly passive. So he concludes, we must not take advantage of our own faults and corruptions to release us from our duties. But shall we take no advantage to save ourselves from the faults of another, who hath annulled his right to our duty? No, says he, "let them die of the sullens, and try who will pity them." Barbarian, the shame of all honest attorneys! why do they not hoise him over the bar and blanket him?

Against the eighth argument, that they who are destitute of all marriageable gifts, except a body not plainly unfit, have not the calling to marry, and consequently married and so found, may be divorced: this, he saith, is nothing to the purpose, and not fit to be answered. I leave it therefore to the judgment of his masters.

Against the ninth argument, that marriage is a human society, and so chiefly seated in agreement and unity of mind: if therefore the mind cannot have that due society by marriage, that it may reasonably and humanly desire, it can be no human society, and so not without reason divorcible: here he falsifies, and turns what the position required of a reasonable agreement in the main matters of society into an agreement in all things, which makes the opinion not mine, and so he leaves it.

At last, and in good hour, we are come to his farewell, which is to be a concluding taste of his jabberment in law, the flashiest and the fustiest that ever corrupted in such an unswilled hogshead.

Against my tenth argument, as he calls it, but as I intended it, my other position, "That divorce is not a thing determinable by a compulsive law, for that all law is for some good that may be frequently attained without the admixture of a worse inconvenience: but the law forbidding divorce never attains to any good end of such prohibition, but rather multiplies evil: therefore the prohibition of divorce is no good law." Now for his attorney's prize: but first, like a right cunning and sturdy logician, he denies my argument, not mattering whether in the major or minor: and saith, "there are many laws made for good, and yet that good is not attained, through the defaults of the party, but a greater inconvenience follows."

But I reply, that this answer builds upon a shallow foundation, and most unjustly supposes every one in default, who seeks divorce from the most injurious wedlock. The default therefore will be found in the law itself; which is neither able to punish the offender, but the innocent must withal suffer; nor can right the innocent in what is chiefly sought, the obtainment of love or quietness. His instances out of the common law are all so quite beside the matter which he would prove, as may be a warning to all clients how they venture their business with such a cockbrained solicitor. For being to shew some law of England, attaining to no good end, and yet through no default of the party, who is thereby debarred all remedy, he shews us only how some do lose the benefit of good laws through their own default. His first example saith, "it is a just law that every one shall peaceably enjoy his estate in lands or otherwise." Does this law attain to no good end? The bar will blush at this most incogitant wood-

cock. But see if a draught of Littleton will recover him to his senses. "If this man, having fee simple in his lands, yet will take a lease of his own lands from another, this shall be an estopple to him in an assize from the recovering of his own land."

Mark now and register him! How many are there of ten thousand who have such a fee simple in their sconce, as to take a lease of their own lands from another? So that this inconvenience lights upon scarce one in an age, and by his own default; and the law of enjoying each man his own is good to all others. But on the contrary, this prohibition of divorce is good to none, and brings inconvenience to numbers, who lie under intolerable grievances without their own default, through the wickedness or folly of another; and all this iniquity the law remedies not, but in a manner maintains. His other cases are directly to the same purpose, and might have been spared, but that he is a tradesman of the law, and must be borne with at his first setting up, to lay forth his best ware, which is only gibberish.

I have now done that, which for many causes I might have thought could not likely have been my fortune, to be put to this underwork of scouring and unrubbishing the low and sordid ignorance of such a presumptuous lozel. Yet Hercules had the labour once imposed upon him to carry dung out of the Augean stable. At any hand I would be rid of him: for I had rather, since the life of man is likened to a scene, that all my entrances and exits might mix with such persons only, whose worth erects them and their actions to a grave and tragic deportment, and not to have to do with clowns and vices. But if a man cannot peaceably walk into the world, but must be infested; sometimes at his face with dorrs and horseflies, sometimes beneath with bawling whippets and shin barkers, and these to be set on by plot and consultation with a junto of clergymen and licensers, commended also and rejoiced in by those whose partiality cannot yet forego old papistical principles; have I not cause to be in such a manner defensive, as may procure me freedom to pass more unmolested hereafter by those encumbrances, not so much regarded for themselves, as for those who incite them? And what defence can properly be used in such a despicable encounter as this, but either the slap or the spurn? If they can afford me none but a ridiculous adversary, the blame belongs not to me, though the whole dispute be strewed and scattered with ridiculous. And if he have such an ambition to know no better who are his mates, but among those needy thoughts, which, though his two faculties of serving-man and solicitor should compound into one mongrel, would be but thin and meagre, if in this penury of soul he can be possible to have the lustiness to think of fame, let him but send me how he calls himself, and I may chance not fail to indorse him on the backside of posterity, not a golden, but a brazen ass. Since my fate extorts from me a talent of sport, which I had thought to hide in a napkin, he shall be my Batrachomuomachia, my Bavius, my Calandrino, the common adagy of ignorance and overweening: nay, perhaps, as the provocation may be, I may be driven to curl up this gliding prose into a rough sotadic, that shall rhyme him into such a condition, as instead of judging good books to be burnt by the executioner, he shall be readier to be his own hangman. Thus much to this nuisance.

But as for the subject itself, which I have writ and now defend, according as the opposition bears; if any man equal to the matter shall think it appertains him to take in hand this controversy, either excepting against aught written, or persuaded he can shew better how this question, of such moment to be throughly known, may receive a true determination, not leaning on the old and rotten suggestions whereon it yet leans; if his intents be sincere to the public, and shall carry him on without bitterness to the opinion, or to the person dissenting; let him not, I entreat him, guess by the handling, which meritoriously hath been bestowed on this object of contempt and laughter, that I account it any displeasure done me to be contradicted in print: but as it leads to the attainment of any thing more true, shall esteem it a benefit; and shall know how to return his civility and fair argument in such a sort, as he shall confess that to do so is my choice, and to have done thus was my chance.

THE

TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES:

PROVING

THAT IT IS LAWFUL, AND HATH BEEN HELD SO THROUGH ALL AGES, FOR ANY, WHO HAVE THE POWER, TO CALL TO ACCOUNT A TYRANT, OR WICKED KING, AND, AFTER DUE CONVICTION, TO DEPOSE, AND PUT HIM TO DEATH; IF THE ORDINARY MAGISTRATE HAVE NEGLECTED, OR DENIED TO DO IT

AND

THAT THEY, WHO OF LATE SO MUCH BLAME DEPOSING, ARE THE MEN THAT DID IT THEMSELVES *

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If men within themselves would be governed by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyranny, of custom from without, and blind affections within; they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vitious rule, by which they govern themselves. For indeed none can love freedom heartily, but good men: the rest love not freedom, but licence: which never hath more scope, or more indulgence than under tyrants. Hence is it, that tyrants are not oft offended, nor stand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally servile; but in whom virtue and true worth most is eminent, them they fear in earnest, as by right their masters; against them lies all their hatred and suspicion. Consequently neither do bad men hate tyrants, but have been always readiest, with the falsified names of Loyalty and Obedience, to colour over their base compliances. And although sometimes for shame, and when it comes to their own grievances, of purse especially, they would seem good patriots, and side with the better cause, yet when others for the deliverance of their country endued with fortitude and heroic virtue, to fear nothing but the curse written against those "that do the work of the Lord negligently,"† would go on to remove, not only the calamities and thraldoms of a people, but the roots and causes whence they spring; straight these men, and sure helpers at need, as if they hated only the miseries, but not the mischiefs, after they have juggled and paltered with the world, bandied and borne arms against their king, divested him, disanointed him, nay, cursed him all over in their pulpits, and their pamphlets, to the engaging of sincere and real men beyond what is possible or honest to retreat from, not only turn revolters from those principles, which only could at first move them, but lay the strain of disloyalty, and worse, on those proceedings, which are the necessary consequences of their own former actions; nor disliked by themselves, were they managed to the entire advantages of their own faction; not considering the while that he, toward whom they boasted their new fidelity, counted them accessory; and by those statutes and laws, which they so impotently brandish against others, would have doomed them to a traitor's death for what they have done already. It is true, that most men are apt enough to civil wars and commotions as a novelty, and for a flash hot and active; but through sloth or inconstancy, and weakness of spirit, either fainting ere their own pretences, though never so just, be half attained, or, through an inbred falsehood and wickedness, betray ofttimes to destruction with themselves men of noblest temper joined with them for causes, whereof they in their rash undertakings were not capable. If God and a good cause give them victory, the prosecution whereof for the most part inevitably draws after it the alteration of laws, change of government, downfall of princes with their families; then comes the task to those worthies, which are the soul of that enterprise, to be sweat and laboured out amidst the throng and noses of vulgar and irrational men. Some contesting for privileges, customs, forms, and that old entanglement of iniquity, their gibberish laws, though the badge of their ancient slavery. Others, who have been fiercest against their prince, under the notion of a tyrant, and no mean incendiaries of the war against them, when God, out of his providence and high disposal hath delivered him into the hand of their brethren, on a sudden and in a new garb of allegiance, which their doings have long since cancelled, they plead for him, pity him, extol him, protest against those that talk of bringing

* This tract, which was first published in February 1648-9, after the execution of king Charles, and is a defence of that action against the objections of the Presbyterians, was, in the year 1650, republished by the author with considerable additions, all which, omitted in every former edition of the author's works, are here carefully inserted in their proper places. The copy which I use, after the above title, has the following sentence: "Published now the second time with some additions, and many testimonies also added out of the best and learnedest among protestant divines, asserting the position of this book." The passages here restored are marked with single inverted commas.

† Jer. xlviii. 1.

him to the trial of justice, which is the sword of God, superior to all mortal things, in whose hand soever by apparent signs his testified will is to put it. But certainly, if we consider, who and what they are, on a sudden grown so pitiful, we may conclude their pity can be no true and christian commiseration, but either levity and shallowness of mind, or else a carnal admiring of that worldly pomp and greatness, from whence they see him fallen; or rather, lastly, a dissembled and seditious pity, feigned of industry to beget new discord. As for mercy, if it be to a tyrant, under which name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of angels, and the holy church assembled, and there charged him with the spilling of more innocent blood by far, than ever Nero did, undoubtedly the mercy which they pretend is the mercy of wicked men, and "their mercies,"* we read, "are cruelties;" hazarding the welfare of a whole nation, to have saved one whom they so oft have termed Agag, and vilifying the blood of many Jonathans that have saved Israel; insisting with much niceness on the unnecessariest clause of their covenant wrested, wherein the fear of change and the absurd contradiction of a flattering hostility had hampered them, but not scrupling to give away for compliments, to an implacable revenge, the heads of many thousand Christians more.

Another sort there is, who coming in the course of these affairs, to have their share in great actions above the form of law or custom, at least to give their voice and approbation; begin to swerve and almost shiver at the majesty and grandeur of some noble deed, as if they were newly entered into a great sin; disputing precedents, forms, and circumstances, when the commonwealth nigh perishes for want of deeds in substance, done with just and faithful expedition. To these I wish better instruction, and virtue equal to their calling; the former of which, that is to say instruction, I shall endeavour, as my duty is, to bestow on them; and exhort them not to startle from the just and pious resolution of adhering with all their strength and assistance to the present parliament and army, in the glorious way wherein justice and victory hath set them; the only warrants through all ages, next under immediate revelation, to exercise supreme power; in those proceedings, which hitherto appear equal to what hath been done in any age or nation heretofore justly or magnanimously. Nor let them be discouraged or deterred by any new apostate scarecrows, who, under shew of giving counsel, send out their barking monitories and mementoes, empty of aught else but the spleen of a frustrated faction. For how can that pretended counsel be either sound or faithful, when they that give it see not, for madness and vexation of their ends lost, that those statutes and scriptures, which both falsely and scandalously they wrest against their friends and associates, would by sentence of the common adversary fall first and heaviest upon their own heads? Neither let mild and tender dispositions be foolishly softened from their duty and perseverance with the unmasculine rhetoric of any puling priest or chaplain; sent as a friendly letter of advice, for fashion's sake in private, and forthwith published by the sender himself, that we may know how much of friend there was in it, to cast an odious envy upon them to whom it was pretended to be sent in charity. Nor let any man be deluded by either the ignorance, or the notorious hypocrisy and self-repugnance, of our dancing divines, who have the conscience and the boldness to come with scripture in their mouths, glossed and fitted for their turns with a double contradictory sense, transforming the sacred verity of God to an idol with two faces, looking at once two several ways; and with the same quotations to charge others, which in the same case they made serve to justify themselves. For while the hope to be made classic and provincial lords led them on, while pluralities greased them thick and deep, to the shame and scandal of religion, more than all the sects and heresies they exclaim against; then to fight against the king's person, and no less a party of his lords and commons, or to put force upon both the houses, was good, was lawful, was no resisting of superior powers; they only were powers not to be resisted, who countenanced the good, and punished the evil. But now that their censorious domineering is not suffered to be universal, truth and conscience to be freed, tithes and pluralities to be no more, though competent allowance provided, and the warm experience of large gifts, and they so good at taking them; yet now to exclude and seize upon impeached members, to bring delinquents without exemption to a fair tribunal by the common national law against murder, is now to be no less than Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. He who but erewhile in the pulpits was a cursed tyrant, an enemy to God and saints, laden with all the innocent blood spilt in three kingdoms, and so to be fought against; is now, though nothing penitent or altered from his first principles, a lawful magistrate, a sovereign lord, the Lord's anointed, not to be touched, though by themselves imprisoned. As if this only were obedience, to preserve the mere useless bulk of his person, and that only in prison, not in the field, not to disobey his commands, deny him his dignity and office, every where to resist his power, but where they think it only surviving in their own faction.

But who in particular is a tyrant, cannot be determined in a general discourse, otherwise than by supposition; his particular charge, and the sufficient proof of it, must determine that: which I leave to magistrates, at least to the uprighter sort of them, and of the people, though in number less by many, in whom faction least hath prevailed above the law of nature and right reason, to judge as they find cause. But this I dare own as part of my faith, that if such a one there be, by whose commission whole massacres have been committed on his faithful subjects, his provinces offered to pawn or alienation, as the hire of those whom he had solicited to come in and destroy whole cities and countries; be he king, or tyrant, or emperor, the sword of justice is above him; in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion, and so great a deluge of innocent blood. For if all human power to

* Prov. xii. 10.

execute, not accidentally but intendedly the wrath of God upon evil-doers without exception, be of God; then that power, whether ordinary, or if that fail, extraordinary, so executing that intent of God, is lawful, and not to be resisted. But to unfold more at large this whole question, though with all expedient brevity, I shall here set down, from first beginning, the original of kings; how and wherefore exalted to that dignity above their brethren; and from thence shall prove, that turning to tyranny they may be as lawfully deposed and punished, as they were at first elected: this I shall do by authorities and reasons, not learnt in corners among schisms and heresies, as our doubling divines are ready to calumniate, but fetched out of the midst of choicest and most authentic learning, and no prohibited authors; nor many heathen, but mosaical, Christian, orthodoxal, and which must needs be more convincing to our adversaries, presbyterial.

No man, who knows aught, can be so stupid to deny, that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were, by privilege above all the creatures, born to command, and not to obey: and that they lived so, till from the root of Adam's transgression, falling among themselves to do wrong and violence, and foreseeing that such courses must needs tend to the destruction of them all, they agreed by common league to bind each other from mutual injury, and jointly to defend themselves against any, that gave disturbance or opposition to such agreement. Hence came cities, towns, and commonwealths. And because no faith in all was found sufficiently binding, they saw it needful to ordain some authority, that might restrain by force and punishment what was violated against peace and common right. This authority and power of self-defence and preservation being originally and naturally in every one of them, and unitedly in them all; for ease, for order, and lest each man should be his own partial judge, they communicated and derived either to one, whom for the eminence of his wisdom and integrity they chose above the rest, or to more than one, whom they thought of equal deserving: the first was called a king; the other, magistrates: not to be their lords and masters, (though afterward those names in some places were given voluntarily to such as had been authors of inestimable good to the people,) but to be their deputies and commissioners, to execute, by virtue of their intrusted power, that justice, which else every man by the bond of nature and of covenant must have executed for himself, and for one another. And to him that shall consider well, why among free persons one man by civil right should bear authority and jurisdiction over another; no other end or reason can be imaginable. These for a while governed well, and with much equity decided all things at their own arbitrement; till the temptation of such a power, left absolute in their hands, perverted them at length to injustice and partiality. Then did they, who now by trial had found the danger and inconveniences of committing arbitrary power to any, invent laws either framed or consented to by all; that should confine and limit the authority of whom they chose to govern them: that so man, of whose failing they had proof, might no more rule over them, but law and reason, abstracted as much as might be from personal errours and frailties. "While, as the magistrate was set above the people, so the law was set above the magistrate." When this would not serve, but that the law was either not executed, or misapplied, they were constrained from that time, the only remedy left them, to put conditions and take oaths from all kings and magistrates at their first instalment to do impartial justice by law: who upon those terms and no other, received allegiance from the people, that is to say, bond or covenant to obey them in execution of those laws, which they the people had themselves made or assented to. And this ofttimes with express warning, that if the king or magistrate proved unfaithful to his trust, the people would be disengaged. They added also counsellors and parliaments, not to be only at his beck, but with him or without him, at set times, or at all times, when any danger threatened, to have care of the public safety. Therefore saith Claudius Sesell, a French statesman, "The parliament was set as a bridle to the king;" which I instance rather, "not because our English lawyers have not said the same long before, but because that French monarchy is granted by all to be a far more absolute one than ours. That this and the rest of what hath hitherto been spoken is most true, might be copiously made appear through all stories heathen and christian; even of those nations, where kings and emperors have sought means to abolish all ancient memory of the people's right by their encroachments and usurpations. But I spare long insertions, appealing to the German, French, Italian, Arragonian, English, and not least the Scottish histories: not forgetting this only by the way, that William the Norman, though a conqueror, and not unsworn at his coronation, was compelled, a second time, to take oath at St. Albans, ere the people would be brought to yield obedience.

It being thus manifest, that the power of kings and magistrates is nothing else, but what is only derivative, transferred and committed to them in trust from the people to the common good of them all, in whom the power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them, without a violation of their natural birthright; and seeing that from hence Aristotle, and the best of political writers, have defined a king, "him who governs to the good and profit of his people, and not for his own ends;" it follows from necessary causes, that the titles of sovereign lord, natural lord, and the like, are either arrogancies, or flatteries, not admitted by emperors and kings of best note, and disliked by the church both of Jews (Isa. xxvi. 13,) and ancient Christians, as appears by Tertullian and others. Although generally the people of Asia, and with them the Jews also, especially since the time they chose a king against the advice and counsel of God, are noted by wise authors much inclinable to slavery.

Secondly, that to say, as is usual, the king hath as good right to his crown and dignity, as any man to his inheritance, is to make the subject no better than the

king's slave, his chattel, or his possession that may be bought and sold: and doubtless, if hereditary title were sufficiently inquired, the best foundation of it would be found but either in courtesy or convenience. But suppose it to be of right hereditary, what can be more just and legal, if a subject for certain crimes be to forfeit by law from himself and posterity all his inheritance to the king, than that a king for crimes proportional should forfeit all his title and inheritance to the people? Unless the people must be thought created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one body inferior to him single; which were a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm.

Thirdly, it follows, that, to say kings are accountable to none but God, is the overturning of all law and government. For if they may refuse to give account, then all covenants made with them at coronation, all oaths, are in vain, and mere mockeries; all laws which they swear to keep, made to no purpose: for if the king fear not God, (as how many of them do not!) we hold then our lives and estates by the tenure of his mere grace and mercy, as from a god, not a mortal magistrate; a position that none but court-parasites or men besotted would maintain! 'Aristotle therefore, whom we commonly allow for one of the best interpreters of nature and morality, writes in the fourth of his Politics, chap. x. that "monarchy unaccountable, is the worst sort of tyranny, and least of all to be endured by free-born men."' And surely no christian prince, not drunk with high mind, and prouder than those pagan Cæsars that deified themselves, would arrogate so unreasonably above human condition, or derogate so basely from a whole nation of men his brethren, as if for him only subsisting, and to serve his glory, valuing them in comparison of his own brute will and pleasure no more than so many beasts, or vermin under his feet, not to be reasoned with, but to be trod on; among whom there might be found so many thousand men for wisdom, virtue, nobleness of mind, and all other respects but the fortune of his dignity, far above him. Yet some would persuade us that this absurd opinion was King David's, because in the 51st Psalm he cries out to God, "Against thee only have I sinned;" as if David had imagined, that to murder Uriah and adulterate his wife had been no sin against his neighbour, whenas that law of Moses was to the king expressly, Deut. xvii. not to think so highly of himself above his brethren. David therefore by those words could mean no other, than either that the depth of his guiltiness was known to God only, or to so few as had not the will or power to question him, or that the sin against God was greater beyond compare than against Uriah. Whatever his meaning were, any wise man will see, that the pathetical words of a psalm can be no certain decision to a point that hath abundantly more certain rules to go by. How much more rationally spake the heathen king Demophoön in a tragedy of Euripides, than these interpreters would put upon King David! "I rule not my people by tyranny, as if they were barbarians, but am myself liable, if I do unjustly, to suffer justly." Not unlike was the speech of Trajan the worthy emperor, to one whom he made general of his prætorian forces: "Take this drawn sword," saith he, "to use for me, if I reign well; if not, to use against me." Thus Dion relates. And not Trajan only, but Theodosius the younger, a christian emperor, and one of the best, caused it to be enacted as a rule undeniable and fit to be acknowledged by all kings and emperors, that a prince is bound to the laws; that on the authority of law the authority of a prince depends, and to the laws ought to submit. Which edict of his remains yet unrepealed in the Code of Justinian, l. 1. tit. 24, as a sacred constitution to all the succeeding emperors. How then can any king in Europe maintain and write himself accountable to none but God, when emperors in their own imperial statutes have written and decreed themselves accountable to law? And indeed where such account is not feared, he that bids a man reign over him above law, may bid as well a savage beast.

It follows, lastly, that since the king or magistrate holds his authority of the people, both originally and naturally for their good in the first place, and not his own; then may the people, as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either choose him or reject him, retain him or depose him though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of freeborn men to be governed as seems to them best. This, though it cannot but stand with plain reason, shall be made good also by Scripture, Deut. xvii. 14, "When thou art come into the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations about me." These words confirm us that the right of choosing, yea of changing their own government, is by the grant of God himself in the people. And therefore when they desired a king, though then under another form of government, and though their changing displeased him, yet he that was himself their king, and rejected by them, would not be a hinderance to what they intended, further than by persuasion, but that they might do therein as they saw good, 1 Sam. viii. only he reserved to himself the nomination of who should reign over them. Neither did that exempt the king, as if he were to God only accountable, though by his especial command anointed. Therefore "David first made a covenant with the elders of Israel, and so was by them anointed king," 2 Sam. v. 3, 1 Chron. xi. And Jehoiada the priest, making Jehoash king, made a covenant between him and the people, 2 Kings xi. 17. Therefore when Roboam, at his coming to the crown, rejected those conditions, which the Israelites brought him, hear what they answer him, "What portion have we in David, or inheritance in the son of Jesse? See to thine own house, David." And for the like conditions not performed, all Israel before that time deposed Samuel; not for his own default, but for the misgovernment of his sons. But some will say to both these examples, it was evilly done. I answer, that not the latter, because it was expressly allowed them in the law, to set up a king if they pleased; and God himself joined with them in the work; though in some sort it was at that time displeasing to him, in respect of old Samuel, who

had governed them uprightly. As Livy praises the Romans, who took occasion from Tarquinius, a wicked prince, to gain their liberty, which to have extorted, saith he, from Numa, or any of the good kings before, had not been seasonable. Nor was it in the former example done unlawfully; for when Roboam had prepared a huge army to reduce the Israelites, he was forbidden by the prophet, 1 Kings xii. 24, "Thus saith the Lord, ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren, for this thing is from me." He calls them their brethren, not rebels, and forbids to be proceeded against them, owning the thing himself, not by single providence, but by approbation, and that not only of the act, as in the former example, but of the fit season also; he had not otherwise forbid to molest them. And those grave and wise counsellors, whom Rehoboam first advised with, spake no such thing, as our old gray-headed flatterers now are wont, stand upon your birthright, scorn to capitulate, you hold of God, not of them; for they knew no such matter, unless conditionally, but gave him politic counsel, as in a civil transaction. Therefore kingdom and magistracy, whether supreme or subordinate, is called "a human ordinance," 1 Pet. ii. 13, &c.; which we are there taught is the will of God we should submit to, so far as for the punishment of evil-doers, and the encouragement of them that do well. "Submit," saith he, "as free men." "But to any civil power unaccountable, unquestionable, and not to be resisted, no not in wickedness, and violent actions, how can we submit as free men?" "There is no power but of God," saith Paul, Rom. xiii. as much as to say, God put it into man's heart to find out that way at first for common peace and preservation, approving the exercise thereof; else it contradicts Peter, who calls the same authority an ordinance of man. It must be also understood of lawful and just power, else we read of great power in the affairs and kingdoms of the world permitted to the devil: for saith he to Christ, Luke iv. 6, all this power will I give thee, and the glory of them, for it is delivered to me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it: neither did he lie, or Christ gainsay what he affirmed; for in the thirteenth of the Revelation, we read how the dragon gave to the beast his power, his seat, and great authority: which beast so authorized most expound to be the tyrannical powers and kingdoms of the earth. Therefore Saint Paul in the forecited chapter tells us, that such magistrates he means, as are not a terrour to the good, but to the evil, such as bear not the sword in vain, but to punish offenders, and to encourage the good. If such only be mentioned here as powers to be obeyed, and our submission to them only required, then doubtless those powers, that do the contrary, are no powers ordained of God; and by consequence no obligation laid upon us to obey or not to resist them. And it may be well observed, that both these apostles, whenever they give this precept, express it in terms not concrete, but abstract, as logicians are wont to speak; that is, they mention the ordinance, the power, the authority, before the persons that execute it; and what that power is, lest we should be deceived, they describe exactly. So that if the power be not such, or the person execute not such power, neither the one nor the other is of God, but of the devil, and by consequence to be resisted. From this exposition Chrysostom also on the same place dissents not; explaining that these words were not written in behalf of a tyrant. And this is verified by David, himself a king, and likeliest to be the author of the Psalm xciv. 20, which saith, "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee?" And it were worth the knowing, since kings in these days, and that by Scripture, boast the justness of their title, by holding it immediately of God, yet cannot shew the time when God ever set on the throne them or their forefathers, but only when the people chose them; why by the same reason, since God ascribes as oft to himself the casting down of princes from the throne, it should not be thought as lawful, and as much from God, when none are seen to do it but the people, and that for just causes. For if it needs must be a sin in them to depose, it may as likely be a sin to have elected. And contrary, if the people's act in election be pleaded by a king, as the act of God, and the most just title to enthrone him, why may not the people's act of rejection be as well pleaded by the people as the act of God, and the most just reason to depose him? So that we see the title and just right of reigning or deposing in reference to God, is found in Scripture to be all one; visible only in the people, and depending merely upon justice and demerit. Thus far hath been considered chiefly the power of kings and magistrates; how it was and is originally the people's, and by them conferred in trust only to be employed to the common peace and benefit; with liberty therefore and right remaining in them, to reassume it to themselves, if by kings or magistrates it be abused; or to dispose of it by any alteration, as they shall judge most conducing to the public good.

We may from hence with more ease and force of argument determine what a tyrant is, and what the people may do against him. A tyrant, whether by wrong or by right coming to the crown, is he who, regarding neither law nor the common good, reigns only for himself and his faction: thus St. Basil among others defines him. And because his power is great, his will boundless and exorbitant, the fulfilling whereof is for the most part accompanied with innumerable wrongs and oppressions of the people, murders, massacres, rapes, adulteries, desolation, and subversion of cities and whole provinces; look how great a good and happiness a just king is, so great a mischief is a tyrant; as he the public father of his country, so this the common enemy. Against whom what the people lawfully may do, as against a common pest, and destroyer of mankind, I suppose no man of clear judgment need go further to be guided than by the very principles of nature in him. But because it is the vulgar folly of men to desert their own reason, and shutting their eyes, to think they see best with other men's, I shall shew by such examples as ought to have most weight with us, what hath been done in this case heretofore. The Greeks and Romans, as their prime authors witness,

held it not only lawful, but a glorious and heroic deed, rewarded publicly with statues and garlands, to kill an infamous tyrant at any time without trial: and but reason, that he, who trod down all law, should not be vouchsafed the benefit of law. Insomuch that Seneca the tragedian brings in Hercules, the grand suppressor of tyrants, thus speaking;

> ————Victima haud ulla amplior
> Potest, magisque opima mactari Jovi
> Quam rex iniquus————

> ————There can be slain
> No sacrifice to God more acceptable
> Than an unjust and wicked king————

But of these I name no more, lest it be objected they were heathen; and come to produce another sort of men, that had the knowledge of true religion. Among the Jews this custom of tyrant-killing was not unusual. First Ehud, a man whom God had raised to deliver Israel from Eglon king of Moab, who had conquered and ruled over them eighteen years, being sent to him as an ambassador with a present, slew him in his own house. But he was a foreign prince, an enemy, and Ehud besides had special warrant from God. To the first I answer, it imports not whether foreign or native: for no prince so native but professes to hold by law; which when he himself overturns, breaking all the covenants and oaths that gave him title to his dignity, and were the bond and alliance between him and his people, what differs he from an outlandish king, or from an enemy? For look how much right the king of Spain hath to govern us at all, so much right hath the king of England to govern us tyrannically. If he, though not bound to us by any league, coming from Spain in person to subdue us, or to destroy us, might lawfully by the people of England either be slain in fight, or put to death in captivity, what hath a native king to plead, bound by so many covenants, benefits, and honours, to the welfare of his people; why he through the contempt of all laws and parliaments, the only tie of our obedience to him, for his own will's sake, and a boasted prerogative unaccountable, after seven years warring and destroying of his best subjects, overcome, and yielded prisoner, should think to scape unquestionable, as a thing divine, in respect of whom so many thousand Christians destroyed should lie unaccounted for, polluting with their slaughtered carcasses all the land over, and crying for vengeance against the living that should have righted them? Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man over all the world, neither is it the English sea that can sever us from that duty and relation: a straiter bond yet there is between fellow-subjects, neighbours, and friends. But when any of these do one to another so as hostility could do no worse, what doth the law decree less against them, than open enemies and invaders? or if the law be not present or too weak, what doth it warrant us to less than single defence or civil war? and from that time forward the law of civil defensive war differs nothing from the law of foreign hostility. Nor is it distance of place that makes enmity, but enmity that makes distance. He therefore that keeps peace with me, near or remote, of whatsoever nation, is to me, as far as all civil and human offices, an Englishman and a neighbour: but if an Englishman, forgetting all laws, human, civil, and religious, offend against life and liberty, to him offended, and to the law in his behalf, though born in the same womb, he is no better than a Turk, a Saracen, a heathen. This is gospel, and this was ever law among equals; how much rather then in force against any king whatever, who in respect of the people is confessed inferior and not equal: to distinguish therefore of a tyrant by outlandish, or domestic, is a weak evasion. To the second, that he was an enemy; I answer, what tyrant is not? yet Eglon by the Jews had been acknowledged as their sovereign, they had served him eighteen years, as long almost as we our William the Conqueror, in all which he could not be so unwise a statesman, but to have taken of them oaths of fealty and allegiance; by which they made themselves his proper subjects, as their homage and present sent by Ehud testified. To the third, that he had special warrant to kill Eglon in that manner, it cannot be granted, because not expressed; it is plain, that he was raised by God to be a deliverer, and went on just principles, such as were then and ever held allowable to deal so by a tyrant, that could no otherwise be dealt with. Neither did Samuel, though a prophet, with his own hand abstain from Agag; a foreign enemy, no doubt; but mark the reason, "As thy sword hath made women childless;" a cause that by the sentence of law itself nullifies all relations. And as the law is between brother and brother, father and son, master and servant, wherefore not between king, or rather tyrant, and people? And whereas Jehu had special command to slay Jehoram a successive and hereditary tyrant, it seems not the less imitable for that; for where a thing grounded so much on natural reason hath the addition of a command from God, what does it but establish the lawfulness of such an act? Nor is it likely that God, who had so many ways of punishing the house of Ahab, would have sent a subject against his prince, if the fact in itself, as done to a tyrant, had been of bad example. And if David refused to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed, the matter between them was not tyranny, but private enmity, and David as a private person had been his own revenger, not so much the people's: but when any tyrant at this day can shew himself to be the Lord's anointed, the only mentioned reason why David withheld his hand, he may then, but not till then, presume on the same privilege.

We may pass therefore hence to christian times. And first our Saviour himself, how much he favoured tyrants, and how much intended they should be found or honoured among Christians, declared his mind not obscurely; accounting their absolute authority no better than Gentilism, yea though they flourished it over with the splendid name of benefactors; charging those that would be his disciples to usurp no such dominion;

but that they, who were to be of most authority among them, should esteem themselves ministers and servants to the public. Matt. xx. 25, "The princes of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and Mark x. 42, "They that seem to rule," saith he, either slighting or accounting them no lawful rulers; "but ye shall not be so, but the greatest among you shall be your servant." And although he himself were the meekest, and came on earth to be so, yet to a tyrant we hear him not vouchsafe an humble word: but, "Tell that fox," Luke xiii. "So far we ought to be from thinking that Christ and his gospel should be made a sanctuary for tyrants from justice, to whom his law before never gave such protection." And wherefore did his mother the virgin Mary give such praise to God in her prophetic song, that he had now by the coming of Christ, cut down dynastas, or proud monarchs, from the throne, if the church, when God manifests his power in them to do so, should rather choose all misery and vassalage to serve them, and let them still sit on their potent seats to be adored for doing mischief? Surely it is not for nothing, that tyrants by a kind of natural instinct both hate and fear none more than the true church and saints of God, as the most dangerous enemies and subverters of monarchy, though indeed of tyranny; hath not this been the perpetual cry of courtiers and court-prelates? whereof no likelier cause can be alleged, but that they well discerned the mind and principles of most devout and zealous men, and indeed the very discipline of church, tending to the dissolution of all tyranny. No marvel then if since the faith of Christ received, in purer or impurer times, to depose a king and put him to death for tyranny, hath been accounted so just and requisite, that neighbour kings have both upheld and taken part with subjects in the action. And Ludovicus Pius, himself an emperor, and son of Charles the Great, being made judge (du Haillan is my author) between Milegast king of the Vultzes and his subjects who had deposed him, gave his verdict for the subjects, and for him whom they had chosen in his room. Note here, that the right of electing whom they please is by the impartial testimony of an emperor in the people: for, said he, "A just prince ought to be preferred before an unjust, and the end of government before the prerogative." And Constantinus Leo, another emperor, in the Byzantine laws saith, "That the end of a king is for the general good, which he not performing, is but the counterfeit of a king." And to prove, that some of our own monarchs have acknowledged, that their high office exempted them not from punishment, they had the sword of St. Edward borne before them by an officer, who was called earl of the palace, even at the times of their highest pomp and solemnities; to mind them, saith Matthew Paris, the best of our historians, "that if they erred, the sword had power to restrain them." And what restraint the sword comes to at length, having both edge and point, if any sceptic will doubt, let him feel. It is also affirmed from diligent search made in our ancient books of law, that the peers and barons of England had a legal right to judge the king: which was the cause most likely, (for it could be no slight cause,) that they were called his peers, or equals. This however may stand immovable, so long as man hath to deal with no better than man; that if our law judge all men to the lowest by their peers, it should in all equity ascend also, and judge the highest. And so much I find both in our own and foreign story, that dukes, earls, and marquisses were at first not hereditary, not empty and vain titles, but names of trust and office, and with the office ceasing; as induces me to be of opinion, that every worthy man in parliament, (for the word baron imports no more,) might for the public good be thought a fit peer and judge of the king; without regard had to petty caveats and circumstances, the chief impediment in high affairs, and ever stood upon most by circumstantial men. Whence doubtless our ancestors who were not ignorant with what rights either nature or ancient constitution had endowed them, when oaths both at coronation and renewed in parliament would not serve, thought it no way illegal, to depose and put to death their tyrannous kings. Insomuch that the parliament drew up a charge against Richard the Second, and the commons requested to have judgment decreed against him, that the realm might not be endangered. And Peter Martyr, a divine of foremost rank, on the third of Judges approves their doings. Sir Thomas Smith also, a protestant and a statesman, in his Commonwealth of England, putting the question, "whether it be lawful to rise against a tyrant;" answers, "that the vulgar judge of it according to the event, and the learned according to the purpose of them that do it." But far before those days Gildas, the most ancient of all our historians, speaking of those times wherein the Roman empire decaying quitted and relinquished what right they had by conquest to this island, and resigned it all into the people's hands, testifies that the people thus reinvested with their own original right, about the year 446, both elected them kings, whom they thought best, (the first christian British kings that ever reigned here since the Romans,) and by the same right, when they apprehended cause, usually deposed and put them to death. This is the most fundamental and ancient tenure, that any king of England can produce or pretend to; in comparison of which, all other titles and pleas are but of yesterday. If any object, that Gildas condemns the Britons for so doing, the answer is as ready; that he condemns them no more for so doing, than he did before for choosing such; for saith he, "They anointed them kings, not of God, but such as were more bloody than the rest." Next, he condemns them not at all for deposing or putting them to death, but for doing it overhastily, without trial or well examining the cause, and for electing others worse in their room. Thus we have here both domestic and most ancient examples, that the people of Britain have deposed and put to death their kings in those primitive christian times. And to couple reason with example, if the church in all ages, primitive, Romish, or protestant, held it ever no less their duty than the power of their keys, though without express warrant of Scripture, to bring indifferently both

king and peasant under the utmost rigour of their canons and censures ecclesiastical, even to the smiting him with a final excommunion, if he persist impenitent: what hinders, but that the temporal law both may and ought, though without a special text or precedent, extend with like indifference the civil sword, to the cutting off, without exemption, him that capitally offends, seeing that justice and religion are from the same God, and works of justice ofttimes more acceptable? Yet because that some lately with the tongues and arguments of malignant backsliders have written, that the proceedings now in parliament against the king are without precedent from any protestant state or kingdom, the examples which follow shall be all protestant, and chiefly presbyterian.

In the year 1546, the duke of Saxony, landgrave of Hesse, and the whole protestant league, raised open war against Charles the Fifth their emperor, sent him a defiance, renounced all faith and allegiance toward him, and debated long in council, whether they should give him so much as the title of Cæsar. Sleidan. l. 17. Let all men judge what this wanted of deposing or of killing, but the power to do it.

In the year 1559, the Scots protestants claiming promise of their queen-regent for liberty of conscience, she answering, that promises were not to be claimed of princes beyond what was commodious for them to grant, told her to her face in the parliament then at Stirling, that if it were so, they renounced their obedience; and soon after betook them to arms. Buchanan Hist. l. 16. Certainly, when allegiance is renounced, that very hour the king or queen is in effect deposed.

In the year 1564, John Knox, a most famous divine, and the reformer of Scotland to the presbyterian discipline, at a general assembly maintained openly in a dispute against Lethington the secretary of state, that subjects might and ought to execute God's judgments upon their king; that the fact of Jehu and others against their king, having the ground of God's ordinary command to put such and such offenders to death, was not extraordinary, but to be imitated of all that preferred the honour of God to the affection of flesh and wicked princes; that kings, if they offend, have no privilege to be exempted from the punishments of law more than any other subject: so that if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or idolater, he should suffer, not as a king, but as an offender; and this position he repeats again and again before them. Answerable was the opinion of John Craig, another learned divine, and that laws made by the tyranny of princes, or the negligence of people, their posterity might abrogate, and reform all things according to the original institution of commonwealths. And Knox, being commanded by the nobility to write to Calvin and other learned men for their judgments in that question, refused; alleging, that both himself was fully resolved in conscience, and had heard their judgments, and had the same opinion under handwriting of many the most godly and most learned that he knew in Europe; that if he should move the question to them again, what should he do but shew his own forgetfulness or inconstancy? All this is far more largely in the ecclesiastic history of Scotland, l. 4, with many other passages to this effect all the book over, set out with diligence by Scotsmen of best repute among them at the beginning of these troubles; as if they laboured to inform us what we were to do, and what they intended upon the like occasion.

And to let the world know, that the whole church and protestant state of Scotland in those purest times of reformation were of the same belief, three years after, they met in the field Mary their lawful and hereditary queen, took her prisoner, yielding before fight, kept her in prison, and the same year deposed her. Buchan. Hist. l. 18.

And four years after that, the Scots, in justification of their deposing Queen Mary, sent ambassadors to Queen Elizabeth, and in a written declaration alleged, that they had used towards her more lenity than she deserved; that their ancestors had heretofore punished their kings by death or banishment; that the Scots were a free nation, made king whom they freely chose, and with the same freedom unkinged him if they saw cause, by right of ancient laws and ceremonies yet remaining, and old customs yet among the highlanders in choosing the head of their clans, or families; all which, with many other arguments, bore witness, that regal power was nothing else but a mutual covenant or stipulation between king and people. Buch. Hist. l. 20. These were Scotsmen and presbyterians: but what measure then have they lately offered, to think such liberty less beseeming us than themselves, presuming to put him upon us for a master, whom their law scarce allows to be their own equal? If now then we hear them in another strain than heretofore in the purest times of their church, we may be confident it is the voice of faction speaking in them, not of truth and reformation. "Which no less in England than in Scotland, by the mouths of those faithful witnesses commonly called puritans and nonconformists, spake as clearly for the putting down, yea, the utmost punishing, of kings, as in their several treatises may be read; even from the first reign of Elizabeth to these times. Insomuch that one of them, whose name was Gibson, foretold King James, he should be rooted out, and conclude his race, if he persisted to uphold bishops. And that very inscription, stamped upon the first coins at his coronation, a naked sword in a hand with these words, "Si mereor, in me," "Against me, if I deserve," not only manifested the judgment of that state, but seemed also to presage the sentence of divine justice in this event upon his son.

In the year 1581, the states of Holland, in a general assembly at the Hague, abjured all obedience and subjection to Philip king of Spain; and in a declaration justify their so doing; for that by his tyrannous government, against faith so many times given and broken, he had lost his right to all the Belgic provinces; that therefore they deposed him, and declared it lawful to choose another in his stead. Thuan. l. 74. From that time to this, no state or kingdom in the world hath equally prospered: but let them remember not to look

with an evil and prejudicial eye upon their neighbours walking by the same rule.

But what need these examples to presbyterians, I mean to those who now of late would seem so much to abhor deposing, whenas they to all christendom have given the latest and the liveliest example of doing it themselves? I question not the lawfulness of raising war against a tyrant in defence of religion, or civil liberty; for no protestant church, from the first Waldenses of Lyons and Languedoc to this day, but have done it round, and maintained it lawful. But this I doubt not to affirm, that the presbyterians, who now so much condemn deposing, were the men themselves that deposed the king, and cannot, with all their shifting and relapsing, wash off the guiltiness from their own hands. For they themselves, by these their late doings, have made it guiltiness, and turned their own warrantable actions into rebellion.

There is nothing, that so actually makes a king of England, as rightful possession and supremacy in all Causes both Civil and Ecclesiastical: and nothing that so actually makes a subject of England, as those two oaths of allegiance and supremacy observed without equivocating, or any mental reservation. Out of doubt then when the king shall command things already constituted in church or state, obedience is the true essence of a subject, either to do, if it be lawful, or if he hold the thing unlawful, to submit to that penalty which the law imposes, so long as he intends to remain a subject. Therefore when the people, or any part of them, shall rise against the king and his authority, executing the law in any thing established, civil or ecclesiastical, I do not say it is rebellion, if the thing commanded though established be unlawful, and that they sought first all due means of redress (and no man is further bound to law); but I say it is an absolute renouncing both of supremacy and allegiance, which in one word is an actual and total deposing of the king, and the setting up of another supreme authority over them. And whether the presbyterians have not done all this and much more, they will not put me, I suppose, to reckon up a seven years story fresh in the memory of all men. Have they not utterly broke the oath of allegiance, rejecting the king's command and authority sent them from any part of the kingdom, whether in things lawful or unlawful? Have they not abjured the oath of supremacy, by setting up the parliament without the king, supreme to all their obedience; and though their vow and covenant bound them in general to the parliament, yet sometimes adhering to the lesser part of lords and commons that remained faithful, as they term it, and even of them, one while to the commons without the lords, another while to the lords without the commons? Have they not still declared their meaning, whatever their oath were, to hold them only for supreme, whom they found at any time most yielding to what they petitioned? Both these oaths, which were the straitest bond of an English subject in reference to the king, being thus broke and made void; it follows undeniably, that the king from that time was by them in fact absolutely deposed, and they no longer in reality to be thought his subjects, notwithstanding the fine clause in the covenant to preserve his person, crown, and dignity, set there by some dodging casuist with more craft than sincerity, to mitigate the matter in case of ill success, and not taken, I suppose, by any honest man, but as a condition subordinate to every the least particle, that might more concern religion, liberty, or the public peace.

To prove it yet more plainly, that they are the men who have deposed the king, I thus argue. We know, that king and subject are relatives, and relatives have no longer being than in the relation; the relation between king and subject can be no other than regal authority and subjection. Hence I infer past their defending, that if the subject, who is one relative, take away the relation, of force he takes away also the other relative: but the presbyterians, who were one relative, that is to say, subjects, have for this seven years taken away the relation, that is to say, the king's authority, and their subjection to it; therefore the presbyterians for these seven years have removed and extinguished the other relative, that is to say, the king; or to speak more in brief, have deposed him; not only by depriving him the execution of his authority, but by conferring it upon others. If then their oaths of subjection broken, new supremacy obeyed, new oaths and covenant taken, notwithstanding frivolous evasions, have in plain terms unkinged the king, much more then hath their seven years war, not deposed him only, but outlawed him, and defied him as an alien, a rebel to law, and enemy to the state. It must needs be clear to any man not averse from reason, that hostility and subjection are two direct and positive contraries, and can no more in one subject stand together in respect of the same king, than one person at the same time can be in two remote places. Against whom therefore the subject is in act of hostility, we may be confident, that to him he is in no subjection: and in whom hostility takes place of subjection, for they can by no means consist together, to him the king can be not only no king, but an enemy. So that from hence we shall not need dispute, whether they have deposed him, or what they have defaulted towards him as no king, but shew manifestly how much they have done toward the killing him. Have they not levied all these wars against him, whether offensive or defensive, (for defence in war equally offends, and most prudently beforehand,) and given commission to slay, where they knew his person could not be exempt from danger? And if chance or flight had not saved him, how often had they killed him, directing their artillery, without blame or prohibition, to the very place where they saw him stand? Have they not sequestered him, judged or unjudged, and converted his revenue to other uses, detaining from him, as a grand delinquent, all means of livelihood, so that for them long since he might have perished, or have starved? Have they not hunted and pursued him round about the kingdom with sword and fire? Have they not formerly denied to treat with him, and their now recanting ministers preached against him, as a reprobate incurable, an enemy to God and his

church, marked for destruction, and therefore not to be treated with? Have they not besieged him, and to their power forbid him water and fire, save what they shot against him to the hazard of his life? Yet while they thus assaulted and endangered it with hostile deeds, they swore in words to defend it with his crown and dignity; not in order, as it seems now, to a firm and lasting peace, or to his repentance after all this blood; but simply, without regard, without remorse or any comparable value of all the miseries and calamities suffered by the poor people, or to suffer hereafter, through his obstinacy or impenitence. No understanding man can be ignorant, that covenants are ever made according to the present state of persons and of things; and have ever the more general laws of nature and of reason included in them, though not expressed. If I make a voluntary covenant, as with a man to do him good, and he prove afterward a monster to me, I should conceive a disobligement. If I covenant, not to hurt an enemy, in favour of him and forbearance, and hope of his amendment, and he, after that, shall do me tenfold injury and mischief to what he had done when I so covenanted, and still be plotting what may tend to my destruction, I question not but that his after-actions release me; nor know I covenant so sacred, that withholds me from demanding justice on him. Howbeit, had not their distrust in a good cause, and the fast and loose of our prevaricating divines, overswayed, it had been doubtless better, not to have inserted in a covenant unnecessary obligations, and words, not works of supererogating allegiance to their enemy; no way advantageous to themselves, had the king prevailed, as to their cost many would have felt; but full of snare and distraction to our friends, useful only, as we now find, to our adversaries, who under such a latitude and shelter of ambiguous interpretation have ever since been plotting and contriving new opportunities to trouble all again. How much better had it been, and more becoming an undaunted virtue, to have declared openly and boldly whom and what power the people were to hold supreme, as on the like occasion protestants have done before, and many conscientious men now in these times have more than once besought the parliament to do, that they might go on upon a sure foundation, and not with a riddling covenant in their mouths, seeming to swear counter, almost in the same breath, allegiance and no allegiance; which doubtless had drawn off all the minds of sincere men from siding with them, had they not discerned their actions far more deposing him than their words upholding him; which words, made now the subject of cavillous interpretations, stood ever in the covenant, by judgment of the more discerning sort, an evidence of their fear, not of their fidelity. What should I return to speak on, of those attempts for which the king himself hath often charged the presbyterians of seeking his life, whenas in the due estimation of things they might without a fallacy be said to have done the deed outright? Who knows not, that the king is a name of dignity and office, not of person? Who therefore kills a king, must kill him while he is a king. Then they certainly, who by deposing him have long since taken from him the life of a king, his office and his dignity, they in the truest sense may be said to have killed the king: not only by their deposing and waging war against him, which, besides the danger to his personal life, set him in the farthest opposite point from any vital function of a king, but by their holding him in prison, vanquished and yielded into their absolute and despotic power, which brought him to the lowest degradement and incapacity of the regal name. I say not by whose matchless valour next under God, lest the story of their ingratitude thereupon carry me from the purpose in hand, which is to convince them, that they, which I repeat again, were the men who in the truest sense killed the king, not only as is proved before, but by depressing him their king far below the rank of a subject to the condition of a captive, without intention to restore him, as the chancellor of Scotland in a speech told him plainly at Newcastle, unless he granted fully all their demands, which they knew he never meant. Nor did they treat, or think of treating, with him, till their hatred to the army that delivered them, not their love or duty to the king, joined them secretly with men sentenced so oft for reprobates in their own mouths, by whose subtle inspiring they grew mad upon a most tardy and improper treaty. Whereas if the whole bent of their actions had not been against the king himself, but only against his evil counsellors, as they feigned, and published, wherefore did they not restore him all that while to the true life of a king, his office, crown, and dignity, when he was in their power, and they themselves his nearest counsellors? The truth therefore is, both that they would not, and that indeed they could not without their own certain destruction, having reduced him to such a final pass, as was the very death and burial of all in him that was regal, and from whence never king of England yet revived, but by the new reinforcement of his own party, which was a kind of resurrection to him. Thus having quite extinguished all that could be in him of a king, and from a total privation clad him over, like another specifical thing, with forms and habitudes destructive to the former, they left in his person, dead as to law and all the civil right either of king or subject, the life only of a prisoner, a captive, and a malefactor: whom the equal and impartial hand of justice finding, was no more to spare than another ordinary man; not only made obnoxious to the doom of law by a charge more than once drawn up against him, and his own confession to the first article at Newport, but summoned and arraigned in the sight of God and his people, cursed and devoted to perdition worse than any Ahab, or Antiochus, with exhortation to curse all those in the name of God, that made not war against him, as bitterly as Meroz was to be cursed, that went not out against a Canaanitish king, almost in all the sermons, prayers, and fulminations, that have been uttered this seven years by those cloven tongues of falsehood and dissension, who now, to the stirring up of new discord, acquit him; and against their own discipline, which they boast to be the throne and sceptre of Christ, absolve him, unconfound

him, though unconverted, unrepentant, unsensible of all their precious saints and martyrs, whose blood they have so oft laid upon his head: and now again with a new sovereign anointment can wash it all off, as if it were as vile, and no more to be reckoned for than the blood of so many dogs in a time of pestilence: giving the most opprobrious lie to all the acted zeal, that for these many years hath filled their bellies, and fed them fat upon the foolish people. Ministers of sedition, not of the gospel, who, while they saw it manifestly tend to civil war and bloodshed, never ceased exasperating the people against him; and now, that they see it likely to breed new commotion, cease not to incite others against the people, that have saved them from him, as if sedition were their only aim, whether against him or for him. But God, as we have cause to trust, will put other thoughts into the people, and turn them from giving ear or heed to these mercenary noise-makers, of whose fury and false prophecies we have enough experience; and from the murmurs of new discord will incline them, to hearken rather with erected minds to the voice of our supreme magistracy, calling us to liberty, and the flourishing deeds of a reformed commonwealth; with this hope, that as God was heretofore angry with the Jews who rejected him and his form of government to choose a king, so that he will bless us, and be propitious to us, who reject a king to make him only our leader, and supreme governor, in the conformity as near as may be of his own ancient government; if we have at least but so much worth in us to entertain the sense of our future happiness, and the courage to receive what God vouchsafes us: wherein we have the honour to precede other nations, who are now labouring to be our followers. For as to this question in hand, what the people by their just right may do in change of government, or of governor, we see it cleared sufficiently; besides other ample authority, even from the mouths of princes themselves. And surely they that shall boast, as we do, to be a free nation, and not have in themselves the power to remove or to abolish any governor supreme, or subordinate, with the government itself upon urgent causes, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cozen babies; but are indeed under tyranny and servitude; as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose and œconomize in the land which God hath given them, as masters of family in their own house and free inheritance. Without which natural and essential power of a free nation, though bearing high their heads, they can in due esteem be thought no better than slaves and vassals born, in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting lord. Whose government, though not illegal, or intolerable, hangs over them as a lordly scourge, not as a free government; and therefore to be abrogated. How much more justly then may they fling off tyranny, or tyrants; who being once deposed can be no more than private men, as subject to the reach of justice and arraignment as any other transgressors? And certainly if men, not to speak of heathen, both wise and religious, have done justice upon tyrants what way they could soonest, how much more mild and humane then is it, to give them fair and open trial; to teach lawless kings, and all who so much adore them, that not mortal man, or his imperious will, but justice, is the only true sovereign and supreme majesty upon earth? Let men cease therefore, out of faction and hypocrisy, to make outcries and horrid things of things so just and honourable. 'Though perhaps till now, no protestant state or kingdom can be alleged to have openly put to death their king, which lately some have written, and imputed to their great glory; much mistaking the matter. It is not, neither ought to be, the glory of a protestant state, never to have put their king to death; it is the glory of a protestant king never to have deserved death.' And if the parliament and military council do what they do without precedent, if it appear their duty, it argues the more wisdom, virtue, and magnanimity, that they know themselves able to be a precedent to others. Who perhaps in future ages, if they prove not too degenerate, will look up with honour, and aspire toward these exemplary and matchless deeds of their ancestors, as to the highest top of their civil glory and emulation. Which heretofore, in the pursuance of fame and foreign dominion, spent itself vaingloriously abroad; but henceforth may learn a better fortitude, to dare execute highest justice on them, that shall by force of arms endeavour the oppressing and bereaving of religion and their liberty at home: that no unbridled potentate or tyrant, but to his sorrow, for the future may presume such high and irresponsible licence over mankind, to havoc and turn upside down whole kingdoms of men, as though they were no more in respect of his perverse will than a nation of pismires. As for the party called presbyterian, of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful Christians, though misled by some of turbulent spirit, I wish them, earnestly and calmly, not to fall off from their first principles, nor to affect rigour and superiority over men not under them; not to compel unforcible things, in religion especially, which, if not voluntary, becomes a sin; not to assist the clamour and malicious drifts of men, whom they themselves have judged to be the worst of men, the obdurate enemies of God and his church: nor to dart against the actions of their brethren, for want of other argument, those wrested laws and scriptures thrown by prelates and malignants against their own sides, which, though they hurt not otherwise, yet taken up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give scandal to all men, and discover in themselves either extreme passion or apostacy. Let them not oppose their best friends and associates, who molest them not at all, infringe not the least of their liberties, unless they call it their liberty to bind other men's consciences, but are still seeking to live at peace with them and brotherly accord. Let them beware an old and perfect enemy, who, though he hope by sowing discord to make them his instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatening of his destined revenge upon them, when they have served his purposes. Let them fear therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have done already, than what remains to do, and be warned in time they put no

confidence in princes whom they have provoked, lest they be added to the examples of those that miserably have tasted the event. Stories can inform them how Christiern the IId, king of Denmark, not much above a hundred years past, driven out by his subjects, and received again upon new oaths and conditions, broke through them all to his most bloody revenge; slaying his chief opposers, when he saw his time, both them and their children, invited to a feast for that purpose. How Maximilian dealt with those of Bruges, though by mediation of the German princes reconciled to them by solemn and public writings drawn and sealed. How the massacre at Paris was the effect of that credulous peace, which the French protestants made with Charles the IX, their king: and that the main visible cause, which to this day hath saved the Netherlands from utter ruin, was their final not believing the perfidious cruelty, which as a constant maxim of state hath been used by the Spanish kings on their subjects that have taken arms, and after trusted them; as no latter age but can testify, heretofore in Belgia itself, and this very year in Naples. And to conclude with one past exception, though far more ancient, David, whose sanctified prudence might be alone sufficient, not to warrant us only, but to instruct us, when once he had taken arms, never after that trusted Saul, though with tears and much relenting he twice promised not to hurt him. These instances, few of many, might admonish them, both English and Scotch, not to let their own ends, and the driving on of a faction, betray them blindly into the snare of those enemies, whose revenge looks on them as the men who first begun, fomented, and carried on beyond the cure of any sound or safe accommodation, all the evil which hath since unavoidably befallen them and their king.

I have something also to the divines, though brief to what were needful; not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the office of good pastors, knowing that he, whose flock is least among them, hath a dreadful charge, not performed by mounting twice into the chair with a formal preachment huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching in season and out of season, from house to house, over the souls of whom they have to feed. Which if they ever well considered, how little leisure would they find, to be the most pragmatical sidesmen of every popular tumult and sedition! And all this while are to learn what the true end and reason is of the gospel which they teach; and what a world it differs from the censorious and supercilious lording over conscience. It would be good also they lived so as might persuade the people they hated covetousness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry; hated pluralities, and all kind of simony; left rambling from benefice to benefice, like ravenous wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest. Of which if some, well and warmly seated from the beginning, be not guilty, it were good they held not conversation with such as are: let them be sorry, that, being called to assemble about reforming the church, they fell to progging and soliciting the parliament, though they had renounced the name of priests, for a new settling of their tithes and oblations; and double-lined themselves with spiritual places of commodity beyond the possible discharge of their duty. Let them assemble in consistory with their elders and deacons, according to ancient ecclesiastical rule, to the preserving of church discipline, each in his several charge, and not a pack of clergymen by themselves to belly-cheer in their presumptuous Sion, or to promote designs, abuse and gull the simple laity, and stir up tumult, as the prelates did, for the maintenance of their pride and avarice. These things if they observe, and wait with patience, no doubt but all things will go well without their importunities or exclamations: and the printed letters, which they send subscribed with the ostentation of great characters and little moment, would be more considerable than now they are. But if they be the ministers of mammon instead of Christ, and scandalize his church with the filthy love of gain, aspiring also to sit the closest and the heaviest of all tyrants upon the conscience, and fall notoriously into the same sins, whereof so lately and so loud they accused the prelates; as God rooted out those wicked ones immediately before, so will he root out them their imitators: and to vindicate his own glory and religion, will uncover their hypocrisy to the open world; and visit upon their own heads that "curse ye Meroz," the very motto of their pulpits, wherewith so frequently, not as Meroz, but more like atheists, they have blasphemed the vengeance of God, and traduced the zeal of his people.

'* And that they be not what they go for, true ministers of the protestant doctrine, taught by those abroad, famous and religious men, who first reformed the church, or by those no less zealous, who withstood corruption and the bishops here at home, branded with the name of puritans and nonconformists, we shall abound with testimonies to make appear: that men may yet more fully know the difference between protestant divines, and these pulpit-firebrands.

'Luther. Lib. contra rusticos apud Sleidan. l. 5.

'Is est hodie rerum status, &c. "Such is the state of things at this day, that men neither can, nor will, nor indeed ought to endure longer the domination of you princes."

'Neque vero Cæsarem, &c. "Neither is Cæsar to make war as head of christendom, protector of the church, defender of the faith; these titles being false and windy, and most kings being the greatest enemies to religion." Lib. de Bello contra Turcas, apud Sleid. l. 14. What hinders then, but that we may depose or punish them?

'These also are recited by Cochlæus in his Miscellanies to be the words of Luther, or some other eminent divine, then in Germany, when the protestants there

* All that follows, to the end of this tract, was left out not only in the edition printed 1738, in 2 vols. folio, but in that of Mr. Toland, who first collected the author's works: how this omission arose, the reader will see in a note at the beginning of this tract, page 231.

entered into solemn covenant at Smalcaldia. Ut ora iis obturem, &c. "That I may stop their mouths, the pope and emperor are not born, but elected, and may also be deposed as hath been often done." If Luther, or whoever else, thought so, he could not stay there; for the right of birth or succession can be no privilege in nature, to let a tyrant sit irremovable over a nation freeborn, without transforming that nation from the nature and condition of men born free, into natural, hereditary, and successive slaves. Therefore he saith further; "To displace and throw down this exactor, this Phalaris, this Nero, is a work pleasing to God;" namely, for being such a one: which is a moral reason. Shall then so slight a consideration as his hap to be not elective simply, but by birth, which was a mere accident, overthrow that which is moral, and make unpleasing to God that which otherwise had so well pleased him? Certainly not: for if the matter be rightly argued, election, much rather than chance, binds a man to content himself with what he suffers by his own bad election. Though indeed neither the one nor other binds any man, much less any people, to a necessary sufferance of those wrongs and evils, which they have ability and strength enough given them to remove.

'Zwinglius, tom. 1, articul. 42.

'Quando vero perfidè, &c. "When kings reign perfidiously, and against the rule of Christ, they may according to the word of God be deposed."

'Mihi ergo compertum non est, &c. "I know not how it comes to pass, that kings reign by succession, unless it be with consent of the whole people." Ibid.

"Quum vero consensu, &c. "But when by suffrage and consent of the whole people, or the better part of them, a tyrant is deposed or put to death, God is the chief leader in that action." Ibid.

'Nunc cum tam tepidi sumus, &c. "Now that we are so lukewarm in upholding public justice, we endure the vices of tyrants to reign now-a-days with impunity; justly therefore by them we are trod underfoot, and shall at length with them be punished. Yet ways are not wanting by which tyrants may be removed, but there wants public justice." Ibid.

'Cavete vobis ô tyranni. "Beware, ye tyrants! for now the gospel of Jesus Christ, spreading far and wide, will renew the lives of many to love innocence and justice; which if ye also shall do, ye shall be honoured. But if ye shall go on to rage and do violence, ye shall be trampled on by all men." Ibid.

"Romanum imperium imò quodque, &c. "When the Roman empire, or any other, shall begin to oppress religion, and we negligently suffer it, we are as much guilty of religion so violated, as the oppressors themselves." Idem, Epist. ad Conrad. Somium.

'Calvin on Daniel, c. iv. v. 25.

'Hodie monarchæ semper in suis titulis, &c. "Now-a-days monarchs pretend always in their titles, to be kings by the grace of God: but how many of them to this end only pretend it, that they may reign without control! for to what purpose is the grace of God mentioned in the title of kings, but that they may acknowledge no superior? In the mean while God, whose name they use to support themselves, they willingly would tread under their feet. It is therefore a mere cheat, when they boast to reign by the grace of God."

'Abdicant se terreni principes, &c. "Earthly princes depose themselves, while they rise against God, yea they are unworthy to be numbered among men: rather it behoves us to spit upon their heads, than to obey them." On Dan. c. vi. v. 22.

'Bucer on Matth. c. v.

'Si princeps superior, &c. "If a sovereign prince endeavour by arms to defend transgressors, to subvert those things which are taught in the word of God, they, who are in authority under him, ought first to dissuade him; if they prevail not, and that he now bears himself not as a prince but as an enemy, and seeks to violate privileges and rights granted to inferior magistrates or commonalties, it is the part of pious magistrates, imploring first the assistance of God, rather to try all ways and means, than to betray the flock of Christ to such an enemy of God: for they also are to this end ordained, that they may defend the people of God, and maintain those things which are good and just. For to have supreme power lessens not the evil committed by that power, but makes it the less tolerable, by how much the more generally hurtful. Then certainly the less tolerable, the more unpardonably to be punished."

'Of Peter Martyr we have spoke before.

'Paræus in Rom. xiii.

'Quorum est constituere magistratus, &c. "They whose part is to set up magistrates, may restrain them also from outrageous deeds, or pull them down; but all magistrates are set up either by parliament or by electors, or by other magistrates; they, therefore, who exalted them may lawfully degrade and punish them."

'Of the Scots divines I need not mention others than the famousest among them, Knox, and his fellow-labourers in the reformation of Scotland; whose large treatise on this subject defend the same opinion. To cite them sufficiently, were to insert their whole books, written purposely on this argument. "Knox's Appeal;" and to the reader; where he promises in a postscript, that the book which he intended to set forth, called, "The Second Blast of the Trumpet," should maintain more at large, that the same men most justly may depose and punish him whom unadvisedly they have elected, notwithstanding birth, succession, or any oath of allegiance. Among our own divines, Cartwright and Fenner, two of the learnedest, may in reason satisfy us what was held by the rest. Fenner in his book of Theology maintaining, that they who have power, that is to say, a parliament, may either by fair means or by force depose a tyrant, whom he defines to be him, that wilfully breaks all or the principal conditions made between him and the commonwealth. Fen. Sac. Theolog. c. 13. And Cartwright in a prefixed epistle testifies his approbation of the whole book.

'*Gilby de Obedientiâ*, p. 25 and 105.

"*Kings* have their authority of the people, who may upon occasion reassume it to themselves."

'England's Complaint against the Canons.

"The people may kill wicked princes as monsters and cruel beasts."

'Christopher Goodman of Obedience.

"When kings or rulers become blasphemers of God, oppressors and murderers of their subjects, they ought no more to be accounted kings or lawful magistrates, but as private men to be examined, accused, and condemned and punished by the law of God, and being convicted and punished by that law, it is not man's but God's doing." C. x. p. 139.

"By the civil laws, a fool or idiot born, and so proved, shall lose the lands and inheritance whereto he is born, because he is not able to use them aright: and especially ought in no case be suffered to have the government of a whole nation; but there is no such evil can come to the commonwealth by fools and idiots, as doth by the rage and fury of ungodly rulers; such, therefore, being without God, ought to have no authority over God's people, who by his word requireth the contrary." C. xi. p. 143, 144.

"No person is exempt by any law of God from this punishment: be he king, queen, or emperor, he must die the death; for God hath not placed them above others, to transgress his laws as they list, but to be subject to them as well as others; and if they be subject to his laws, then to the punishment also, so much the more as their example is more dangerous." C. xiii. p. 184.

"When magistrates cease to do their duty, the people are as it were without magistrates, yea, worse, and then God giveth the sword into the people's hand, and he himself is become immediately their head." P. 185.

"If princes do right, and keep promise with you, then do you owe to them all humble obedience; if not, ye are discharged, and your study ought to be in this case how ye may depose and punish according to the law such rebels against God, and oppressors of their country." P. 190.

'This Goodman was a minister of the English church at Geneva, as Dudley Fenner was at Middleburgh, or some other place in that country. These were the pastors of those saints and confessors, who, flying from the bloody persecution of Queen Mary, gathered up at length their scattered members into many congregations; whereof some in upper, some in lower Germany, part of them settled at Geneva; where this author having preached on this subject to the great liking of certain learned and godly men who heard him, was by them sundry times and with much instance required to write more fully on that point. Who thereupon took it in hand, and conferring with the best learned in those parts, (among whom Calvin was then living in the same city,) with their special approbation he published this treatise, aiming principally, as is testified by Whittingham in the preface, that his brethren of England, the protestants, might be persuaded in *the truth of that doctrine concerning obedience to magistrates*. Whittingham in *Prefat.*

'*These were the true protestant divines of England*, our fathers in the faith we hold; this was their sense, who for so many years labouring under prelacy, through all storms and persecutions kept religion from extinguishing; and delivered it pure to us, till there arose a covetous and ambitious generation of divines, (for divines they call themselves!) who, feigning on a sudden to be new converts and proselytes from episcopacy, under which they had long temporised, opened their mouths at length, in shew against pluralities and prelacy, but with intent to swallow them down both; gorging themselves like harpies on those simonious places and preferments of their outed predecessors, as the quarry for which they hunted, not to plurality only but to multiplicity; for possessing which they had accused them their brethren, and aspiring under another title to the same authority and usurpation over the consciences of all men.

'Of this faction, diverse reverend and learned divines (as they are styled in the philactery of their own title-page) pleading the lawfulness of defensive arms against the king, in a treatise called "Scripture and Reason," seem in words to disclaim utterly the deposing of a king; but both the Scripture, and the reasons which they use, draw consequences after them, which, without their bidding, conclude it lawful. For if by Scripture, and by that especially to the Romans, which they most insist upon, kings, doing that which is contrary to Saint Paul's definition of a magistrate, may be resisted, they may altogether with as much force of consequence be deposed or punished. And if by reason the unjust authority of kings "may be forfeited in part, and his power be reassumed in part, either by the parliament or people, for the case in hazard and the present necessity," as they affirm, p. 34, there can no scripture be alleged, no imaginable reason given, that necessity continuing, as it may always, and they in all prudence and their duty may take upon them to foresee it, why in such a case they may not finally amerce him with the loss of his kingdom, of whose amendment they have no hope. And if one wicked action persisted in against religion, laws, and liberties, may warrant us to thus much in part, why may not forty times as many tyrannies, by him committed, warrant us to proceed on restraining him, till the restraint become total? For the ways of justice are exactest proportion; if for one trespass of a king it require so much remedy or satisfaction, then for twenty more as heinous crimes, it requires of him twenty-fold; and so proportionably, till it come to what is utmost among men. If in these proceedings against their king they may not finish, by the usual course of justice, what they have begun, they could not lawfully begin at all. For this golden rule of justice and morality, as well as of arithmetic, out of three terms which they admit, will as certainly and unavoidably bring out the fourth, as any problem that ever Euclid or Apollonius made good by demonstration.

'And if the parliament, being undeposable but by

themselves, as is affirmed, p. 37, 38, might for his whole life, *if* they saw cause, take all power, authority, and the sword out of his hand, which in effect is to unmagistrate him, why might they not, being then themselves the sole magistrates in force, proceed to punish him, who, being lawfully deprived of all things that define a magistrate, can be now no magistrate to be degraded lower, but an offender to be punished. Lastly, whom they may defy, and meet in battle, why may they not as well prosecute by justice? For lawful war is but the execution of justice against them who refuse law. Among whom if it be lawful (as they deny not, p. 19, 20,) to slay the king himself coming in front at his own peril, wherefore may not justice do that intendedly, which the chance of a defensive war might without blame have done casually, nay purposely, if there it find him among the rest? They ask, p. 19, " By what rule of conscience or God, a state is bound to sacrifice religion, laws, and liberties, rather than a prince defending such as subvert them, should come in hazard of his life." And I ask by what conscience, or divinity, or law, or reason, a state is bound to leave all these sacred concernments under a perpetual hazard and extremity of danger, rather than cut off a wicked prince, who sits plotting day and night to subvert them. They tell us, that the law of nature justifies any man to defend himself, even against the king in person: let them shew us then, why the same law may not justify much more a state or whole people, to do justice upon him, against whom each private man may lawfully defend himself; seeing all kind of justice done is a defence to good men, as well as a punishment to bad; and justice done upon a tyrant is no more but the necessary self-defence of a whole commonwealth. To war upon a king, that his instruments may be brought to condign punishment, and thereafter to punish them the instruments, and not to spare only, but to defend and honour him the author, is the strangest piece of justice to be called christian, and the strangest piece of reason to be called human, that by men of reverence and learning, as their style imports them, ever yet was vented. They maintain in the third and fourth section, that a judge or inferior magistrate is anointed of God, is his minister, hath the sword in his hand, is to be obeyed by St. Peter's rule, as well as the supreme, and without difference any where expressed: and yet will have us fight against the supreme till he remove and punish the inferior magistrate (for such were greatest delinquents); whenas by Scripture, and by reason, there can no more authority be shewn to resist the one than the other; and altogether as much, to punish or depose the supreme himself, as to make war upon him, till he punish or deliver up his inferior magistrates, whom in the same terms we are commanded to obey, and not to resist. Thus while they, in a cautious line or two here and there stuffed in, are only verbal against the pulling down or punishing of tyrants, all the Scripture and the reason, which they bring, is in every leaf direct and rational, to infer it altogether as lawful, as to resist them. And yet in all their sermons, as hath by others been well noted, they went much further. For divines, if we observe them, have their postures, and their motions no less expertly, and with no less variety, than they that practise feats in the Artillery-ground. Sometimes they seem furiously to march on, and presently march counter; by and by they stand, and then retreat; or if need be can face about, or wheel in a whole body, with that cunning and dexterity as is almost unperceivable; to wind themselves by shifting ground into places of more advantage. And providence only must be the drum, providence the word of command, that calls them from above, but always to some larger benefice, or acts them into such or such figures and promotions. At their turns and doublings no men readier, to the right, or to the left; for it is their turns which they serve chiefly; herein only singular, that with them there is no certain hand right or left, but as their own commodity thinks best to call it. But if there come a truth to be defended, which to them and their interest of this world seems not so profitable, straight these nimble motionists can find no even legs to stand upon; and are no more of use to reformation thoroughly performed, and not superficially, or to the advancement of truth, (which among mortal men is always in her progress,) than if on a sudden they were struck maim and crippled. Which the better to conceal, or the more to countenance by a general conformity to their own limping, they would have Scripture, they would have reason also made to halt with them for company; and would put us off with impotent conclusions, lame and shorter than the premises. In this posture they seem to stand with great zeal and confidence on the wall of Sion; but like Jebusites, not like Israelites, or Levites: blind also as well as lame, they discern not David from Adonibezec: but cry him up for the Lord's anointed, whose thumbs and great toes not long before they had cut off upon their pulpit cushions. Therefore he who is our only king, the root of David, and whose kingdom is eternal righteousness, with all those that war under him, whose happiness and final hopes are laid up in that only just and rightful kingdom, (which we pray incessantly may come soon, and in so praying wish hasty ruin and destruction to all tyrants,) even he our immortal King, and all that love him, must of necessity have in abomination these blind and lame defenders of Jerusalem; as the soul of David hated them, and forbid them entrance into God's house, and his own. But as to those before them, which I cited first (and with an easy search, for many more might be added) as they there stand, without more in number, being the best and chief of protestant divines, we may follow them for faithful guides, and without doubting may receive them, as witnesses abundant of what we here affirm concerning tyrants. And indeed I find it generally the clear and positive determination of them all, (not prelatical, or of this late faction subprelatical,) who have written on this argument; that to do justice on a lawless king, is to a private man unlawful; to an inferior magistrate lawful: or if they were divided in opinion, yet greater than these here alleged, or of more authority in the church, there can be none produced.

If any one shall go about by bringing other testimonies to disable these, or by bringing these against themselves in other cited passages of their books, he will not only fail to make good that false and impudent assertion of those mutinous ministers, that the deposing and punishing of a king or tyrant "is against the constant judgment of all protestant divines," it being quite the contrary; but will prove rather what perhaps he intended not, that the judgment of divines, if it be so various and inconstant to itself, is not considerable, or to be esteemed at all. Ere which be yielded, as I hope it never will, these ignorant assertors in their own art will have proved themselves more and more, not to be protestant divines, whose constant judgment in this point they have so audaciously belied, but rather to be a pack of hungry church-wolves, who in the steps of Simon Magus their father following the hot scent of double livings and pluralities, advowsons, donatives, inductions, and augmentations, though uncalled to the flock of Christ, but by the mere suggestion of their bellies, like those priests of Bel, whose pranks Daniel found out; have got possession, or rather seized upon the pulpit, as the strong hold and fortress of their sedition and rebellion against the civil magistrate. Whose friendly and victorious hand having rescued them from the bishops their insulting lords, fed them plenteously, both in public and in private, raised them to be high and rich of poor and base; only suffered not their covetousness and fierce ambition (which as the pit that sent out their fellow-locusts hath been ever bottomless and boundless) to interpose in all things, and over all persons, their impetuous ignorance and importunity.'

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE ARTICLES OF PEACE,

BETWEEN JAMES EARL OF ORMOND FOR KING CHARLES THE FIRST ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE IRISH REBELS AND PAPISTS ON THE OTHER HAND:

AND ON A LETTER SENT BY ORMOND TO COLONEL JONES, GOVERNOR OF DUBLIN. AND A REPRESENTATION OF THE SCOTS PRESBYTERY AT BELFAST IN IRELAND.

To which the said Articles, Letter, with Colonel Jones's Answer to it, and Representation, &c. are prefixed.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1648-9.]

A PROCLAMATION.

ORMOND,

WHEREAS articles of peace are made, concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between us, James lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant-general, and general governor of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, by virtue of the authority wherewith we are intrusted, for, and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty on the one part, and the general assembly of the Roman Catholics of the said kingdom, for, and on the behalf of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of the same, on the other part; a true copy of which articles of peace are hereunto annexed: we the lord lieutenant do, by this proclamation, in his majesty's name publish the same, and do in his majesty's name strictly charge and command all his majesty's subjects, and all others inhabiting or residing within his majesty's said kingdom of Ireland, to take notice thereof, and to render due obedience to the same in all the parts thereof.

And as his majesty hath been induced to this peace, out of a deep sense of the miseries and calamities brought upon this his kingdom and people, and out of hope conceived by his majesty, that it may prevent the further effusion of his subjects' blood, redeem them out of all the miseries and calamities, under which they now suffer, restore them to all quietness and happiness under his majesty's most gracious government, deliver the kingdom in general from those slaughters, depredations, rapines, and spoils, which always accompany a war, encourage the subjects and others with comfort to betake themselves to trade, traffic, commerce, manufacture, and all other things, which uninterrupted may increase the wealth and strength of the kingdom, beget in all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom a perfect unity amongst themselves, after the too long continued division amongst them: so his majesty assures himself, that all his subjects of this his kingdom (duly considering the great and inestimable benefits which they may find in this peace) will with all duty render due obedience thereunto. And we, in his majesty's name, do hereby declare, That all persons, so rendering due obedience to the said peace, shall be protected, cherished, countenanced, and supported by his majesty, and his royal authority, according to the true intent and meaning of the said articles of peace.

Given at our Castle at Kilkenny, Jan. 17, 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Articles of peace, made, concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between his excellency James lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant-general, and general of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, for, and on the behalf of, his most excellent majesty, by virtue of the authority wherewith the said lord lieutenant is intrusted, on the one part: and the general assembly of Roman Catholics of the said kingdom, for and on the behalf of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of the same, on the other part.

HIS majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, as thereunto bound by allegiance, duty, and nature, do most humbly and freely acknowledge and recognise their sovereign lord king Charles, to be lawful and undoubted king of this kingdom of Ireland, and other his highness' realms and dominions: and his majesty's said Roman Catholic subjects, apprehending with a deep sense the sad condition whereunto his majesty is reduced, as a further testimony of their loyalty do declare, that they and their posterity for ever, to the utmost of their power,

even to the expense of their blood and fortunes, will maintain and uphold his majesty, his heirs and lawful successors, their rights, prerogatives, government, and authority, and thereunto freely and heartily will render all due obedience.

Of which faithful and loyal recognition and declaration, so seasonably made by the said Roman Catholics, his majesty is graciously pleased to accept, and accordingly to own them his loyal and dutiful subjects: and is further graciously pleased, to extend unto them the following graces and securities.

I. Imprimis, it is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said lord lieutenant, for, and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, and the said general assembly, for, and on the behalf of the said Roman Catholic subjects; and his majesty is graciously pleased, That it shall be enacted by act to be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, that all and every the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, within the said kingdom, shall be free and exempt from all mulcts, penalties, restraints, and inhibitions, that are or may be imposed upon them by any law, statute, usage, or custom whatsoever, for, or concerning the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion: and that it shall be likewise enacted, That the said Roman Catholics, or any of them, shall not be questioned or molested in their persons, goods, or estates, for any matter or cause whatsoever, for, concerning, or by reason of the free exercise of their religion, by virtue of any power, authority, statute, law, or usage whatsoever: and that it shall be further enacted, That no Roman Catholic in this kingdom shall be compelled to exercise any religion, form of devotion, or divine service, other than such as shall be agreeable to their conscience; and that they shall not be prejudiced or molested in their persons, goods, or estates, for not observing, using, or hearing the book of common prayer, or any other form of devotion or divine service, by virtue of any colour or statute made in the second year of queen Elizabeth, or by virtue or colour of any other law, declaration of law, statute, custom, or usage whatsoever, made or declared, or to be made or declared: and that it shall be further enacted, that the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, or any of them, be not bound or obliged to take the oath, commonly called the oath of Supremacy, expressed in the statute of 2 Elizabeth, c. 1, or in any other statute or statutes: and that the said oath shall not be tendered unto them, and that the refusal of the said oath shall not redound to the prejudice of them, or any of them, they taking the oath of allegiance in hæc verba, viz. "I A. B. do hereby acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king Charles is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of other his majesty's dominions and countries; and I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, and his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their crown and dignity; and do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, or to the lord deputy, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors for the time being, all treason or traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear to be intended against his majesty, or any of them: and I do make this recognition and acknowledgment, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian; so help me God," &c. Nevertheless, the said lord lieutenant doth not hereby intend, that any thing in these concessions contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the granting of churches, church-livings, or the exercise of jurisdiction, the authority of the said lord lieutenant not extending so far; yet the said lord lieutenant is authorized to give the said Roman Catholics full assurance, as hereby the said lord lieutenant doth give unto the said Roman Catholics full assurance, that they or any of them shall not be molested in the possession which they have at present of the churches or church-livings, or of the exercise of their respective jurisdictions, as they now exercise the same, until such time as his majesty, upon a full consideration of the desires of the said Roman Catholics in a free parliament to be held in this kingdom, shall declare his further pleasure.

II. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that a free parliament shall be held in this kingdom within six months after the date of these articles of peace, or as soon after as Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or the major part of them, will desire the same, so that by possibility it may be held; and that in the mean time, and until the articles of these presents, agreed to be passed in parliament, be accordingly passed, the same shall be inviolably observed as to the matters therein contained, as if they were enacted in parliament: and that in case a parliament be not called and held in this kingdom within two years next after the date of these articles of peace, then his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, will, at the request of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or the major part of them, call a general assembly of the lords and commons of this kingdom, to attend upon the said lord lieutenant, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, in such convenient place, for the better settling of the affairs of the kingdom. And it is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, that

all matters, that by these articles are agreed upon to be passed in parliament, shall be transmitted into England, according to the usual form, to be passed in the said parliament, and that the said acts so agreed upon, and so to be passed, shall receive no disjunction or alteration here in England; provided that nothing shall be concluded by both or either of the said houses of parliament, which may bring prejudice to any of his majesty's protestant party, or their adherents, or to his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, or their adherents, other than such things as upon this treaty are concluded to be done, or such things as may be proper for the committee of privileges of either or both houses to take cognizance of, as in such cases heretofore hath been accustomed; and other than such matters as his majesty will be graciously pleased to declare his further pleasure in, to be passed in parliament for the satisfaction of his subjects; and other than such things as shall be propounded to either or both houses by his majesty's lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, during the said parliament, for the advancement of his majesty's service, and the peace of the kingdom; which clause is to admit no construction which may trench upon the articles of peace or any of them; and that both houses of parliament may consider what they shall think convenient touching the repeal or suspension of the statute, commonly called Poyning's Act, intitled, An Act that no parliament be holden in that land, until the Acts be certified into England.

III. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that all acts, ordinances, and orders, made by both or either houses of parliament, to the blemish, dishonour, or prejudice of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, since the 7th August 1641, shall be vacated; and that the same, and all exemplifications and other acts which continue the memory of them, be made void by act to be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom: and that in the mean time the said acts or ordinances, or any of them, shall be no prejudice to the said Roman Catholics, or any of them.

IV. Item, It is also concluded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is likewise graciously pleased, that all indictments, attainders, outlawries in this kingdom, and all the processes and other proceedings thereupon, and all letters patents, grants, leases, customs, bonds, recognizances, and all records, act or acts, office or offices, inquisitions, and all other things depending upon, or taken by reason of the said indictments, attainders, or outlawries, since the 7th day of August, 1641, in prejudice of the said Catholics, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or the widows of them, or any of them, shall be vacated and made void in such sort as no memory shall remain thereof, to the blemish, dishonour, or prejudice of the said Catholics, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them; or the widows of them, or any of them; and that to be done when the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Dounogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Brown, Dounogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neal, Miles Reilie, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or the major part of them, shall desire the same, so that by possibility it may be done: and in the mean time, that no such indictments, attainders, outlawries, processes, or any other proceedings thereupon, or any letters patents, grants, leases, custodiums, bonds, recognizances, or any record or acts, office or offices, inquisitions, or any other thing depending upon, or by reason of the said indictments, attainders, or outlawries, shall in any sort prejudice the said Roman Catholics, or any of them, but that they and every of them shall be forthwith, upon perfection of these articles, restored to their respective possessions and hereditaments respectively; provided, that no man shall be questioned, by reason hereof, for mesne rates or wastes, saving wilful wastes committed after the first day of May last past.

V. Item, It is likewise concluded, accorded, and agreed; and his majesty is graciously pleased, that as soon as possible may be, all impediments, which may hinder the said Roman Catholics to sit or vote in the next intended parliament, or to choose, or to be chosen, knights and burgesses, to sit or vote there, shall be removed, and that before the said parliament.

VI. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that all debts shall remain as they were upon the twenty-third of October, 1641. Notwithstanding any disposition made or to be made, by virtue or colour of any attainder, outlawry, fugacy, or other forfeiture; and that no disposition or grant made, or to be made of any such debts, by virtue of any attainder, outlawry, fugacy, or other forfeiture, shall be of force; and this to be passed as an act in the next parliament.

VII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that for the securing of the estates or reputed estates of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, or reputed freeholders, as well of Connaught and county of Clare, or country of Thomond, as of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, the same to be secured by act of parliament, according to the intent of the twenty-fifth article of the graces granted in the fourth year of his majesty's reign, the tenour whereof, for so much as concerneth the same, doth ensue in these words, viz. We are graciously pleased, that for the inhabitants of Connaght and country of Thomond and county of Clare, that their several estates shall be confirmed unto them and their heirs against us, and our heirs and successors, by act to be passed in the next parliament to be holden in Ireland, to the end the same may never hereafter be brought into any further question by us, or our heirs and successors. In which act of parliament so to be passed, you are to take care, that all tenures in capite, and all rents and services as are now due, or which ought to be answered unto us out of the said lands and premises, by any letters patent passed thereof

since the first year of king Henry VIII, or found by any office taken from the said first year of king Henry VIII, until the twenty-first of July 1645, whereby our late dear father, or any his predecessors, actually received any profit by wardship, liveries, primer-seisins, mesne rates, ousterlemains, or fines of alienation without license, be again reserved unto us, our heirs and successors, and all the rest of the premises to be holden of our castle of Athlone by knight's service, according to our said late father's letters, notwithstanding any tenures in capite found for us by office, since the twenty-first of July 1615, and not appearing in any such letters patent, or offices; within which rule his majesty is likewise graciously pleased, that the said lands in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary be included, but to be held by such rents and tenures only, as they were in the fourth year of his majesty's reign; provided always, that the said lords, knights, gentlemen, and freeholders of the said province of Connaght, county of Clare, and country of Thomond, and counties of Tipperary and Limerick, shall have and enjoy the full benefit of such composition and agreement which shall be made with his most excellent majesty, for the court of wards, tenures, respites, and issues of homage, any clause in this article to the contrary notwithstanding. And as for the lands within the counties of Kilkenny and Wickloe, unto which his majesty was intitled by offices, taken or found in the time of the earl of Strafford's government in this kingdom, his majesty is further graciously pleased, that the state thereof shall be considered in the next intended parliament, where his majesty will assent unto that which shall be just and honourable; and that the like act of limitation of his majesty's titles, for the security of the estates of his subjects of this kingdom, be passed in the said parliament, as was enacted in the twenty-first year of his late majesty king James his reign in England.

VIII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that all incapacities imposed upon the natives of this kingdom or any of them, as natives, by any act of parliament, provisoes in patents or otherwise, be taken away by act to be passed in the said parliament; and that they may be enabled to erect one or more inns of court in or near the city of Dublin or elsewhere, as shall be thought fit by his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being; and in case the said inns of court shall be erected before the first day of the next parliament, then the same shall be in such places as his majesty's lord lieutenants or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnell esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall think fit; and that such students, natives of this kingdom, as shall be therein, may take and receive the usual degrees accustomed in any inns of court, they taking the ensuing oath, viz. "I A. B. do hereby acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king Charles is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of other his majesty's dominions and countries; and I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, and his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their crown and dignity; and do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, or to the lord deputy, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors for the time being, all treason or traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear to be intended against his majesty or any of them. And I do here make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian; so help me God," &c. And his majesty is further graciously pleased, that his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects may erect and keep free schools for education of youths in this kingdom, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all the matters assented unto in this article be passed as acts of parliament in the said next parliament.

IX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in his majesty's armies in this kingdom, shall be, upon perfection of these articles, actually and by particular instances conferred upon his Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom; and that upon the distribution, conferring, and disposing of the places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in his majesty's armies in this kingdom, for the future no difference shall be made between the said Roman Catholics, and other his majesty's subjects; but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifferency according to their respective merits and abilities; and that all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, as well Roman Catholics as others, may, for his majesty's service and their own security, arm themselves the best they may, wherein they shall have all fitting encouragement. And it is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in the civil government in this kingdom, shall be, upon passing of the bills in these articles mentioned in the next parliament, actually and by particular instances conferred upon his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom; and that in the distribution, conferring, and disposal of the places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in the civil government, for the future no difference shall be made between the said Roman Catholics, and other his majesty's subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifferency, according to their respective merits and abilities; and that in the distribution of ministerial offices or places, which now

are, or hereafter shall be void in this kingdom, equality shall be used to the Roman Catholic natives of this kingdom, as to other his majesty's subjects; and that the command of forts, castles, garrison-towns, and other places of importance, of this kingdom, shall be conferred upon his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom, upon perfection of these articles, actually and by particular instances; and that in the distribution, conferring, and disposal of the forts, castles, garrison-towns, and other places of importance in this kingdom, no difference shall be made between his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom, and other his majesty's subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifferency, according to their respective merits and abilities; and that until full settlement in parliament, fifteen thousand foot and two thousand and five hundred horse of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall be of the standing army of this kingdom; and that until full settlement in parliament as aforesaid, the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennel, esquires, or any seven or more of them, the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon kt. sir Nicholas Plunket, kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, shall diminish or add unto the said number, as they shall see cause from time to time.

X. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that his majesty will accept of the yearly rent, or annual sum of twelve thousand pounds sterling, to be applotted with indifferency and equality, and consented to be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, in parliament, for and in lieu of the court of wards in this kingdom, tenures in capite, common knight's service, and all other tenures within the cognizance of that court, and for and in lieu of all wardships, primer-seisins, fines, ousterlemains, liveries, intrusions, alienations, mesne rates, releases, and all other profits, within the cognizance of the said court, or incident to the said tenures, or any of them, or fines to accrue to his majesty by reason of the said tenures or any of them, and for and in lieu of respites and issues of homage and fines for the same. And the said yearly rent being so applotted and consented unto in parliament as aforesaid, then a bill is to be agreed on in the said parliament, to be passed as an act for the securing of the said yearly rent, or annual sum of twelve thousand pounds, to be applotted as aforesaid, and for the extinction and taking away of the said court, and other matters aforesaid in this article contained. And it is further agreed, that reasonable compositions shall be accepted for wardships since the twenty-third of October 1641, and already granted; and that no wardships fallen and not granted, or that shall fall, shall be passed until the success of this article shall appear; and if his majesty be secured as aforesaid, then all wardships fallen since the said twenty-third of October, are to be included in the argument aforesaid, upon composition to be made with such as have grants as aforesaid; which composition, to be made with the grantees since the time aforesaid, is to be left to indifferent persons, and the umpirage to the said lord lieutenant.

XI. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that no nobleman or peer of this realm, in parliament, shall be hereafter capable of more proxies than two, and that blank proxies shall be hereafter totally disallowed; and that if such noblemen or peers of this realm, as have no estates in this kingdom, do not within five years, to begin from the conclusion of these articles, purchase in this kingdom as followeth, viz. a lord baron 200*l.* per annum, a lord viscount 400*l.* per annum, and an earl 600*l.* per annum, a marquis 800*l.* per annum, a duke 1000*l.* per annum, shall lose their votes in parliament, until such time as they shall afterwards acquire such estates respectively; and that none be admitted in the house of commons, but such as shall be estated and resident within this kingdom.

XII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that as for and concerning the independency of the parliament of Ireland on the parliament of England, his majesty will leave both houses of parliament in this kingdom to make such declaration therein as shall be agreeable to the laws of the kingdom of Ireland.

XIII. Item, It is further concluded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that the council-table shall contain itself within its proper bounds, in handling matters of state and weight fit for that place; amongst which the patents of plantation, and the offices whereupon those grants are founded, to be handled, as matters of state, and to be heard and determined by his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, and the council publicly at the council-board, and not otherwise; but titles between party and party, grown after these patents granted, are to be left to the ordinary course of law; and that the council-table do not hereafter intermeddle with common business, that is within the cognizance of the ordinary courts, nor with the altering of possessions of lands, nor make, nor use, private orders, hearings, or references concerning any such matter, nor grant any injunction or order for stay of any suits in any civil cause; and that parties grieved for or by reason of any proceedings formerly had there may commence their suits, and prosecute the same, in any of his majesty's courts of justice or equity for remedy of their

pretended rights, without any restraint or interruption from his majesty, or otherwise, by the chief governor or governors and council of this kingdom: and that the proceedings in the respective precedency courts shall be pursuant and according to his majesty's printed book of instructions, and that they shall contain themselves within the limits prescribed by that book, when the kingdom shall be restored to such a degree of quietness, as they be not necessarily enforced to exceed the same.

XIV. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that as for and concerning one statute made in this kingdom, in the eleventh year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, entitled, An Act for staying of wool-flocks, tallow, and other necessaries within this realm: and another statute made in the said kingdom, in the twelfth year of the reign of the said queen, entitled, An Act

And one other statute made in the said kingdom, in the 13th year of the reign of the said late queen, entitled, An exemplanation of the act made in a session of this parliament for the staying of wool-flocks, tallow, and other wares and commodities mentioned in the said act, and certain articles added to the same act, all concerning staple or native commodities of this kingdom, shall be repealed, if it shall be so thought fit in the parliament, (excepting for wool and wool-fells,) and that such indifferent persons as shall be agreed on by the said lord lieutenant and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knt. sir Nicholas Plunket knt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall be authorized by commission under the great seal, to moderate and ascertain the rates of merchandize to be exported or imported out of, or into this kingdom, as they shall think fit.

XV. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that all and every person and persons within this kingdom, pretending to have suffered by offices found of several countries, territories, lands, and hereditaments in the province of Ulster, and other provinces of this kingdom, in or since the first year of king James his reign, or by attainders or forfeitures, or by pretence and colour thereof, since the said first year of king James, or by other acts depending on the said offices, attainders, and forfeitures, may petition his majesty in parliament for relief and redress; and if after examination it shall appear to his majesty, the said persons, or any of them, have been injured, then his majesty will prescribe a course to repair the person or persons so suffering, according to justice and honour.

XVI. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that as to the particular cases of Maurice lord viscount de Rupe and Fermoy, Arthur lord viscount Iveagh, sir Edward Fitz-Gerrald of Cloanglish baronet, Charles Mac-Carty Reag, Roger Moore, Anthony Mare, William Fitz-Gerrald, Anthony Lince, John Lacy, Collo Mac-brien Mac-Mahone, Daniel Castigni, Edmond Fitz-Gerrald of Ballimartir, Lucas Keating, Theobald Roch Fitz-Miles, Thomas Fitz-Gerrald of the Valley, John Bourke of Logmaske, Edmond Fitz-Gerrald of Ballimallo, James Fitz-William Gerrald of Glinane, and Edward Sutton, they may petition his majesty in the next parliament, whereupon his majesty will take such consideration of them as shall be just and fit.

XVII. Item, It is likewise concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that the citizens, freemen, burgesses, and former inhabitants of the city of Cork, towns of Youghall and Downegarven, shall be forthwith, upon perfection of these articles, restored to their respective possessions and estates in the said city and towns respectively, where the same extends not to the endangering of the said garrisons in the said city and towns. In which case, so many of the said citizens and inhabitants, as shall not be admitted to the present possession of their houses within the said city and towns, shall be afforded a valuable annual rent for the same, until settlement in parliament, at which time they shall be restored to those their possessions. And it is further agreed, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that the said citizens, freemen, burgesses, and inhabitants of the said city of Cork, and towns of Youghall and Downegarven, respectively, shall be enabled in convenient time before the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, to choose and return burgesses into the same parliament.

XVIII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that an act of oblivion be passed in the next parliament, to extend to all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, and their adherents, of all treasons and offences, capital, criminal, and personal, and other offences, of what nature, kind, or quality soever, in such manner, as if such treasons or offences had never been committed, perpetrated, or done: that the said act do extend to the heirs, children, kindred, executors, administrators, wives, widows, dowagers, or assigns of such of the said subjects and their adherents, who died on, before, or since, the 23d of October, 1641. That the said act do relate to the first day of the next parliament; that the said act do extend to all bodies politic and corporate, and their respective successors, and unto all cities, boroughs, counties, baronies, hundreds, towns, villages, thitlings, and every of them within this kingdom, for and concerning all and every of the said offences, and any other offence or offences in them, or any of them committed or done by his majesty's said subjects, or their adherents, or any of them, before, in, or since the 23d of October, 1641. Provided this act shall not extend to be construed to pardon any offence or offences, for which any person or persons have been convicted or attainted on record at

any time before the 23d day of October, in the year of our Lord 1641. That this act shall extend to piracies, and all other offences committed upon the sea by his majesty's said subjects, or their adherents, or any of them; that in this act of oblivion, words of release, acquittal, and discharge be inserted, that no person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, counties, cities, boroughs, baronies, hundreds, towns, villages, thitlings, or any of them within this kingdom, included within the said act, be troubled, impeached, sued, inquieted, or molested, for or by reason of any offence, matter, or thing whatsoever, comprised within the said act: and the said act shall extend to all rents, goods, and chattels taken, detained, or grown due to the subjects of the one party from the other since the 23d of October, 1641, to the date of these articles of peace; and also to all customs, rents, arrears of rents, to prizes, recognizances, bonds, fines, forfeitures, penalties, and to all other profits, perquisites, and dues which were due, or did or should accrue to his majesty on, before, or since the 23d of October, 1641, until the perfection of these articles, and likewise to all mesne rates, fines of what nature soever, recognizances, judgments, executions thereupon, and penalties whatsoever, and to all other profits due to his majesty since the said 23d of October and before, until the perfection of these articles, for, by reason, or which lay within the survey or recognizance of the court of wards; and also to all respites, issues of homage, and fines for the same: provided this shall not extend to discharge or remit any of the king's debts or subsidies due before the said 23d of October, 1641, which were then or before levied, or taken by the sheriffs, commissioners, receivers, or collectors, and not then or before accounted for, or since disposed to the public use of the said Roman Catholic subjects, but that such persons may be brought to account for the same after full settlement in parliament, and not before, unless by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knt. sir Nicholas Plunket knt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, as the said lord lieutenant otherwise shall think fit; provided, that such barbarous and inhuman crimes, as shall be particularized and agreed upon by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knt. sir Nicholas Plunket knt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, as to the actors and procurers thereof, be left to be tried and adjudged by such indifferent commissioners, as shall be agreed upon by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knt. sir Nicholas Plunket knt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them; and that the power of the said commissioners shall continue only for two years next ensuing the date of their commission, which commission is to issue within six months after the date of these articles, provided also, that the commissioners, to be agreed on for the trial of the said particular crimes to be excepted, shall hear, order, and determine all cases of trust, where relief may or ought in equity to be afforded against all manner of persons, according to the equity and circumstances of every such cases; and his majesty's chief governor or governors, and other magistrates for the time being, in all his majesty's courts of justice, and other his majesty's officers of what condition or quality soever, be bound and required to take notice of and pursue the said act of oblivion, without pleading or suit to be made for the same: and that no clerk or other officers do make out or write out any manner of writs, processes, summons, or other precept, for, concerning, or by reason of any matter, cause, or thing whatsoever, released, forgiven, discharged, or to be forgiven by the said act, under pain of twenty pounds sterling, and that no sheriff or other officer do execute any such writ, process, summons, or precept; and that no record, writing, or memory, do remain of any offence or offences, released or forgiven, or mentioned to be forgiven by this act; and that all other clauses usually inserted in acts of general pardon or oblivion, enlarging his majesty's grace and mercy, not herein particularized, be inserted and comprised in the said act, when the bill shall be drawn up with the exceptions already expressed, and none other. Provided always, that the said act of oblivion shall not extend to any treason, felony, or other offence or offences, which shall be committed or done from or after the date of these articles, until the first day of the before-mentioned next parliament, to be held in this kingdom. Provided also, that any act or acts, which shall be done by virtue, pretence, or in pursuance of these articles of peace agreed upon, or any act or acts which shall be done by virtue, colour, or pretence of the power or authority used or exercised by and amongst the confederate Roman Catholics after the date of the said articles, and before the said publication, shall not be accounted, taken, construed, or to be, treason, felony, or other offence to be excepted out of the said act of oblivion; provided likewise, that the said act of oblivion shall not extend unto any person or persons, that will not obey and submit unto the peace concluded and agreed on by these articles; provided further, that the said act of oblivion, or any thing in this article contained, shall not hinder or interrupt the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon kt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery

Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esqrs. or any seven or more of them, to call to an account, and proceed against the council and congregation, and the respective supreme councils, commissioners general, appointed hitherto from time to time by the confederate Catholics to manage their affairs, or any other person or persons accountable to an accompt for their respective receipts and disbursements, since the beginning of their respective employments under the said confederate Catholics, or to acquit or release any arrear of excises, customs, or public taxes, to be accounted for since the 23d of October, 1641, and not disposed of hitherto to the public use, but that the parties therein concerned may be called to an account for the same as aforesaid, by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander MacDonnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon kt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennel, esqrs. or any seven or more of them, the said act or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XIX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that an act be passed in the next parliament, prohibiting, that neither the lord deputy or other chief governor or governors, lord chancellor, lord high treasurer, vicetreasurer, chancellor, or any of the barons of the exchequer, privy council, or judges of the four courts, be farmers of his majesty's customs within this kingdom.

XX. Item, It is likewise concluded, accorded, and agreed, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that an act of parliament pass in this kingdom against monopolies, such as was enacted in England 21 Jacobi Regis, with a further clause of repealing of all grants of monopolies in this kingdom; and that commissioners be agreed upon by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, to set down the rates for the custom and imposition to be laid on Aquavitæ, Wine, Oil, Yarn, and Tobacco.

XXI. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, and his majesty is graciously pleased; that such persons as shall be agreed on by the said lord lieutenant and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knt. sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall be as soon as may be authorized by commission under the great seal, to regulate the court of castle-chamber, and such causes as shall be brought into, and censured in the said court.

XXII. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that two acts lately passed in this kingdom, one prohibiting the plowing with horses by the tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of oats in the straw, be repealed.

XXIII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, for as much as upon application of agents from this kingdom unto his majesty in the fourth year of his reign, and lately upon humble suit made unto his majesty, by a committee of both houses of the parliament of this kingdom, order was given by his majesty for redress of several grievances, and for so many of those as are not expressed in the articles, whereof both houses in the next ensuing parliament shall desire the benefit of his majesty's said former directions for redress therein, that the same be afforded them; yet so as for prevention of inconveniencies to his majesty's service, that the warning mentioned in the 24th article of the graces in the fourth year of his majesty's reign be so understood, that the warning being left at the person's dwelling houses be held sufficient warning; and as to the 22d article of the said graces, the process hitherto used in the court of wards do still continue, as hitherto it hath done in that, and hath been used in other English courts; but the court of wards being compounded for, so much of the aforesaid answer as concerns warning and process shall be omitted.

XXIV. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that maritime causes may be determined in this kingdom, without driving of merchants or others to appeal and seek justice elsewhere: and if it shall fall out, that there be cause of an appeal, the party grieved is to appeal to his majesty in the chancery of Ireland; and that sentence thereupon to be given by the delegates, to be definitive, and not be questioned upon any further appeal, except it be in the parliament of this kingdom, if the parliament shall then be sitting, otherwise not, this to be by act of parliament; and until the said parliament, the admiralty and maritime causes shall be ordered and settled by the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them.

XXV. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that his majesty's sub-

jects of this kingdom be eased of all rents and increase of rents lately raised on the commission or defective titles in the earl of Strafford's government, this to be by act of parliament; and that in the mean time the said rents or increase of rents shall not be written for by any process, or the payment thereof in any sort procured.

XXVI. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that, by act to be passed in the next parliament, all the arrears of interest-money, which did accrue and grow due by way of debt, mortgage, or otherwise, and yet not so satisfied since the 23d of October, 1641, until the perfection of these articles, shall be fully forgiven and be released; and that for and during the space of three years next ensuing, no more shall be taken for use or interest of money than five pounds per centum. And in cases of equity arising through disability, occasioned by the distempers of the times, the considerations of equity to be like unto both parties: but as for mortgages contracted between his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects and others of that party, where entry hath been made by the mortgagers against law, and the condition of their mortgages, and detained wrongfully by them without giving any satisfaction to the mortgagees, or where any such mortgagers have made profit of the lands mortgaged above country charges, yet answer no rent, or other consideration to the mortgagees, the parties grieved respectively to be left for relief to a course of equity therein.

XXVII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that, immediately upon perfection of these articles, the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, shall be authorized by the said lord lieutenant, to proceed in, hear, determine, and execute, in and throughout this kingdom, the ensuing particulars, and all the matters thereupon depending; and that such authority, and other the authorities hereafter mentioned, shall remain of force without revocation, alteration, or diminution, until acts of parliament be passed, according to the purport and intent of these articles; and that in case of death, miscarriage, disability to serve by reason of sickness or otherwise of any the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, and his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall name and authorize another in the place of such as shall be so dead or shall miscarry himself, or be so disabled, and that the same shall be such person as shall be allowed of by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them then living. And that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise, and levy means with indifferency and equality by way of excise or otherwise, upon all his majesty's subjects within the said kingdom, their persons, estates, and goods, towards the maintenance of such army or armies as shall be thought fit to continue, and be in pay for his majesty's service, the defence of the kingdom, and other the necessary public charges thereof, and towards the maintenance of the forts, castles, garrisons, and towns, until there shall be a settlement in parliament of both or either party, other than such of the said forts, garrisons, and castles, as from time to time shall be thought fit, by his majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon knight, sir Nicholas Plunket knight, sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, not to be maintained at the charge of the public: provided, that his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, be first made acquainted with such taxes, levies, and excises as shall be made, and the manner of levying thereof, and that he approve the same; and to the end that such of the protestant party, as shall submit to the peace, may in the several countries, where any of their estates lie, have equality and indifferency in the assessments and levies, that shall concern their estates in the said several counties.

It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that in the directions, which shall issue to any such county, for the applotting, sub-dividing, and levying of the said public assessments, some of the said protestant party shall be joined with others of the Roman Catholic party to that purpose, and for effecting that service; and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon kt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Rich-

ard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have power to levy the arrears of all excises and other public taxes imposed by the confederate Roman Catholics, and yet unpaid, and to call receivers and other accomptants of all former taxes and all public dues to a just and strict account, either by themselves, or by such as they or any seven or more of them shall name or appoint; and that the said lord lieutenant, or any other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall from time to time issue commissions to such person or persons as shall be named and appointed by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon kt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrard Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, for letting, setting, and improving the estates of all such person and persons, as shall adhere to any party opposing his majesty's authority, and not submitting to the peace; and that the profits of such estates shall be converted by the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, to the maintenance of the king's army and other necessary charges, until settlement by parliament; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon kt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise, and levy means, with indifferency and equality, for the buying of arms and ammunition, and for the entertaining of frigates in such proportion as shall be thought fit by his majesty's lord lieutenant or other chief governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, kt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them; the said arms and ammunition to be laid up in such magazines, and under the charge of such persons as shall be agreed on by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel esquire, sir Lucas Dillon kt. sir Nicholas Plunket kt. sir Richard Barnwall baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerrald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them; and to be disposed of, and the said frigates to be employed for his majesty's service, and the public use and benefit of this kingdom of Ireland; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise, and levy means, with indifferency and equality, by way of excise or otherwise, in the several cities, corporate towns, counties, and part of counties, now within the quarters and only upon the estates of the said confederate Roman Catholics, all such sum and sums of money as shall appear to the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, to be really due, for and in the discharge of the public engagements of the said confederate Catholics, incurred and grown due before the conclusion of these articles; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall be authorized to appoint receivers, collectors, and all other officers, for such monies as shall be assessed, taxed, or applotted, in pursuance of the authorities mentioned in this article, and for the arrears of all former applotments, taxes, and other public dues yet unpaid: and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, in case of refractories or delinquency, may distrain and imprison, and cause such delinquents to be distrained and imprisoned. And the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, make perfect books of all such monies as shall be applotted, raised, or levied, out of which books they are to make several and respective abstracts, to be delivered under their hands, or the hands of any seven or more of them, to the several and respective collectors, which shall be appointed to levy and receive the same. And that a duplicate of the said books, under the hands of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, be delivered unto his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, whereby a perfect account may be given; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall have power to call the council and congregation, and the respective supreme councils, and commissioners general, appointed hitherto from time to time, by the said confederate Roman Catholics, to manage their public affairs, and all other persons accountable, to an account, for all their receipts and disbursements since the beginning of their respective employments under the confederate Roman Catholics.

XXVIII. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that for the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall for the present agree upon such persons, who are to be authorized by commission under the great seal, to be commissioners of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery, in and throughout the kingdom, to continue during pleasure, with such power as justices of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery in former time of peace have usually had, which is not to extend unto any crime or offence committed before the first of May last past, and to be qualified with power to hear and determine all civil causes coming before them, not exceeding ten pounds: provided that they shall not intermeddle with titles of lands; provided likewise, the authority of such commissioners shall not extend to question any person or persons, for any shipping, cattle, or goods, heretofore taken by either party from the other, or other injuries done contrary to the articles of cessation, concluded by and with the said Roman Catholic party in or since May last, but that the same shall be determined by such indifferent persons, as the lord lieutenant, by the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall think fit, to the end that speedy and equal justice may be done to all parties grieved; and the said commissioners are to make their estreats as accustomed of peace, and shall take the ensuing oath, viz. You shall swear, that as justice of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery in the counties of A. B. in all articles of the commission to you directed, you shall do equal right to the poor and to the rich, after your cunning and wit and power, and after the laws and customs of the realm, and in pursuance of these articles: and you shall not be of counsel of any quarrel hanging before you; and the issues, fines, and amerciaments, which shall happen to be made, and all forfeitures which shall happen before you, you shall cause to be entered without any concealment or embezzling, and send to the court of exchequer, or to such other place as his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, shall appoint, until there may be access unto the said court of exchequer: you shall not lett for gift or other cause, but well and truly you shall do your office of justice of peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery in that behalf; and that you take nothing for your office of justice of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery to be done, but of the king, and fees accustomed; and you shall not direct, or cause to be directed, any warrant by you, to be made to the parties, but you shall direct them to the sheriffs and bailiffs of the said counties respectively, or other the king's officers or ministers, or other indifferent persons to do execution thereof. So help your God, &c.

And that as well in the said commission, as in all other commissions, and authorities to be issued in pursuance of the present articles, this clause shall be inserted, viz. That all officers, civil and martial, shall be required to be aiding and assisting and obedient unto the said commissioners, and other persons, to be authorized as aforesaid in the execution of their respective powers.

XXIX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects do continue the possession of such of his majesty's cities, garrisons, towns, forts, and castles, which are within their now quarters, until settlement by parliament, and to be commanded, ruled, and governed in chief, upon occasion of necessity, (as to the martial and military affairs,) by such as his majesty, or his chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall appoint; and the said appointment to be by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them; and his majesty's chief governor or governors, is to issue commissions accordingly to such persons as shall be so named and appointed as aforesaid, for the executing of such command, rule, or government, to continue until all the particulars in these present articles, agreed on to pass in parliament, shall be accordingly passed: only in case of death or misbehaviour, such other person or persons to be appointed for the said command, rule, or government, to be named and appointed in the place or places of him or them, who shall so die or misbehave themselves, as the chief governor or governors for the time being, by the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall think fit, and to be continued until a settlement in parliament as aforesaid.

XXX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that all customs and tenths of prizes belonging to his majesty, which from the perfection of these articles shall fall due within this kingdom, shall be paid unto his majesty's receipt, or until recourse may be had thereunto in the ordinary legal way, unto such person or persons, and in such place or places, and under such controls, as the lord lieutenant shall appoint to be disposed of, in order to the defence and safety of the kingdom, and the defraying of other the necessary public charges thereof, for the ease of the subjects in other their levies, charges, and applotments. And that all and every person or persons, who are at present entrusted and employed by the said Roman Catholics, in the entries, receipts, collections, or otherwise, concerning the said customs and tenths of prizes, do continue their respective employ-

ments in the same, until full settlement in parliament, accountable to his majesty's receipts, or until recourse may be had thereunto; as the said lord lieutenant shall appoint as aforesaid, other than to such, and so many of them, as to the chief governor or governors for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall be thought fit to be altered; and then, and in such case, or in case of death, fraud, or misbehaviour, or other alteration of any such person or persons, then such other person or persons to be employed therein, as shall be thought fit by the chief governor or governors for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them; and when it shall appear, that any person or persons, who shall be found faithful to his majesty, hath right to any of the offices or places about the said customs, whereunto he or they may not be admitted until settlement in parliament as aforesaid, that a reasonable compensation shall be afforded to such person or persons for the same.

XXXI. Item, As for and concerning his majesty's rents, payable at Easter next, and from thenceforth to grow due, until a settlement in parliament, it is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that the said rents be not written for, or levied, until a full settlement in parliament; and in due time upon application to be made to the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, for remittal of those rents, the said lord lieutenant, or any other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall intimate their desires, and the reason thereof, to his majesty, who, upon consideration of the present condition of this kingdom, will declare his gracious pleasure therein, as shall be just, and honourable, and satisfactory to the reasonable desires of his subjects.

XXXII. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that the commissioners of oyer and terminer and gaol-delivery to be named as aforesaid, shall have power to hear and determine all murders, manslaughters, rapes, stealths, burning of houses and corn in rick or stack, robberies, burglaries, forcible entries, detainers of possessions, and other offences committed or done, and to be committed and done since the first day of May last past, until the first day of the next parliament, these present articles, or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding; provided, that the authority of the said commissioners shall not extend to question any person or persons, for doing or committing any act whatsoever, before the conclusion of this treaty, by virtue or colour of any warrant or direction from those in public authority among the confederate Roman Catholics, nor unto any act, which shall be done after the perfecting and concluding of these articles, by virtue or pretence of any authority, which is now by these articles agreed on; provided also, that the said commission shall not continue longer than the first day of the next parliament.

XXXIII. Item, It is concluded, accorded by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that, for the determining such differences, which may arise between his majesty's subjects within this kingdom, and the prevention of inconvenience and disquiet, which through want of due remedy in several causes may happen, there shall be judicatures established in this kingdom, and that the persons to be authorized in them shall have power to do all such things as shall be proper and necessary for them to do; and the said lord lieutenant, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall name the said persons so to be authorized, and to do all other things incident unto and necessary for the settling of the said intended judicatures.

XXXIV. Item, At the instance, humble suit, and earnest desire of the general assembly of the confederate Roman Catholics, it is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, that the Roman Catholic regular clergy of this kingdom, behaving themselves conformable to these articles of peace, shall not be molested in the possessions which at present they have of, and in the bodies, sites, and precincts of such abbeys and monasteries belonging to any Roman Catholic within the said kingdom, until settlement by parliament; and that the said clergy shall not be molested in the enjoying such pensions as hitherto since the wars they enjoyed for their respective livelihoods from the said Roman Catholics: and the sites and precincts hereby intended, are declared to be the body of the abbey, one garden and orchard to each abbey, if any there be, and what else is contained within the walls, meers, or ancient fences or ditch, that doth supply the wall thereof, and no more.

XXXV. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, that as to all other demands of the said Roman Catholics, for or concerning all or any the matters proposed by them, not granted or assented unto in and by the aforesaid articles, the said Roman Catholics be referred to his majesty's gracious favour and further concessions. In witness whereof the said lord lieutenant, for and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, to the one part of these articles remaining with the said Roman Catholics, hath put his hand and seal: and sir Richard Blake, knt. in the chair of the general assembly of the said Roman Catholics, by order, command, and unanimous consent of the said Catholics in full assembly, to the other part thereof remaining with the said lord lieutenant, hath

put to his hand and the public seal hitherto used by the said Roman Catholics, the 17th of January, 1648, and in the 24th year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c

Sir,

I have not thus long forborn to invite you, with those under your command, to a submission to his majesty's authority in me, and a conjunction with me, in the ways of his service, out of any the least aversion I had to you, or any of them, or out of any disesteem I had to your power, to advance or impede the same; but out of my fear, whiles those, that have of late usurped power over the subjects of England, held forth the least colourable shadow of moderation in their intentions towards the settlement of church or state, and that in some tolerable way with relation to religion, the interest of the king and crown, the freedom of parliament, the liberties of the subject, any addresses from me proposing the withdrawing of that party from those thus professing, from whom they have received some, and expected further support, would have been but coldly received, and any determination thereupon deferred, in hope and expectation of the forementioned settlement; or that you yourself, who certainly have not wanted a foresight of the sad confusion now covering the face of England, would have declared with me, the lord Inchequeen, and the Protestant army in Munster, in prevention thereof; yet my fear was, it would have been as difficult for you, to have carried with you the main body of the army under your command, (not so clear-sighted as yourself,) as it would have been dangerous to you, and those with you well-inclined, to have attempted it without them; but now that the mask of hypocrisy, by which the independent army hath ensnared and enslaved all estates and degrees of men, is laid aside, now that, barefaced, they evidently appear to be the subverters of true religion, and to be the protectors and inviters not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism, now that they have barbarously and inhumanly laid violent, sacrilegious hands upon and murdered God's anointed, and our king, not as heretofore some parricides have done, to make room for some usurper, but in a way plainly manifesting their intentions to change the monarchy of England into anarchy, unless their aim be first to constitute an elective kingdom; and Cromwell or some such John of Leyden being elected, then by the same force, by which they have thus far compassed their ends, to establish a perfect Turkish tyranny; now that of the three estates of king, lords, and commons, whereof in all ages parliaments have consisted, there remains only a small number, and they the dregs and scum of the house of commons, picked and awed by the army, a wicked remnant, left for no other end, than yet further if it be possible to delude the people with the name of a parliament: the king being murdered, the lords and the rest of the commons being by unheard-of violence at several times forced from the houses, and some imprisoned. And now that there remains no other liberty in the subject but to profess blasphemous opinions, to revile and tread under foot magistracy, to murder magistrates, and oppress and undo all that are not like-minded with them. Now I say, that I cannot doubt but that you and all with you under your command will take this opportunity to act and declare against so monstrous and unparalleled a rebellion, and that you and they will cheerfully acknowledge, and faithfully serve and obey our gracious king Charles II. undoubted heir of his father's crown and virtues; under whose right and conduct we may by God's assistance restore protestant religion to purity, and therein settle it, parliaments to their freedom, good laws to their force, and our fellow-subjects to their just liberties; wherein how glorious and blessed a thing it will be, to be so considerably instrumental, as you may now make yourself, I leave to you now to consider. And though I conceive, there are not any motives relating to some particular interest to be mentioned after these so weighty considerations, which are such as the world hath not been at any time furnished with; yet I hold it my part to assure you, that as there is nothing you can reasonably propose for the safety, satisfaction, or advantage of yourself, or of any that shall adhere to you in what I desire, that I shall not to the uttermost of my power provide for; so there is nothing I would, nor shall more industriously avoid, than those necessities arising from my duty to God and man, that may by your rejecting this offer force me to be a sad instrument of shedding English blood, which in such case must on both sides happen. If this overture find place with you, as I earnestly wish it may, let me know with what possible speed you can, and if you please by the bearer, in what way you desire it shall be drawn on to a conclusion. For in that, as well as in the substance, you shall find all ready compliance from me, that desire to be

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

Carrick, March 9, 1648. ORMOND.

For Colonel Michael Jones,
Governor of Dublin.

My Lord,

Your lordship's of the ninth I received the twelfth instant, and therein have I your lordship's invitation to a conjunction with yourself (I suppose) as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and with others now united with the Irish, and with the Irish themselves also.

As I understand not how your lordship should be invested with that power pretended, so am I very well assured, that it is not in the power of any without the parliament of England, to give and assure pardon to those bloody rebels, as by the act to that end passed may appear more fully. I am also well assured, that the parliament of England would never assent to such a peace, (such as is that of your lordship's with the rebels,) wherein is little or no provision made either for the protestants or the protestant religion. Nor can I understand how the protestant religion should be settled and restored to its purity by an army of papists, or the protestant interests maintained by those very enemies,

by whom they have been spoiled and there slaughtered: and very evident it is, that both the protestants and protestant religion are, in that your lordship's treaty, left as in the power of the rebels, to be by them borne down and rooted out at pleasure.

As for that consideration by your lordship offered of the present and late proceedings in England, I see not how it may be a sufficient motive to me (or any other in like trust for the parliament of England in the service of the kingdom) to join with those rebels, upon any the pretences in that your lordship's letter mentioned; for therein were there a manifest betraying that trust reposed in me, in deserting the service and work committed to me, in joining with those I shall oppose, and in opposing whom I am obliged to serve.

Neither conceive I it any part of my work and care, to take notice of any whatsoever proceedings of state, foreign to my charge and trust here, especially they being found hereunto apparently destructive.

Most certain it is, and former ages have approved it, that the intermeddling of governors and parties in this kingdom, with sidings and parties in England, have been the very betraying of this kingdom to the Irish, whiles the British forces here had been thereupon called off, and the place therein laid open, and as it were given up to the common enemy.

It is what your lordship might have observed in your former treaty with the rebels, that, upon your lordship's thereupon withdrawing, and sending hence into England the most considerable part of the English army then commanded by you; thereby was the remaining British party not long after overpowered, and your quarters by the Irish overrun to the gates of Dublin, yourself also reduced to that low condition, as to be besieged in this very city, (the metropolis and principal citadel of the kingdom,) and that by those rebels, who till then could never stand before you: and what the end hath been of that party, also so sent by your lordship into England, (although the flower and strength of the English army here, both officers and soldiers,) hath been very observable.

And how much the dangers are at present (more than in former ages) of hazarding the English interest in this kingdom, by sending any parties hence into any other kingdom upon any pretences whatsoever, is very apparent, as in the generality of the rebellion, now more than formerly; so considering your lordship's present conclusions with and concessions to the rebels, wherein they are allowed the continual possession of all the cities, forts, and places of strength, whereof they stood possessed at the time of their treaty with your lordship, and that they are to have a standing force (if I well remember) of 15000 foot and 2500 horse, (all of their own party, officers and soldiers,) and they (with the whole kingdom) to be regulated by a major part of Irish trustees, chosen by the rebels themselves, as persons for their interests and ends, to be by them confided in, without whom nothing is to be acted. Therein I cannot but mind your lordship of what hath been sometimes by yourself delivered, as your sense in this particular; that the English interest in Ireland must be preserved by the English, and not by Irish; and upon that ground (if I be not deceived) did your lordship then capitulate with the parliament of England, from which clear principle I am sorry to see your lordship now receding.

As to that by your lordship menaced us here, of blood and force, if dissenting from your lordship's ways and designs, for my particular I shall (my lord) much rather choose to suffer in so doing, (for therein shall I do what is becoming, and answerable to my trust,) than to purchase myself on the contrary the ignominious brand of perfidy by any allurements of whatsoever advantages offered me.

But very confident I am of the same divine power, which hath still followed me in this work, and will still follow me; and in that trust doubt nothing of thus giving your lordship plainly this my resolution in that particular. So I remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

Dublin, *March* 14th, 1648. (Signed) MIC. JONES.

For the lord of Ormond these.

BY THE

LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL OF IRELAND.

ORMOND,

WHEREAS our late sovereign lord king Charles of happy memory hath been lately by a party of his rebellious subjects of England most traitorously, maliciously, and inhumanly put to death and murdered; and forasmuch as his majesty that now is, Charles by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, is son and heir of his said late majesty, and therefore by the laws of the land, of force, and practised in all ages, is to inherit. We therefore, in discharge of the duty we owe unto God, our allegiance and loyalty to our sovereign, holding it fit him so to proclaim in and through this his majesty's kingdom, do by this our present proclamation declare and manifest to the world, That Charles II, son and heir of our sovereign lord king Charles I, of happy memory, is, by the grace of God, the undoubted king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

Given at Carrick, Feb. 26th, 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A NECESSARY REPRESENTATION

Of the present Evils and imminent Dangers to Religion, Laws, and Liberties, arising from the late and present practices of the sectarian party in England: together with an Exhortation to duties relating to the covenant, unto all within our charge, and to all the well-affected within this kingdom, by the Presbytery at Belfast, February the 15th, 1649.

WHEN we seriously consider the great and many duties, which we owe unto God and his people, over

whom he hath made us overseers, and for whom we must give an account; and when we behold the laudable examples of the worthy ministers of the province of London, and of the commissioners of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, in their free and faithful testimonies against the insolencies of the sectarian party in England: considering also the dependency of this kingdom upon the kingdom of England, and remembering how against strong oppositions we were assisted by the Lord the last year in the discharge of the like duty, and how he punished the contempt of our warning upon the despisers thereof: we find ourselves as necessitated, so the more encouraged, to cast in our mite in the treasury, lest our silence should involve us in the guilt of unfaithfulness, and our people in security and neglect of duties.

In this discharge of the trust put upon us by God, we would not be looked upon as sowers of sedition, or broachers of national and divisive motions; our record is in heaven, that nothing is more hateful unto us, nor less intended by us, and therefore we shall not fear the malicious and wicked aspersions, which we know Satan by his instruments is ready to cast, not only upon us, but on all who sincerely endeavour the advancement of reformation.

What of late have been, and now are, the insolent and presumptuous practices of the sectaries in England, is not unknown to the world: for, First, notwithstanding their specious pretences for religion and liberties, yet their late and present actings, being therewith compared, do clearly evidence, that they love a rough garment to deceive; since they have with a high hand despised the oath, in breaking the covenant, which is so strong a foundation to both, whilst they load it with slighting reproaches, calling it a bundle of particular and contrary interests, and a snare to the people; and likewise labour to establish by laws an universal toleration of all religions, which is an innovation overturning of unity in religion, and so directly repugnant to the word of God, the two first articles of our solemn covenant, which is the greatest wickedness in them to violate, since many of the chiefest of themselves have, with their hands, testified to the most high God, sworn and sealed it.

Moreover, their great disaffection to the settlement of religion, and so their future breach of covenant, doth more fully appear by their strong oppositions to Presbyterian government, (the hedge and bulwark of religion,) whilst they express their hatred to it more than to the worst of errours, by excluding it under the name of compulsion; when they embrace even Paganism and Judaism in the arms of toleration. Not to speak of their aspersions upon it, and the assertors thereof, as antichristian and popish, though they have deeply sworn, to maintain the same government in the first article of the covenant, as it is established in the church of Scotland, which they now so despitefully blaspheme.

Again, it is more than manifest, that they seek not the vindication, but the extirpation of laws and liberties, as appears by their seizing on the person of the king, and at their pleasures removing him from place to place, not only without the consent, but (if we mistake not) against a direct ordinance of parliament: their violent surprising, imprisoning, and secluding many of the most worthy members of the honourable house of commons, directly against a declared privilege of parliament, (an action certainly without parallel in any age,) and their purposes of abolishing parliamentary power for the future, and establishing of a representative (as they call it) instead thereof. Neither hath their fury staid here, but without all rule or example, being but private men, they have proceeded to the trial of the king, against both interest and protestation of the kingdom of Scotland, and the former public declarations of both kingdoms, (besides the violent haste, rejecting the hearing of any defences,) with cruel hands have put him to death; an act so horrible, as no history, divine or human, hath laid a precedent of the like.

These and many other their detestable insolencies may abundantly convince every unbiassed judgment, that the present practice of the sectaries and their abettors do directly overturn the laws and liberties of the kingdoms, root-out lawful and supreme magistracy, (the just privileges whereof we have sworn to maintain,) and introduce a fearful confusion and lawless anarchy.

The Spirit of God by Solomon tells us, Prov. xxx. 21, That a servant to reign, is one of the four things for which the earth is disquieted, and which it cannot bear: we wonder nothing, that the earth is disquieted for these things; but we wonder greatly, if the earth can bear them. And albeit the Lord so permit, that folly be set in great dignity, and they which sit in low place; "that servants ride upon horses, and princes walk as servants upon the earth," Eccles. x. ver. 6, 7, yet the same wise man saith, Prov. xix, "Delight is not seemly for a fool, much less for a servant to have rule over princes."

When we consider these things, we cannot but declare and manifest our utter dislike and detestation of such unwarrantable practices, directly subverting our covenant, religion, laws, and liberties. And as watchmen in Sion, warn all the lovers of truth and well-affected to the covenant, carefully to avoid compliance with, or not bearing witness against, horrid insolencies, lest partaking with them in their sins, they also be partakers of their plagues. Therefore in the spirit of meekness, we earnestly intreat, and in the authority of Jesus Christ (whose servants we are) charge and obtest all, who resolve to adhere unto truth and the covenant, diligently to observe, and conscientiously to perform, these following duties.

First, That, according to our solemn covenant, every one study more the power of godliness and personal reformation of themselves and families; because, for the great breach of this part of the covenant, God is highly offended with these lands, and justly provoked to permit men to be the instruments of our misery and afflictions.

Secondly, That every one in their station and calling earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered to the saints, Jude 3. And seek to have their

hearts established with grace, that they be not unstable and wavering, carried about with every wind of doctrine; but that they receive the truth in love, avoiding the company of such as withdraw from and vilify the public ordinances; speak evil of church-government; invent damnable errours, under the specious pretence of a gospel-way and new light; and highly extol the persons and courses of notorious sectaries, lest God give them over to strong delusions (the plague of these times) that they may believe lies, and be damned.

Thirdly, That they would not be drawn by counsel, command, or example, to shake off the ancient and fundamental government of these kingdoms by king and parliament, which we are so deeply engaged to preserve by our solemn covenant, as they would not be found guilty of the great evil of these times, (condemned by the Holy Ghost,) the despising of dominion and speaking evil of dignities.

Fourthly, That they do cordially endeavour the preservation of the union amongst the well-affected in the kingdoms, not being swayed by any national respect: remembering that part of the covenant; "that we shall not suffer ourselves directly nor indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terrour, to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction."

And Finally, Albeit there be more present hazard from the power of sectaries, (as were from malignants the last year,) yet we are not ignorant of the evil purposes of malignants, even at this time, in all the kingdoms, and particularly in this; and for this cause, we exhort every one with equal watchfulness to keep themselves free from associating with such, or from swerving in their judgments to malignant principles; and to avoid all such persons as have been from the beginning known opposers of reformation, refusers of the covenant, combining themselves with papists and other notorious malignants, especially such who have been chief promoters of the late engagement against England, calumniators of the work of reformation, in reputing the miseries of the present times unto the advancers thereof; and that their just hatred to sectaries incline not their minds to favour malignants, or to think, that, because of the power of sectaries, the cause of God needs the more to fear the enmity, or to stand in need of the help, of malignants.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE ARTICLES OF PEACE

WITH THE IRISH REBELS, ON THE LETTER OF ORMOND TO COLONEL JONES, AND THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PRESBYTERY AT BELFAST.

Although it be a maxim much agreeable to wisdom, that just deeds are the best answer to injurious words; and actions of whatever sort, their own plainest interpreters; yet since our enemies can find the leisure both ways to offend us, it will be requisite, we should be found in neither of those ways neglectful of our just defence: to let them know, that sincere and upright intentions can certainly with as much ease deliver themselves into words as into deeds.

Having therefore seen of late those articles of peace granted to the papist rebels of Ireland, as special graces and favours from the late king, in reward, most likely, of their work done, and in his name and authority confirmed and ratified by James earl of Ormond; together with his letter to Colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, full of contumely and dishonour, both to the parliament and army: and on the other side, an insolent and seditious representation from the Scots presbytery at Belfast in the North of Ireland, no less dishonourable to the state, and much about the same time brought hither: there will be needful as to the same slanderous aspersions but one and the same vindication against them both. Nor can we sever them in our notice and resentment, though one part entitled a presbytery, and would be thought a protestant assembly, since their own unexampled virulence hath wrapt them into the same guilt, made them accomplices and assistants to the abhorred Irish rebels, and with them at present to advance the same interest: if we consider both their calumnies, their hatred, and the pretended reasons of their hatred to be the same; the time also and the place concurring, as that there lacks nothing but a few formal words, which may be easily dissembled, to make the perfectest conjunction; and between them to divide that island.

As for these articles of peace made with those inhuman rebels and papists of Ireland by the late king, as one of his last masterpieces, we may be confidently persuaded, that no true-born Englishman can so much as barely read them without indignation and disdain, that those bloody rebels, and so proclaimed and judged of by the king himself, after the merciless and babarous massacre of so many thousand English, (who had used their right and title to that country with such tenderness and moderation, and might otherwise have secured themselves with ease against their treachery,) should be now graced and rewarded with such freedoms and enlargements, as none of their ancestors could ever

merit by their best obedience, which at best was always treacherous; to be enfranchised with full liberty equal to their conquerors, whom the just revenge of ancient piracies, cruel captivities, and the causeless infestation of our coast, had warrantably called over, and the long prescription of many hundred years; besides what other titles are acknowledged by their own Irish parliament, had fixed and seated in that soil with as good a right as the merest natives.

These, therefore, by their own foregoing demerits and provocations justly made our vassals, are by the first article of this peace advanced to a condition of freedom superior to what any English protestants durst have demanded. For what else can be the meaning to discharge them the common oath of supremacy, especially being papists, (for whom principally that oath was intended,) but either to resign them the more into their own power, or to set a mark of dishonour upon the British loyalty; by trusting Irish rebels for one single oath of allegiance, as much as all his subjects of Britain for the double swearing both of allegiance and supremacy?

The second article puts it into the hands of an Irish parliament to repeal, or to suspend, if they think convenient, the act usually called Poyning's Act, which was the main, and yet the civilest and most moderate, acknowledgment imposed of their dependance on the crown of England; whereby no parliament could be summoned there, no bill be passed, but what was first to be transmitted and allowed under the great seal of England. The recalling of which act tends openly to invest them with a law-giving power of their own, enables them by degrees to throw of all subjection to this realm, and renders them (who by their endless treasons and revolts have deserved to hold no parliament at all, but to be governed by edicts and garrisons) as absolute and supreme in that assembly, as the people of England in their own land. And the twelfth article grants them in express words, that the Irish parliament shall be no more dependent on the parliament of England, than the Irish themselves shall declare agreeable to the laws of Ireland.

The two and twentieth article, more ridiculous than dangerous, coming especially from such a serious knot of lords and politicians, obtains, that those acts prohibiting to plow with horses by the tail, and burn oats in the straw, be repealed; enough, if nothing else, to declare in them a disposition not only sottish, but indocible, and averse from all civility and amendment: and what hopes they give for the future, who, rejecting the ingenuity of all other nations to improve and wax more civil by a civilizing conquest, though all these many years better shewn and taught, prefer their own absurd and savage customs before the most convincing evidence of reason and demonstration: a testimony of their true barbarism and obdurate wilfulness, to be expected no less in other matters of greatest moment.

Yet such as these, and thus affected, the ninth article entrusts with the militia; a trust which the king swore by God at Newmarket he would not commit to his parliament of England, no, not for an hour. And well declares the confidence he had in Irish rebels, more than in his loyalest subjects. He grants them moreover, till the performance of all these articles, that fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse shall remain a standing army of papists at the beck and command of Dillon, Muskerry, and other arch-rebels, with power also of adding to that number as they shall see cause. And by other articles allows them the constituting of magistrates and judges in all causes, whom they think fit: and till a settlement to their own minds, the possession of all those towns and countries within their new quarters, being little less than all the island, besides what their cruelty hath dispeopled and laid waste. And lastly, the whole managing both of peace and war is committed to papists, and the chief leaders of that rebellion.

Now let all men judge what this wants of utter alienating and acquitting the whole province of Ireland from all true fealty and obedience to the commonwealth of England. Which act of any king against the consent of his parliament, though no other crime were laid against him, might of itself strongly conduce to the disenthroning him of all. In France, Henry the Third, demanding leave in greatest exigencies to make sale of some crown-lands only, and that to his subjects, was answered by the parliament then at Blois, that a king in no case, though of extremest necessity, might alienate the patrimony of his crown, whereof he is but only usufructuary, as civilians term it, the propriety remaining ever to the kingdom, not to the king. And in our own nation, King John, for resigning, though unwillingly, his crown to the pope's legate, with little more hazard to his kingdom than the payment of one thousand marks, and the unsightliness of such a ceremony, was deposed by his barons, and Lewis, the French king's son, elected in his room. And to have carried only the jewels, plate, and treasure into Ireland, without consent of the nobility, was one of those impeachments, that condemned Richard the Second to lose his crown.

But how petty a crime this will seem to the alienating of a whole kingdom, which in these articles of peace we see as good as done by the late king, not to friends but to mortal enemies, to the accomplishment of his own interests and ends, wholly separate from the people's good, may without aggravation be easily conceived. Nay, by the covenant itself, since that so cavillously is urged against us, we are enjoined in the fourth article, with all faithfulness to endeavour the bringing all such to public trial and condign punishment, as shall divide one kingdom from another. And what greater dividing than by a pernicious and hostile peace, to disalliege a whole feudary kingdom from the ancient dominion of England? Exception we find there of no person whatsoever; and if the king, who hath actually done this, or any for him, claim a privilege above justice, it is again demanded by what express law either of God or man, and why he whose office is to execute law and justice upon all others, should set himself like a demigod in lawless and unbounded anarchy; refusing to be accountable for that authority over men na-

turally his equals, which God himself without a reason given is not wont to exercise over his creatures? And if God, the nearer to be acquainted with mankind and his frailties, and to become our priest, made himself a man, and subject to the law, we gladly would be instructed, why any mortal man, for the good and welfare of his brethren being made a king, should by a clean contrary motion make himself a god, exalted above law; the readiest way to become utterly unsensible, both of his human condition, and his own duty.

And how securely, how smoothly, with how little touch or sense of any commiseration, either princely or so much as human, he hath sold away that justice so oft demanded, and so oft by himself acknowledged to be due, for the blood of more than two hundred thousand of his subjects, that never hurt him, never disobeyed him, assassinated and cut in pieces by those Irish barbarians, to give the first promoting, as is more than thought, to his own tyrannical designs in England, will appear by the eighteenth article of his peace; wherein, without the least regard of justice to avenge the dead, while he thirsts to be avenged upon the living, to all the murders, massacres, treasons, piracies, from the very fatal day, wherein that rebellion first broke out, he grants an act of oblivion. If this can be justified, or not punished in whomsoever, while there is any faith, any religion, any justice upon earth, there can no reason be alleged, why all things are not left to confusion. And thus much be observed in brief concerning these articles of peace made by the late king with his Irish rebels.

The letter of Ormond sent to Colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, attempting his fidelity, which the discretion and true worth of that gentleman hath so well answered and repulsed, had passed here without mention, but that the other part of it, not content to do the errand of treason, roves into a long digression of evil and reproachful language to the parliament and army of England, which though not worth their notice, as from a crew of rebels whose inhumanities are long since become the horrour and execration of all that hear them, yet in the pursuance of a good endeavour, to give the world all due satisfaction of the present doings, no opportunity shall be omitted.

He accuses first, "That we are the subverters of religion, the protectors and inviters not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism." An accusation that no man living could more unjustly use than our accuser himself; and which, without a strange besottedness, he could not expect but to be retorted upon his own head. All men, who are true protestants, of which number he gives out to be one, know not a more immediate and killing subverter of all true religion than Antichrist, whom they generally believe to be the pope and church of Rome; he therefore, who makes peace with this grand enemy and persecutor of the true church, he who joins with him, strengthens him, gives him root to grow up and spread his poison, removing all opposition against him, granting him schools, abbeys, and revenues, garrisons, towns, fortresses, as in so many of those articles may be seen, he of all protestants may be called most justly the subverter of true religion, the protector and inviter of irreligion and atheism, whether it be Ormond or his master. And if it can be no way proved, that the parliament hath countenanced popery or papists, but have every where broken their temporal power, thrown down their public superstitions, and confined them to the bare enjoyment of that which is not in our reach, their consciences; if they have encouraged all true ministers of the gospel, that is to say, afforded them favour and protection in all places where they preached, and although they think not money or stipend to be the best encouragement of a true pastor, yet therein also have not been wanting nor intend to be, they doubt not then to affirm themselves, not the subverters, but the maintainers and defenders, of true religion; which of itself and by consequence is the surest and the strongest subversion, not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism. For "the weapons of that warfare," as the apostle testifies, who best knew, "are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, and all reasonings, and every high thing exalted against the knowledge of God, surprising every thought unto the obedience of Christ, and easily revenging all disobedience," 2 Cor. x. What minister or clergyman, that either understood his high calling, or sought not to erect a secular and carnal tyranny over spiritual things, would neglect this ample and sublime power conferred upon him, and come a begging to the weak hand of magistracy for that kind of aid which the magistrate hath no commission to afford him, and in the way he seeks it hath been always found helpless and unprofitable. Neither is it unknown, or by wisest men unobserved, that the church began then most apparently to degenerate, and go to ruin, when she borrowed of the civil power more than fair encouragement and protection; more than which Christ himself and his apostles never required. To say therefore, that we protect and invite all false religions, with irreligion also and atheism, because we lend not, or rather misapply not, the temporal power to help out, though in vain, the sloth, the spleen, the insufficiency of churchmen, in the execution of spiritual discipline over those within their charge, or those without, is an imputation that may be laid as well upon the best regulated states and governments through the world: who have been so prudent as never to employ the civil sword further than the edge of it could reach, that is, to civil offences only; proving always against objects that were spiritual a ridiculous weapon. Our protection therefore to men in civil matters unoffensive we cannot deny; their consciences we leave, as not within our cognizance, to the proper cure of instruction, praying for them. Nevertheless, if any be found among us declared atheists, malicious enemies of God, and of Christ; the parliament, I think, professes not to tolerate such, but with all befitting endeavours to suppress them. Otherways to protect none that in a larger way may be taxed of irreligion and atheism, may perhaps be the ready way to exclude none sooner out of protection, than those themselves that most accuse it to be so general to

others. Lastly, that we invite such as these, or encourage them, is a mere slander without proof.

He tells us next, that they have murdered the king. And they deny not to have justly and undauntedly, as became the parliament of England, for more bloodshed and other heinous crimes than ever king of this land was guilty of, after open trial, punished him with death. A matter, which to men, whose serious consideration thereof hath left no certain precept or example undebated, is so far from giving offence, that we implore and beseech the Divine Majesty so to uphold and support their spirits with like fortitude and magnanimity, that all their ensuing actions may correspond and prove worthy that impartial and noble piece of justice, wherein the hand of God appeared so evidently on our side. We shall not then need to fear, what all the rout and faction of men basely principled can do against us.

The end of our proceedings, which he takes upon him to have discovered, "the changing forsooth of monarchy into anarchy," sounds so like the smattering of some raw politician, and the overworn objection of every trivial talker, that we leave him in the number. But seeing in that which follows he contains not himself, but, contrary to what a gentleman should know of civility, proceeds to the contemptuous naming of a person, whose valour and high merit many enemies more noble than himself have both honoured and feared; to assert his good name and reputation, of whose service the commonwealth receives so ample satisfaction, it is answered in his behalf, that Cromwell, whom he couples with a name of scorn, hath done in few years more eminent and remarkable deeds, whereon to found nobility in his house, though it were wanting, and perpetual renown to posterity, than Ormond and all his ancestors put together can shew from any record of their Irish exploits, the widest scene of their glory.

He passes on his groundless objectures, that the aim of this parliament may be perhaps to set up first an elective kingdom, and after that a perfect Turkish tyranny. Of the former we suppose the late act against monarchy will suffice to acquit them. Of the latter certainly there needed no other pattern than that tyranny, which was so long modelling by the late king himself, with Strafford, and that archprelate of Canterbury, his chief instruments; whose designs God hath dissipated. Neither is it any new project of the monarchs, and their courtiers in these days, though Christians they would be thought, to endeavour the introducing of a plain Turkish tyranny. Witness that consultation had in the court of France under Charles the IXth at Blois, wherein Poncet, a certain court-projector, brought in secretly by the chancellor Biragha, after many praises of the Ottoman government, proposes means and ways at large, in presence of the king, the queen regent, and Anjou the king's brother, how with best expedition and least noise the Turkish tyranny might be set up in France. It appears therefore, that the design of bringing in that tyranny, is a monarchical design, and not of those who have dissolved monarchy.

As for parliaments by three estates, we know, that a parliament signifies no more than the supreme and general council of a nation, consisting of whomsoever chosen and assembled for the public good; which was ever practised, and in all sorts of government, before the word parliament, or the formality, or the possibility of those three estates, or such a thing as a titular monarchy, had either name or being in the world. The original of all which we could produce to be far newer than those "all ages" which he vaunts of, and by such first invented and contrived, whose authority, though it were Charles Martel, stands not so high in our repute, either for himself, or the age he lived in, but that with as good warrant we may recede from what he ordained, as he ordain what before was not.

But whereas besides he is bold to allege, that of the three estates there remains only a small number, and they the "dregs and scum of the house of commons;" this reproach, and in the mouth of an Irishman, concerns not them only; but redounds to apparent dishonour of the whole English nation. Doubtless there must be thought a great scarcity in England of persons honourable and deserving, or else of judgment, or so much as honesty in the people, if those, whom they esteem worthy to sit in parliament, be no better than scum and dregs in the Irish dialect. But of such like stuff we meet not any where with more excrescence than in his own lavish pen; which feeling itself loose without the reins of discretion, rambles for the most part beyond all soberness and civility. In which torrent he goes on negociating and cheapening the loyalty of our faithful governor of Dublin, as if the known and tried constancy of that valiant gentleman were to be bought with court fumes.

He lays before him, that "there remains now no other liberty in the subject, but to profess blasphemous opinions, to revile and tread under foot magistracy, to murder magistrates, to oppress and undo all that are not like-minded with us." Forgetting in the mean while himself to be in the head of a mixed rabble, part papists, part fugitives, and part savages, guilty in the highest degree of all these crimes. What more blasphemous, not opinion, but whole religion, than popery, plunged into idolatrous and ceremonial superstition, the very death of all true religion; figured to us by the Scripture itself in the shape of that beast, full of the names of blasphemy, which we mention to him as to one that would be counted protestant, and had his breeding in the house of a bishop? And who are those that have trod under foot magistracy, murdered magistrates, oppressed and undone all that sided not with them, but the Irish rebels, in that horrible conspiracy, for which Ormond himself hath either been or seemed to be their enemy, though now their ringleader? And let him ask the jesuits about him, whether it be not their known doctrine and also practice, not by fair and due process of justice to punish kings and magistrates, which we disavow not, but to murder them in the basest and most assassinous manner, if their church interest so require. There will not need more words to this windy railer, convicted openly of all those crimes,

which he so confidently, and yet falsely, charges upon others.

We have now to deal, though in the same country, with another sort of adversaries, in shew far different, in substance muchwhat the same. These write themselves the presbytery of Belfast, a place better known by the name of a late barony, than by the fame of these men's doctrine or ecclesiastical deeds: whose obscurity till now never came to our hearing. And surely we should think this their representment far beneath considerable, who have neglected and passed over the like unadvisedness of their fellows in other places more near us, were it not to observe in some particulars the sympathy, good intelligence, and joint pace which they go in the north of Ireland, with their copartning rebels in the south, driving on the same interest to lose us that kingdom, that they may gain it themselves, or at least share in the spoil: though the other be open enemies, these pretended brethren.

The introduction of their manifesto out of doubt must be zealous; "Their duty," they say, "to God and his people, over whom he hath made them overseers, and for whom they must give account." What mean these men? Is the presbytery of Belfast, a small town in Ulster, of so large extent, that their voices cannot serve to teach duties in the congregation which they oversee, without spreading and divulging to all parts, far beyond the diocess of Patrick or Columba, their written representation, under the subtle pretence of feeding their own flock? Or do they think to oversee, or undertake to give an account for, all to whom their paper sends greeting? St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus thinks it sufficient to give charge, "That they take heed to themselves, and to the flock over which they were made overseers," beyond those bounds he enlarges not their commission. And surely when we put down bishops and put up presbyters, which the most of them have made use of to enrich and exalt themselves, and turn the first heel against their benefactors, we did not think, that one classic fraternity, so obscure and so remote, should involve us and all state-affairs within the censure and jurisdiction of Belfast, upon pretence of overseeing their own charge.

We very well know, that church-censures are limited to church-matters, and these within the compass of their own province, or to say more truly, of their own congregation: that affairs of state are not for their meddling, as we could urge even from their own invectives and protestations against the bishops, wherein they tell them with much fervency, that ministers of the gospel, neither by that function, nor any other which they ought accept, have the least warrant to be pragmatical in the state.

And surely in vain were bishops for these and other causes forbid to sit and vote in the house, if these men out of the house, and without vote, shall claim and be permitted more licence on their presbyterial stools, to breed continual disturbance by interposing in the commonwealth. But seeing that now, since their heaving out the prelates to heave in themselves, they devise new ways to bring both ends together, which will never meet; that is to say, their former doctrine with their present doings, as "that they cannot else teach magistrates and subjects their duty, and that they have besides a right themselves to speak as members of the commonwealth:" let them know, that there is a wide difference between the general exhortation to justice and obedience, which in this point is the utmost of their duty, and the state-disputes wherein they are now grown such busy-bodies, to preach of titles, interests, and alterations in government: more than our Saviour himself, or any of his apostles, ever took upon them, though the title both of Cæsar and of Herod, and what they did in matters of state, might have then admitted controversy enough.

Next, for their civil capacities, we are sure, that pulpits and church-assemblies, whether classical or provincial, never were intended or allowed by wise magistrates, no, nor by him that sent them, to advance such purposes, but that as members of the commonwealth they ought to mix with other commoners, and in that temporal body to assume nothing above other private persons, or otherwise than in a usual and legal manner: not by distinct remonstrances and representments, as if they were a tribe and party by themselves, which is the next immediate way to make the church lift a horn against the state, and claim an absolute and undepending jurisdiction, as from like advantage and occasion (to the trouble of all christendom) the pope hath for many ages done; and not only our bishops were climbing after him, but our presbyters also, as by late experiment we find. Of this representation therefore we can esteem and judge no other than of a slanderous and seditious libel, sent abroad by a sort of incendiaries, to delude and make the better way under the cunning and plausible name of a presbytery.

A second reason of their representing is, "that they consider the dependance of that kingdom upon England," which is another shameless untruth that ever they considered; as their own actions will declare, by conniving, and in their silence partaking, with those in Ulster, whose obedience, by what we have yet heard, stands dubious, and with an eye of conformity rather to the north, than to that part where they owe their subjection; and this in all likelihood by the inducement and instigation of these representers: who are so far from considering their dependance on England, as to presume at every word to term proceedings of parliament, "the insolencies of a sectarian party, and of private men." Despising dominion, and speaking evil of dignities, which hypocritically they would seem to dissuade others from; and not fearing the due correction of their superiors, that may in fit season overtake them. Whenas the least consideration of their dependance on England, would have kept them better in their duty.

The third reason which they use makes against them; the remembrance how God punished the contempt of their warning last year upon the breakers of covenant, whenas the next year after they forget the warning of that punishment hanging over their own heads for the very same transgression, their manifest breach of cove-

nant by this seditious representation, accompanied with the doubtful obedience of that province which represents it.

And thus we have their preface supported with three reasons; two of them notorious falsities, and the third against themselves; and two examples, "the province of London, and the commissioners of the kirk-assembly." But certain, if canonical examples bind not, much less do apocryphal.

Proceeding to avouch the trust put upon them by God, which is plainly proved to be none of this nature, "they would not be looked upon as sowers of sedition, or authors of divisive motions; their record," they say, "is in heaven," and their truth and honesty no man knows where. For is not this a shameless hypocrisy, and of mere wolves in sheep's clothing, to sow sedition in the ears of all men, and to face us down to the very act, that they are authors of no such matter? But let the sequel both of their paper, and the obedience of the place wherein they are, determine.

Nay, while we are yet writing these things, and foretelling all men the rebellion, which was even then designed in the close purpose of these unhallowed priestlings, at the very time when with their lips they disclaimed all sowing of sedition, news is brought, and too true, that the Scottish inhabitants of that province are actually revolted, and have not only besieged in Londonderry those forces, which were to have fought against Ormond and the Irish rebels; but have in a manner declared with them, and begun open war against the parliament; and all this by the incitement and illusions of that unchristian synagogue at Belfast, who yet dare charge the parliament, "that, notwithstanding specious pretences, yet their actings do evidence, that they love a rough garment to deceive." The deceit we own not, but the comparison, by what at first sight may seem alluded, we accept: for that hairy roughness assumed won Jacob the birthright both temporal and eternal; and God we trust hath so disposed the mouth of these Balaams, that, coming to curse, they have stumbled into a kind of blessing, and compared our actings to the faithful act of that patriarch.

But if they mean, as more probably their meaning was, that "rough garment" spoken of Zach. xiii. 4, we may then behold the pitiful store of learning and theology, which these deceivers have thought sufficient to uphold their credit with the people, who, though the rancour that leavens them have somewhat quickened the common drawling of their pulpit elocution, yet for want of stock enough in scripture-phrase to serve the necessary uses of their malice, they are become so liberal, as to part freely with their own budge-gowns from off their backs, and bestow them on the magistrate as a rough garment to deceive; rather than not be furnished with a reproach, though never so improper, never so odious to be turned upon themselves. For but with half an eye cast upon that text, any man will soon discern that rough garment to be their own coat, their own livery, the very badge and cognizance of such false prophets as themselves, Who, when they understand, or ever seriously mind, the beginning of that 4th verse, may "be ashamed every one of his lying vision," and may justly fear that foregoing denouncement to such "as speak lies in the name of the Lord," verse 3, lurking under the rough garment of outward rigour and formality, whereby they cheat the simple. So that "this rough garment to deceive" we bring ye once again, grave sirs, into your own vestry; or with Zachary shall not think much to fit it to your own shoulders. To bestow aught in good earnest on the magistrate, we know your classic priestship is too gripple, for ye are always begging: and for this rough gown to deceive, we are confident ye cannot spare it; it is your Sunday's gown, your every day gown, your only gown, the gown of your faculty; your divining gown; to take it from ye were sacrilege. Wear it therefore, and possess it yourselves, most grave and reverend Carmelites, that all men, both young and old, as we hope they will shortly, may yet better know ye, and distinguish ye by it; and give to your rough gown, wherever they meet it, whether in pulpit, classis, or provincial synod, the precedency and the pre-eminence of deceiving.

They charge us next, that we have broken the covenant, and loaden it with slighting reproaches. For the reproaching, let them answer that are guilty, whereof the state we are sure cannot be accused. For the breaking, let us hear wherein. "In labouring," say they, "to establish by law a universal toleration of all religions." This touches not the state; for certainly were they so minded, they need not labour it, but do it, having power in their hands; and we know of no act as yet passed to that purpose. But suppose it done, wherein is the covenant broke? The covenant enjoins us to endeavour the extirpation first of popery and prelacy, then of heresy, schism, and profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. And this we cease not to do by all effectual and proper means: but these divines might know, that to extirpate all these things can be no work of the civil sword, but of the spiritual, which is the word of God.

No man well in his wits, endeavouring to root up weeds out of his ground, instead of using the spade will take a mallet or a beetle. Nor doth the covenant any way engage us to extirpate, or to prosecute the men, but the heresies and errours in them, which we tell these divines, and the rest that understand not, belongs chiefly to their own function, in the diligent preaching and insisting upon sound doctrine, in the confuting, not the railing down, errours, encountering both in public and private conference, and by the power of truth, not of persecution, subduing those authors of heretical opinions, and lastly in the spiritual execution of church-discipline within their own congregations. In all these ways we shall assist them, favour them, and as far as appertains to us join with them, and moreover not tolerate the free exercise of any religion, which shall be found absolutely contrary to sound doctrine or the power of godliness; for the conscience, we must have patience till it be within our

verge. And thus doing, we shall believe to have kept exactly all that is required from us by the covenant. Whilst they by their seditious practices against us, than which nothing for the present can add more assistance or advantage to those bloody rebels and papists in the south, will be found most pernicious covenant-breakers themselves, and as deep in that guilt, as those of their own nation the last year; the warning of whose ill success, like men hardened for the same judgment, they miserably pervert to an encouragement in the same offence, if not a far worse: for now they have joined interest with the Irish rebels, who have ever fought against the covenant, whereas their countrymen the year before made the covenant their plea. But as it is a peculiar mercy of God to his people, while they remain his, to preserve them from wicked considerations; so it is a mark and punishment of hypocrites, to be driven at length to mix their cause, and the interest of their covenant, with God's enemies.

And whereas they affirm, that the tolerating of all religions, in the manner that we tolerate them, is an innovation; we must acquaint them, that we are able to make it good, if need be, both by Scripture and the primitive fathers, and the frequent assertion of whole churches and protestant states in their remonstrances and expostulations against the popish tyranny over souls. And what force of argument do these doctors bring to the contrary? But we have long observed to what pass the bold ignorance and sloth of our clergy tends no less now than in the bishops' days, to make their bare sayings and censures authentic with the people, though destitute of any proof or argument. But thanks be to God, they are discerned.

Their next impeachment is, "that we oppose the presbyterial government, the hedge and bulwark of religion." Which all the land knows to be a most impudent falsehood, having established it with all freedom, wherever it hath been desired. Nevertheless, as we perceive it aspiring to be a compulsive power upon all without exception in parochial, classical, and provincial hierarchies, or to require the fleshly arm of magistracy in the execution of a spiritual discipline, to punish and amerce by any corporal infliction those whose consciences cannot be edified by what authority they are compelled, we hold it no more to be "the hedge and bulwark of religion," than the popish or prelatical courts, or the Spanish Inquisition.

But we are told, "we embrace paganism and Judaism in the arms of toleration." A most audacious calumny! And yet while we detest Judaism, we know ourselves commanded by St. Paul, Rom. xi. to respect the Jews, and by all means to endeavour their conversion.

Neither was it ever sworn in the covenant, to maintain an universal presbytery in England, as they falsely allege, but in Scotland against the common enemy, if our aid were called for: being left free to reform our own country according to the word of God, and the example of best reformed churches; from which rule we are not yet departed.

But here, utterly forgetting to be ministers of the gospel, they presume to open their mouths, not "in the spirit of meekness," as like dissemblers they pretend, but with as much devilish malice, impudence, and falsehood, as any Irish rebel could have uttered, and from a barbarous nook of Ireland brand us with the extirpation of laws and liberties; things which they seem as little to understand, as aught that belong to good letters or humanity.

"That we seized on the person of the king;" who was surrendered into our hands an enemy and captive by our own subordinate and paid army of Scots in England. Next, "our imprisoning many members of the house." As if it were impossible they should deserve it, conspiring and bandying against the public good; which to the other part appearing, and with the power they had, not resisting had been a manifest desertion of their trust and duty. No question but it is as good and necessary to expel rotten members out of the house, as to banish delinquents out of the land: and the reason holds as well in forty as in five. And if they be yet more, the more dangerous is their number. They had no privilege to sit there, and vote home the author, the impenitent author, of all our miseries, to freedom, honour, and royalty, for a few fraudulent, if not destructive, concessions. Which that they went about to do, how much more clear it was to all men, so much the more expedient and important to the commonwealth was their speedy seizure and exclusion; and no breach of any just privilege, but a breach of their knotted faction. And here they cry out, "an action without parallel in any age." So heartily we wish all men were unprejudiced in all our actions, as these illiterate denouncers never paralleled so much of any age as would contribute to the tithe of a century. "That we abolish parliamentary power, and establish a representative instead thereof." Now we have the height of them; these profound instructors, in the midst of their representation, would know the English of a representative, and were perhaps of that classis, who heretofore were as much staggered at triennial.

Their grand accusation is our justice done on the king, which that they may prove to be "without rule or example," they venture all the credit they have in divine and human history; and by the same desperate boldness detect themselves to be egregious liars and impostors, seeking to abuse the multitude with a shew of that gravity and learning, which never was their portion. Had their knowledge been equal to the knowledge of any stupid monk or abbot, they would have known at least, though ignorant of all things else, the life and acts of him, who first instituted their order: but these blockish presbyters of Clandeboy know not that John Knox, who was the first founder of presbytery in Scotland, taught professedly the doctrine of deposing and of killing kings. And thus while they deny that any such rule can be found, the rule is found in their own country, given them by their own first presbyterian institutor; and they themselves, like irregular friars walking contrary to the rule of their own foundation, deserve for so gross an ignorance and transgression to be disciplined upon their own stools. Or

had their reading in history been any, which by this we may be confident is none at all, or their malice not heightened to a blind rage, they never would so rashly have thrown the dice to a palpable discovery of their ignorance and want of shame. But wherefore spend we two such precious things as time and reason upon priests, the most prodigal misspenders of time, and the scarcest owners of reasons? It is sufficient we have published our defences, given reasons, given examples of our justice done; books also have been written to the same purpose for men to look on that will; that no nation under heaven but in one age or other hath done the like. The difference only is, which rather seems to us matter of glory, that they for the most part have without form of law done the deed by a kind of martial justice, we by the deliberate and well-weighed sentence of a legal judicature.

But they tell us, "it was against the interest and protestation of the kingdom of Scotland." And did exceeding well to join those two together: here by informing us what credit or regard need be given in England to a Scots protestation, ushered in by a Scots interest: certainly no more than we see is given in Scotland to an English declaration, declaring the interest of England. If then our interest move not them, why should theirs move us? If they say, we are not all England; we reply, they are not all Scotland: nay, were the last year so inconsiderable a part of Scotland, as were beholden to this which they now term the sectarian army, to defend and rescue them at the charges of England, from a stronger party of their own countrymen, in whose esteem they were no better than sectarians themselves. But they add, "it was against the former declarations of both kingdoms," to seize, or proceed against the king. We are certain, that no such declarations of both kingdoms, as derive not their full force from the sense and meaning of the covenant, can be produced.

And if they plead against the covenant, "to preserve and defend his person:" we ask them briefly, whether they take the covenant to be absolute or conditional? If absolute, then suppose the king to have committed all prodigious crimes and impieties against God, or nature, or whole nations, he must nevertheless be sacred from all violent touch. Which absurd opinion, how it can live in any man's reason, either natural or rectified, we much marvel: since God declared his anger as impetuous for the saving of King Benhadad, though surrendering himself at mercy, as for the killing of Naboth. If it be conditional, in the preservation and defence of religion, and the people's liberty, then certainly to take away his life, being dangerous, and pernicious to both these, was no more a breach of the covenant, than for the same reason at Edinburgh to behead Gordon the marquis of Huntley. By the same covenant we made vow to assist and defend all those, that should enter with us into this league; not absolutely, but in the maintenance and pursuing thereof. If therefore no man else was ever so mad, as to claim from hence an impunity from all justice, why should any for the king, whose life, by other articles of the same covenant, was forfeit? Nay if common sense had not led us to such a clear interpretation, the Scots commissioners themselves might boast to have been our first teachers: who, when they drew to the malignance which brought forth that perfidious last year's irruption against all the bands of covenant or Christian neighbourhood, making their hollow plea the defence of his majesty's person, they were constrained by their own guiltiness, to leave out that following morsel that would have choked them, "the preservation and defence of true religion and our liberties." And questionless in the preservation of these we are bound as well, both by the covenant, and before the covenant, to preserve and defend the person of any private man, as the person and authority of any inferior magistrate: so that this article, objected with such vehemence against us, contains not an exception of the king's person, and authority, to do by privilege what wickedness he list, and be defended as some fancy, but an express testification of our loyalty; and the plain words without wresting will bear as much, that we had no thoughts against his person, or just power, provided they might consist with the preservation and defence of true religion and our liberties. But to these how hazardous his life was, will be needless to repeat so often. It may suffice, that, while he was in custody, where we expected his repentance, his remorse at last, and compassion of all the innocent blood shed already, and hereafter likely to be shed, for his mere wilfulness, he made no other use of our continual forbearance, our humblest petitions and obtestations at his feet, but to sit contriving and fomenting new plots against us, and, as his own phrase was, "playing his own game" upon the miseries of his people: of which we desire no other view at present than these articles of peace with the rebels, and the rare game likely to ensue from such a cast of his cards. And then let men reflect a little upon the slanders and reviles of these wretched priests, and judge what modesty, what truth, what conscience, what any thing fit for ministers, or we might say reasonable men, can harbour in them. For what they began in shamelessness and malice, they conclude in frenzy: throwing out a sudden rhapsody of proverbs quite from the purpose; and with as much comeliness as when Saul prophesied. For casting off, as he did his garments, all modesty and meekness, wherewith the language of ministers ought to be clothed, especially to their supreme magistrate, they talk at random of "servants raging, servants riding, and wonder how the earth can bear them." Either these men imagine themselves to be marvellously high set and exalted in the chair of Belfast, to vouchsafe the parliament of England no better style than servants, or else their high notion, which we rather believe, falls as low as court-parasitism; supposing all men to be servants but the king. And then all their pains taken to seem so wise in proverbing serve but to conclude them downright slaves: and the edge of their own proverb falls reverse upon themselves. For as "delight is not seemly for fools," much less high words to come from base minds. What they are for ministers, or how they

crept into the fold, whether at the window, or through the wall, or who set them there so haughty in the pontifical see of Belfast, we know not. But this we rather have cause to wonder, if the earth can bear this insufferable insolency of upstarts; who, from a ground which is not their own, dare send such defiance to the sovereign magistracy of England, by whose authority and in whose right they inhabit there. By their actions we might rather judge them to be a generation of highland thieves and redshanks, who being neighbourly admitted, not as the Saxons by merit of their warfare against our enemies, but by the courtesy of England, to hold possessions in our province, a country better than their own, have, with worse faith than those heathen, proved ingrateful and treacherous guests to their best friends and entertainers. And let them take heed, lest while their silence as to these matters might have kept them blameless and secure under those proceedings which they so feared to partake in, that these their treasonous attempts and practices have not involved them in a far worse guilt of rebellion; and (notwithstanding that fair dehortatory from joining with malignants) in the appearance of a co-interest and partaking with the Irish rebels: against whom, though by themselves pronounced to be the enemies of God, they go not out to battle, as they ought, but rather by these their doings assist and become associates!

'ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

IN ANSWER TO A BOOK ENTITLED,

'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,

THE PORTRAITURE OF HIS MAJESTY IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

BY JOHN MILTON.

PUBLISHED FROM THE AUTHOR'S SECOND EDITION, PRINTED IN 1650,

WITH MANY ENLARGEMENTS,

BY RICHARD BARON.

WITH A PREFACE

SHEWING THE TRANSCENDENT EXCELLENCY OF MILTON'S PROSE WORKS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ORIGINAL LETTER TO MILTON, NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

> — — — Morpheus, on thy dewy wing
> Such fair auspicious visions bring,
> As sooth'd great MILTON'S injur'd age,
> When in prophetic dreams he saw
> The tribes unborn with pious awe
> Imbibe each virtue from his heavenly page.
>
> DR AKENSIDE.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

WHEN the last impression of Milton's prose works was committed to my care, I executed that trust with the greatest fidelity. Not satisfied with printing from any copy at hand, as editors are generally wont, my affection and zeal for the author induced me to compare every sentence, line by line, with the original edition of each treatise that I was able to obtain. Hence, errours innumerable of the former impression were corrected; besides what improvements were added from the author's second edition of The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, which Mr. Toland had either not seen, or had neglected to commit to the press.*

After I had endeavoured to do this justice to my favourite author, the last summer I discovered a second edition of his Eikonoklastes, with many large and curious additions, printed in the year 1650, which edition had escaped the notice both of Mr. Toland and myself.

In communicating this discovery to a few friends, I found that this edition was not unknown to some others, though from low and base motives secreted from the public. But I, who from my soul love liberty, and for that reason openly and boldly assert its principles at all times, resolved that the public should no longer be withheld from the possession of such a treasure.

I therefore now give a new impression of this work, with the additions and improvements made by the author; and I deem it a singular felicity, to be the instrument of restoring to my country so many excellent lines long lost,—and in danger of being for ever lost,—of a writer who is a lasting honour to our language and nation;—and of a work, wherein the principles of tyranny are confuted and overthrown, and all the arts and cunning of a great tyrant and his adherents detected and laid open.

The love of liberty is a public affection, of which those men must be altogether void, that can suppress or smother any thing written in its defence, and tending to serve its glorious cause. What signify professions, when the actions are opposite and contradictory? Could any high-churchman, any partizan of Charles I, have acted a worse, or a different part, than some pretended friends of liberty have done in this instance? Many high-

* Mr. Toland first collected and published the author's prose works in 3 vols. folio, 1697, or 1698: for which all lovers of liberty owe grateful praise to his name; but through hurry, or perhaps not having seen the different copies, he printed from the first edition of some tracts, which the author had afterwards published with considerable additions.

In 1738 Milton's prose works were again published in 2 vols folio; of which impression all I shall say is, that, no person being employed to inspect the press, the printer took the liberty to alter what he did not understand, and thereby defaced the author, and marred the beauty of many passages.

church priests and doctors have laid out considerable sums to destroy the prose works of Milton, and have purchased copies of his particular writings for the infernal pleasure of consuming them.* This practice, however detestable, was yet consistent with principle. But no apology can be made for men that espouse a cause, and at the same time conceal aught belonging to its support. Such men may tell us that they love liberty, but I tell them that they love their bellies, their ease, their pleasures, their profits, in the first place. A man that will not hazard all for liberty, is unworthy to be named among its votaries, unworthy to participate its blessings.

Many circumstances at present loudly call upon us to exert ourselves. Venality and corruption have well-nigh extinguished all principles of liberty. The bad books also, that this age hath produced, have ruined our youth. The novels and romances, which are eagerly purchased and read, emasculate the mind, and banish every thing grave and manly. One remedy for these evils is, to revive the reading of our old writers, of which we have good store, and the study whereof would fortify our youth against the blandishments of pleasure and the arts of corruption.

Milton in particular ought to be read and studied by all our young gentlemen as an oracle. He was a great and noble genius, perhaps the greatest that ever appeared among men; and his learning was equal to his genius. He had the highest sense of liberty, glorious thoughts, with a strong and nervous style. His works are full of wisdom, a treasure of knowledge. In them the divine, the statesman, the historian, the philologist, may be all instructed and entertained. It is to be lamented, that his divine writings are so little known. Very few are acquainted with them, many have never heard of them. The same is true with respect to another great writer contemporary with Milton, and an advocate for the same glorious cause; I mean Algernon Sydney, whose Discourses on Government are the most precious legacy to these nations.

All antiquity cannot shew two writers equal to these. They were both great masters of reason, both great masters of expression. They had the strongest thoughts, and the boldest images, and are the best models that can be followed. The style of Sydney is always clear and flowing, strong and masculine. The great Milton has a style of his own, one fit to express the astonishing sublimity of his thoughts, the mighty vigour of his spirit, and that copia of invention, that redundancy of imagination, which no writer before or since hath equalled. In some places, it is confessed, that his periods are too long, which renders him intricate, if not altogether unintelligible to vulgar readers; but these places are not many. In the book before us his style is for the most part free and easy, and it abounds both in eloquence, and wit and argument. I am of opinion, that the style of this work is the best and most perfect of all his prose writings. Other men have commended the style of his History as matchless and incomparable, whose malice could not see or would not acknowledge the excellency of his other works. It is no secret whence their aversion to Milton proceeds; and whence their caution of naming him as any other writer than a poet. Milton combated superstition and tyranny of every form, and in every degree. Against them he employed his mighty strength, and, like a battering ram, beat down all before him. But notwithstanding these mean arts, either to hide or to disparage him, a little time will make him better known; and the more he is known, the more he will be admired. His works are not like the fugitive short-lived things of this age, few of which survive their authors: they are substantial, durable, eternal writings; which will never die, never perish, whilst reason, truth, and liberty have a being in these nations.

Thus much I thought proper to say on occasion of this publication, wherein I have no resentment to gratify, no private interest to serve: all my aim is to strengthen and support that good old cause, which in my youth I embraced, and the principles whereof I will assert and maintain whilst I live.

The following letter to Milton, being very curious, and no where published perfect and entire, may be fitly preserved in this place.

A Letter from Mr. Wall to John Milton, Esquire.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours the day after you wrote, and do humbly thank you, that you are pleased to honour me with your letters. I confess I have (even in my privacy in the country) oft had thoughts of you, and that with much respect, for your friendliness to truth in your early years, and in bad times. But I was uncertain whether your relation to the court,† (though I think a commonwealth was more friendly to you than a court) had not clouded your former light, but your last book resolved that doubt. You complain of the non-proficiency of the nation, and of its retrograde motion of late, in liberty and spiritual truths. It is much to be bewailed; but yet let us pity human frailty. When those who made deep protestations of their zeal for our liberty both spiritual and civil, and made the fairest offers to be assertors thereof, and whom we thereupon trusted; when those, being instated in power, shall betray the good thing committed to them, and lead us back to Egypt, and by that force which we gave them to win us liberty hold us fast in chains; what can poor people do? You know who they were, that watched our Saviour's sepulchre to keep him from rising.‡

* This hath been practised with such zeal by many of that cursed tribe, that it is a wonder there are any copies left. John Swale, a bookseller of Leeds in Yorkshire, an honest man, though of high-church, told me, that he could have more money for burning Milton's Defence of Liberty and the People of England, than I would give for the purchase of it. Some priests in that neighbourhood used to meet once a year, and after they were well warmed with strong beer, they sacrificed to the flames the author's Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, as also this treatise against the ΕΙΚΩΝ. I have it in my power to produce more instances of the like sacerdotal spirit, with which in some future publication I may entertain the world.

† Milton was Latin Secretary.

‡ Soldiers; this is a severe insinuation against a standing army.

Besides, whilst people are not free, but straitened in accommodations for life, their spirits will be dejected and servile: and conducing to that end, there should be an improving of our native commodities, as our manufactures, our fishery, our fens, forests, and commons, and our trade at sea, &c. which would give the body of the nation a comfortable subsistence; and the breaking that cursed yoke of tithes would much help thereto.

Also another thing I cannot but mention, which is, that the Norman conquest and tyranny is continued upon the nation without any thought of removing it; I mean the tenure of lands by copy hold, and holding for life under a lord, or rather tyrant of a manor; whereby people care not to improve their land by cost upon it, not knowing how soon themselves or theirs may be outed it; nor what the house is in which they live, for the same reason: and they are far more enslaved to the lord of the manor, than the rest of the nation is to a king or supreme magistrate.

We have waited for liberty, but it must be God's work and not man's, who thinks it sweet to maintain his pride and worldly interest to the gratifying of the flesh, whatever becomes of the precious liberty of mankind.

But let us not despond, but do our duty; and God will carry on that blessed work in despite of all opposites, and to their ruin if they persist therein.

Sir, my humble request is, that you would proceed, and give us that other member of the distribution mentioned in your book; viz. that Hire doth greatly impede truth and liberty: it is like if you do, you shall find opposers: but remember that saying, Beatius est pati quam frui: or, in the apostle's words, James v. 11, We count them happy that endure.

I have sometimes thought (concurring with your assertion of that storied voice that should speak from heaven) when ecclesiastics were endowed with worldly preferments, hodie venenum infunditur in ecclesiam: for to use the speech of Genesis iv. ult. according to the sense which it hath in the Hebrew, then began men to corrupt the worship of God. I shall tell you a supposal of mine, which is this: Mr. Dury has bestowed about thirty years time in travel, conference, and writings, to reconcile Calvinists and Lutherans, and that with little or no success. But the shortest way were,—take away ecclesiastical dignities, honours, and preferments, on both sides, and all would soon be hushed; the ecclesiastics would be quiet, and then the people would come forth into truth and liberty. But I will not engage in this quarrel; yet I shall lay this engagement upon myself to remain

Your faithful friend and servant,

Causham, May 26, 1659. JOHN WALL.

From this letter the reader may see in what way wise and good men of that age employed themselves: in studying to remove every grievance, to break every yoke. And it is matter of astonishment, that this age, which boasts of greatest light and knowledge, should make no effort toward a reformation in things acknowledged to be wrong; but both in religion and in civil government be barbarian!

Below Blackheath,
June 20, 1756.

RICHARD BARON.

'ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

Prov xxviii 15. As a roaring lion and a raging bear, so is a wicked ruler over the poor people.
16. The prince that wanteth understanding, is also a great oppressor; but he that hateth covetousness, shall prolong his days.
17. A man that doth violence to the blood of any person, shall fly to the pit, let no man stay him.

SALLUST. CONJURAT CATILIN.

Regium imperium, quod initio, conservandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipublicæ causâ fuerat, in superbiam, dominationemque se convertit.
Regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.
Impunè quælibet facere, id est regem esse. IDEM, BELL JUGURTH.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

THE PREFACE.

To descant on the misfortunes of a person fallen from so high a dignity, who hath also paid his final debt both to nature and his faults, is neither of itself a thing commendable, nor the intention of this discourse. Neither was it fond ambition, nor the vanity to get a name, present or with posterity, by writing against a king. I never was so thirsty after fame, nor so destitute of other hopes and means, better and more certain to attain it: for kings have gained glorious titles from their favourers by writing against private men, as Henry VIIIth did against Luther; but no man ever gained much honour by writing against a king,

as not usually meeting with that force of argument in such courtly antagonists, which to convince might add to his reputation. Kings most commonly, though strong in legions, are but weak at arguments; as they who ever have accustomed from the cradle to use their will only as their right hand, their reason always as their left. Whence unexpectedly constrained to that kind of combat, they prove but weak and puny adversaries: nevertheless, for their sakes, who through custom, simplicity, or want of better teaching, have no more seriously considered kings, than in the gaudy name of majesty, and admire them and their doings as if they breathed not the same breath with other mortal men, I shall make no scruple to take up (for it seems to be the challenge both of him and all his party) to take up this gauntlet, though a king's, in the behalf of liberty and the commonwealth.

And further, since it appears manifestly the cunning drift of a factious and defeated party, to make the same advantage of his book, which they did before of his regal name and authority, and intend it not so much the defence of his former actions, as the promoting of their own future designs; (making thereby the book their own rather than the king's, as the benefit now must be their own more than his;) now the third time to corrupt and disorder the minds of weaker men, by new suggestions and narrations, either falsely or fallaciously representing the state of things to the dishonour of this present government, and the retarding of a general peace, so needful to this afflicted nation, and so nigh obtained; I suppose it no injury to the dead, but a good deed rather to the living, if by better information given them, or, which is enough, by only remembering them the truth of what they themselves know to be here misaffirmed, they may be kept from entering the third time unadvisedly into war and bloodshed: for as to any moment of solidity in the book itself, (save only that a king is said to be the author, a name, than which there needs no more among the blockish vulgar, to make it wise, and excellent, and admired, nay to set it next the Bible, though otherwise containing little else but the common grounds of tyranny and popery, dressed up the better to deceive, in a new protestant guise, trimly garnished over,) or as to any need of answering, in respect of staid and well-principled men, I take it on me as a work assigned rather, than by me chosen or affected: which was the cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leisurely in the midst of other employments and diversions. And though well it might have seemed in vain to write at all, considering the envy and almost infinite prejudice likely to be stirred up among the common sort, against whatever can be written or gainsaid to the king's book, so advantageous to a book it is only to be a king's; and though it be an irksome labour, to write with industry and judicious pains, that which, neither weighed nor well read, shall be judged without industry or the pains of well-judging, by faction and the easy literature of custom and opinion; it shall be ventured yet, and the truth not smothered, but sent abroad, in the native confidence of her single self, to earn, how she can, her entertainment in the world, and to find out her own readers: few perhaps, but those few, of such value and substantial worth, as truth and wisdom, not respecting numbers and big names, have been ever wont in all ages to be contented with. And if the late king had thought sufficient those answers and defences made for him in his lifetime, they who on the other side accused his evil government, judging that on their behalf enough also hath been replied, the heat of this controversy was in all likelihood drawing to an end; and the further mention of his deeds, not so much unfortunate as faulty, had in tenderness to his late sufferings been willingly forborn; and perhaps for the present age might have slept with him unrepeated, while his adversaries, calmed and assuaged with the success of their cause, had been the less unfavourable to his memory. But since he himself, making new appeal to truth and the world, hath left behind him this book, as the best advocate and interpreter of his own actions, and that his friends by publishing, dispersing, commending, and almost adoring it, seem to place therein the chief strength and nerves of their cause; it would argue doubtless in the other party great deficience and distrust of themselves, not to meet the force of his reason in any field whatsoever, the force and equipage of whose arms they have so often met victoriously: and he who at the bar stood excepting against the form and manner of his judicature, and complained that he was not heard; neither he nor his friends shall have that cause now to find fault, being met and debated with in this open and monumental court of his erecting; and not only heard uttering his whole mind at large, but answered: which to do effectually, if it be necessary, that to his book nothing the more respect be had for being his, they of his own party can have no just reason to exclaim. For it were too unreasonable that he, because dead, should have the liberty in his book to speak all evil of the parliament; and they because living, should be expected to have less freedom, or any for them, to speak home the plain truth of a full and pertinent reply. As he, to acquit himself, hath not spared his adversaries to load them with all sorts of blame and accusation, so to him, as in his book alive, there will be used no more courtship than he uses; but what is properly his own guilt, not imputed any more to his evil counsellors, (a ceremony used longer by the parliament than he himself desired,) shall be laid here without circumlocutions at his own door. That they who from the first beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappiness I know not, are so much affatuated, not with his person only, but with his palpable faults, and doat upon his deformities, may have none to blame but their own folly, if they live and die in such a strooken blindness, as next to that of Sodom hath not happened to any sort of men more gross, or more misleading. Yet neither let his enemies expect to find recorded here all that hath been whispered in the court, or alleged openly, of the king's bad actions; it being the proper scope of this work in hand, not to rip up and relate the misdoings of his whole life, but to answer only and refute the missayings of his book.

First, then, that some men (whether this were by him intended, or by his friends) have by policy accomplished after death that revenge upon their enemies, which in life they were not able, hath been oft related. And among other examples we find, that the last will of Cæsar being read to the people, and what bounteous legacies he had bequeathed them, wrought more in that vulgar audience to the avenging of his death, than all the art he could ever use to win their favour in his lifetime. And how much their intent, who published these overlate apologies and meditations of the dead king, drives to the same end of stirring up the people to bring him that honour, that affection, and by consequence that revenge to his dead corpse, which he himself living could never gain to his person, it appears both by the conceited portraiture before his book, drawn out to the full measure of a masking scene, and set there to catch fools and silly gazers; and by those Latin words after the end, Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt; intimating, that what he could not compass by war, he should achieve by his meditations: for in words which admit of various sense, the liberty is ours, to choose that interpretation, which may best mind us of what our restless enemies endeavour, and what we are timely to prevent. And here may be well observed the loose and negligent curiosity of those, who took upon them to adorn the setting out of this book; for though the picture set in front would martyr him and saint him to befool the people, yet the Latin motto in the end, which they understand not, leaves him, as it were, a politic contriver to bring about that interest, by fair and plausible words, which the force of arms denied him. But quaint emblems and devices, begged from the old pageantry of some twelfthnight's entertainment at Whitehall, will do but ill to make a saint or martyr: and if the people resolve to take him sainted at the rate of such a canonizing, I shall suspect their calendar more than the Gregorian. In one thing I must commend his openness, who gave the title to this book, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, that is to say, The King's Image; and by the shrine he dresses out for him, certainly would have the people come and worship him. For which reason this answer also is entitled, Iconoclastes, the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who in their zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of idolatry in the church, took courage and broke all superstitious images to pieces. But the people, exorbitant and excessive in all their motions, are prone ofttimes not to a religious only, but to a civil kind of idolatry, in idolizing their kings: though never more mistaken in the object of their worship; heretofore being wont to repute for saints those faithful and courageous barons, who lost their lives in the field, making glorious war against tyrants for the common liberty; as Simon de Momfort, earl of Leicester, against Henry the IIId; Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster, against Edward the IId. But now, with a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit, except some few who yet retain in them the old English fortitude and love of freedom, and have testified it by their matchless deeds, the rest, imbastardized from the ancient nobleness of their ancestors, are ready to fall flat and give adoration to the image and memory of this man, who hath offered at more cunning fetches to undermine our liberties, and put tyranny into an art, than any British king before him: which low dejection and debasement of mind in the people, I must confess, I cannot willingly ascribe to the natural disposition of an Englishman, but rather to two other causes; first, to the prelates and their fellow-teachers, though of another name and sect,* whose pulpit-stuff, both first and last, hath been the doctrine and perpetual infusion of servility and wretchedness to all their hearers, and whose lives the type of worldliness and hypocrisy, without the least true pattern of virtue, righteousness, or self-denial in their whole practice. I attribute it next to the factious inclination of most men divided from the public by several ends and humours of their own. At first no man less beloved, no man more generally condemned, than was the king; from the time that it became his custom to break parliaments at home, and either wilfully or weakly to betray protestants abroad, to the beginning of these combustions. All men inveighed against him; all men, except court-vassals, opposed him and his tyrannical proceedings; the cry was universal; and this full parliament was at first unanimous in their dislike and protestation against his evil government. But when they, who sought themselves and not the public, began to doubt, that all of them could not by one and the same way attain to their ambitious purposes, then was the king, or his name at least, as a fit property first made use of, his doings made the best of, and by degrees justified; which begot him such a party, as, after many wiles and strugglings with his inward fears, emboldened him at length to set up his standard against the parliament: whenas before that time, all his adherents, consisting most of dissolute swordsmen and suburb-roysters, hardly amounted to the making up of one ragged regiment strong enough to assault the unarmed house of commons. After which attempt, seconded by a tedious and bloody war on his subjects, wherein he hath so far exceeded those his arbitrary violences in time of peace, they who before hated him for his high misgovernment, nay fought against him with displayed banners in the field, now applaud him and extol him for the wisest and most religious prince that lived. By so strange a method amongst the mad multitude is a sudden reputation won, of wisdom by wilfulness and subtle shifts, of goodness by multiplying evil, of piety by endeavouring to root out true religion.

But it is evident that the chief of his adherents never loved him, never honoured either him or his cause, but as they took him to set a face upon their own malignant designs, nor bemoan his loss at all, but the loss of their own aspiring hopes: like those captive women, whom the poet notes in his Iliad, to have bewailed the death of Patroclus in outward show, but indeed their own condition.

Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε ἑκάστη.

Hom. Iliad. τ.

* The Presbyterians.

And it needs must be ridiculous to any judgment unenthralled, that they, who in other matters express so little fear either of God or man, should in this one particular outstrip all precisianism with their scruples and cases, and fill men's ears continually with the noise of their conscientious loyalty and allegiance to the king, rebels in the mean while to God in all their actions besides: much less that they, whose professed loyalty and allegiance led them to direct arms against the king's person, and thought him nothing violated by the sword of hostility drawn by them against him, should now in earnest think him violated by the unsparing sword of justice, which undoubtedly so much the less in vain she bears among men, by how much greater and in highest place the offender. Else justice, whether moral or political, were not justice, but a false counterfeit of that impartial and godlike virtue. The only grief is, that the head was not strook off to the best advantage and commodity of them that held it by the hair: an ingrateful and perverse generation, who having first cried to God to be delivered from their king, now murmur against God that heard their prayers, and cry as loud for their king against those that delivered them. But as to the author of these soliloquies, whether it were undoubtedly the late king, as is vulgarly believed, or any secret coadjutor, and some stick not to name him; it can add nothing, nor shall take from the weight, if any be, of reason which he brings. But allegations, not reasons, are the main contents of this book, and need no more than other contrary allegations to lay the question before all men in an even balance; though it were supposed, that the testimony of one man, in his own cause affirming, could be of any moment to bring in doubt the authority of a parliament denying. But if these his fairspoken words shall be here fairly confronted and laid parallel to his own far differing deeds, manifest and visible to the whole nation, then surely we may look on them who notwithstanding shall persist to give to bare words more credit than to open deeds, as men whose judgment was not rationally evinced and persuaded, but fatally stupified and bewitched into such a blind and obstinate belief: for whose cure it may be doubted, not whether any charm, though never so wisely murmured, but whether any prayer can be available. This however would be remembered and well noted, that while the king, instead of that repentance which was in reason and in conscience to be expected from him, without which we could not lawfully readmit him, persists here to maintain and justify the most apparent of his evil doings, and washes over with a court-fucus the worst and foulest of his actions, disables and uncreates the parliament itself, with all our laws and native liberties that ask not his leave, dishonours and attaints all protestant churches not prelatical, and what they piously reformed, with the slander of rebellion, sacrilege, and hypocrisy; they, who seemed of late to stand up hottest for the covenant, can now sit mute and much pleased to hear all these opprobrious things uttered against their faith, their freedom, and themselves in their own doings made traitors to boot: the divines, also, their wizards, can be so brazen as to cry Hosanna to this his book, which cries louder against them for no disciples of Christ, but of Iscariot; and to seem now convinced with these withered arguments and reasons here, the same which in some other writings of that party, and in his own former declarations and expresses, they have so often heretofore endeavoured to confute and to explode; none appearing all this while to vindicate church or state from these calumnies and reproaches but a small handful of men, whom they defame and spit at with all the odious names of schism and sectarism. I never knew that time in England, when men of truest religion were not counted sectaries: but wisdom now, valour, justice, constancy, prudence united and imbodied to defend religion and our liberties, both by word and deed, against tyranny, is counted schism and faction. Thus in a graceless age things of highest praise and imitation under a right name, to make them infamous and hateful to the people, are miscalled. Certainly, if ignorance and perverseness will needs be national and universal, then they who adhere to wisdom and to truth, are not therefore to be blamed, for being so few as to seem a sect or faction. But in my opinion it goes not ill with that people where these virtues grow so numerous and well joined together, as to resist and make head against the rage and torrent of that boisterous folly and superstition, that possesses and hurries on the vulgar sort. This therefore we may conclude to be a high honour done us from God, and a special mark of his favour, whom he hath selected as the sole remainder, after all these changes and commotions, to stand upright and stedfast in his cause; dignified with the defence of truth and public liberty; while others, who aspired to be the top of zealots, and had almost brought religion to a kind of trading monopoly, have not only by their late silence and neutrality belied their profession, but foundered themselves and their consciences, to comply with enemies in that wicked cause and interest, which they have too often cursed in others, to prosper now in the same themselves.

I. *Upon the king's calling this last parliament.*

That which the king lays down here as his first foundation, and as it were the head stone of his whole structure, that "he called this last parliament, not more by others' advice, and the necessity of his affairs, than by his own choice and inclination;" is to all knowing men so apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauspicious sentence, and more betokening the downfal of his whole fabric, hardly could have come into his mind. For who knows not, that the inclination of a prince is best known either by those next about him, and most in favour with him, or by the current of his own actions? Those nearest to this king, and most his favourites, were courtiers and prelates; men whose chief study was to find out which way the

* The author adds in the first edition, which observation, though made by a common enemy, may for the truth of it hereafter become a proverb.

king inclined, and to imitate him exactly: how these men stood affected to parliaments cannot be forgotten. No man but may remember, it was their continual exercise to dispute and preach against them; and in their common discourse nothing was more frequent, than that "they hoped the king should now have no need of parliaments any more." And this was but the copy, which his parasites had industriously taken from his own words and actions, who never called a parliament but to supply his necessities; and having supplied those, as suddenly and ignominiously dissolved it, without redressing any one grievance of the people: sometimes choosing rather to miss of his subsidies, or to raise them by illegal courses, than that the people should not still miss of their hopes to be relieved by parliaments.

The first he broke off at his coming to the crown, for no other cause than to protect the duke of Buckingham against them who had accused him, besides other heinous crimes, of no less than poisoning the deceased king his father; concerning which matter the declaration of No more addresses hath sufficiently informed us. And still the latter breaking was with more affront and indignity put upon the house and her worthiest members, than the former. Insomuch that in the fifth year of his reign, in a proclamation he seems offended at the very rumour of a parliament divulged among the people; as if he had taken it for a kind of slander, that men should think him that way exorable, much less inclined: and forbids it as a presumption, to prescribe him any time for parliaments; that is to say, either by persuasion or petition, or so much as the reporting of such a rumour: for other manner of prescribing was at that time not suspected. By which fierce edict, the people, forbidden to complain, as well as forced to suffer, began from thenceforth to despair of parliaments. Whereupon such illegal actions, and especially to get vast sums of money, were put in practice by the king and his new officers, as monopolies, compulsive knighthoods, coat, conduct, and ship-money, the seizing not of one Naboth's vineyard, but of whole inheritances, under the pretence of forest or crown-lands; corruption and bribery compounded for, with impunities granted for the future, as gave evident proof, that the king never meant, nor could it stand with the reason of his affairs, ever to recall parliaments: having brought by these irregular courses the people's interest and his own to so direct an opposition, that he might foresee plainly, if nothing but a parliament could save the people, it must necessarily be his undoing.

Till eight or nine years after, proceeding with a high hand in these enormities, and having the second time levied an injurious war against his native country Scotland; and finding all those other shifts of raising money, which bore out his first expedition, now to fail him, not "of his own choice and inclination," as any child may see, but urged by strong necessities, and the very pangs of state, which his own violent proceedings had brought him to, he calls a parliament; first in Ireland, which only was to give him four subsidies and so to expire; then in England, where his first demand was but twelve subsidies to maintain a Scots war, condemned and abominated by the whole kingdom: promising their grievances should be considered afterwards. Which when the parliament, who judged that war itself one of their main grievances, made no haste to grant, not enduring the delay of his impatient will, or else fearing the conditions of their grant, he breaks off the whole session, and dismisses them and their grievances with scorn and frustration.

Much less therefore did he call this last parliament by his own choice and inclination; but having first tried in vain all undue ways to procure money, his army of their own accord being beaten in the north, the lords petitioning, and the general voice of the people almost hissing him and his ill acted regality off the stage, compelled at length both by his wants and by his fears, upon mere extremity he summoned this last parliament. And how is it possible, that he should willingly incline to parliaments, who never was perceived to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole national bribe, his subsidies; and never loved, never fulfilled, never promoted the true end of parliaments, the redress of grievances; but still put them off, and prolonged them, whether gratified or not gratified; and was indeed the author of all those grievances? To say therefore, that he called this parliament of his own choice and inclination, argues how little truth we can expect from the sequel of this book, which ventures in the very first period to affront more than one nation with an untruth so remarkable; and presumes a more implicit faith in the people of England, than the pope ever commanded from the Romish laity; or else a natural sottishness fit to be abused and ridden: while in the judgment of wise men, by laying the foundation of his defence on the avouchment of that which is so manifestly untrue, he hath given a worse soil to his own cause, than when his whole forces were at any time overthrown. They therefore, who think such great service done to the king's affairs in publishing this book, will find themselves in the end mistaken; if sense and right mind, or but any mediocrity of knowledge and remembrance, hath not quite forsaken men.

But to prove his inclination to parliaments, he affirms here, "to have always thought the right way of them most safe for his crown, and best pleasing to his people." What he thought, we know not, but that he ever took the contrary way, we saw; and from his own actions we felt long ago what he thought of parliaments or of pleasing his people: a surer evidence than what we hear now too late in words.

He alleges, that "the cause of forbearing to convene parliaments was the sparks, which some men's distempers there studied to kindle." They were indeed not tempered to his temper; for it neither was the law, nor the rule, by which all other tempers were to be tried; but they were esteemed and chosen for the fittest men, in their several counties, to allay and quench those distempers, which his own inordinate doings had inflamed. And if that were his refusing to convene, till those men had been qualified to his temper,

that is to say, his will, we may easily conjecture what hope there was of parliaments, had not fear and his *insatiate poverty, in the midst of his excessive wealth, constrained him.*

"He hoped by his freedom and their moderation to prevent misunderstandings." And wherefore not by their freedom and his moderation? But freedom he thought too high a word for them, and moderation too mean a word for himself: this was not the way to prevent misunderstandings. He still "feared passion and prejudice in other men;" not in himself: "and doubted not by the weight of his" own "reason, to counterpoise any faction;" it being so easy for him, and so frequent, to call his obstinacy reason, and other men's reason, faction. We in the mean while must believe that wisdom and all reason came to him by title with his crown; passion, prejudice, and faction came to others by being subjects.

"He was sorry to hear, with what popular heat elections were carried in many places." Sorry rather, that court-letters and intimations prevailed no more, to divert or to deter the people from their free election of those men, whom they thought best affected to religion and their country's liberty, both at that time in danger to be lost. And such men they were, as by the kingdom were sent to advise him, not sent to be cavilled at, because elected, or to be entertained by him with an undervalue and misprision of their temper, judgment, or affection. In vain was a parliament thought fittest by the known laws of our nation, to advise and regulate unruly kings, if they, instead of hearkening to advice, should be permitted to turn it off, and refuse it by vilifying and traducing their advisers, or by accusing of a popular heat those that lawfully elected them.

"His own and his children's interest obliged him to seek, and to preserve the love and welfare of his subjects." Who doubts it? But the same interest, common to all kings, was never yet available to make them all seek that, which was indeed best for themselves and their posterity. All men by their own and their children's interest are obliged to honesty and justice: but how little that consideration works in private men, how much less in kings, their deeds declare best.

"He intended to oblige both friends and enemies, and to exceed their desires, did they but pretend to any modest and sober sense;" mistaking the whole business of a parliament; which met not to receive from him obligations, but justice; nor he to expect from them their modesty, but their grave advice, uttered with freedom in the public cause. His talk of modesty in their desires of the common welfare argues him not much to have understood what he had to grant, who misconceived so much the nature of what they had to desire. And for "sober sense," the expression was too mean, and recoils with as much dishonour upon himself, to be a king where sober sense could possibly be so wanting in a parliament.

"The odium and offences, which some men's rigour, or remissness in church and state, had contracted upon his government, he resolved to have expiated with better laws and regulations." And yet the worst of misdemeanors committed by the worst of all his favourites in the height of their dominion, whether acts *of rigour or remissness, he hath from time to time continued*, owned, and taken upon himself by public declarations, as often as the clergy, or any other of his instruments, felt themselves overburdened with the people's hatred. And who knows not the superstitious rigour of his Sunday's chapel, and the licentious remissness of his Sunday's theatre; accompanied with that reverend statute for dominical jigs and maypoles, published in his own name, and derived from the example of his father James? Which testifies all that rigour in superstition, all that remissness in religion, to have issued out originally from his own house, and from his own authority. Much rather then may those general miscarriages in state, his proper sphere, be imputed to no other person chiefly than to himself. And which of all those oppressive acts or impositions did he ever disclaim or disavow, till the fatal awe of this parliament hung ominously over him? Yet here he smoothly seeks to wipe off all the envy of his evil government upon his substitutes and under-officers; and promises, though much too late, what wonders he purposed to have done in the reforming of religion: a work wherein all his undertakings heretofore declared him to have had little or no judgment: neither could his breeding, or his course of life, acquaint him with a thing so spiritual. Which may well assure us what kind of reformation we could expect from him; either some politic form of an imposed religion, or else perpetual vexation and persecution to all those that complied not with such a form. The like amendment he promises in state; not a step further "than his reason and conscience told him was fit to be desired;" wishing "he had kept within those bounds, and not suffered his own judgment to have been overborne in some things," of which things one was the earl of Strafford's execution. And what signifies all this, but that still his resolution was the same, to set up an arbitrary government of his own, and that all Britain was to be tied and chained to the conscience, judgment, and reason of one man; as if those gifts had been only his peculiar and prerogative, entailed upon him with his fortune to be a king? Whenas doubtless no man so obstinate, or so much a tyrant, but professes to be guided by that which he calls his reason and his judgment, though never so corrupted; and pretends also his conscience. In the mean while, for any parliament or the whole nation to have either reason, judgment, or conscience, by this rule was altogether in vain, if it thwarted the king's will; which was easy for him to call by any other plausible name. He himself hath many times acknowledged, to have no right over us but by law; and by the same law to govern us: but law in a free nation hath been ever public reason, the enacted reason of a parliament; which he denying to enact, denies to govern us by that which ought to be our law; interposing his own private reason, which to us is no law. And thus we find these fair and spacious promises, made upon the experience of many hard sufferings, and his most mortified

retirements, being thoroughly sifted to contain nothing in them much different from his former practices, so cross, and so reverse to all his parliaments, and both the nations of this island. What fruits they could in likelihood have produced in his restorement, is obvious to any prudent foresight.

And this is the substance of his first section, till we come to the devout of it, modelled into the form of a private psalter. Which they who so much admire, either for the matter or the manner, may as well admire the archbishop's late breviary, and many other as good manuals and handmaids of Devotion, the lip-work of every prelatical liturgist, clapped together and quilted out of Scripture phrase, with as much ease, and as little need of Christian diligence or judgment, as belongs to the compiling of any ordinary and saleable piece of English divinity, that the shops value. But he who from such a kind of psalmistry, or any other verbal devotion, without the pledge and earnest of suitable deeds, can be persuaded of a zeal and true righteousness in the person, hath much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepest policy of a tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit religious. And Aristotle in his Politics hath mentioned that special craft among twelve other tyrannical sophisms. Neither want we examples: Andronicus Commenus the Byzantine emperor, though a most cruel tyrant, is reported by Nicetas, to have been a constant reader of Saint Paul's epistles; and by continual study had so incorporated the phrase and style of that transcendant apostle into all his familiar letters, that the imitation seemed to vie with the original. Yet this availed not to deceive the people of that empire, who, notwithstanding his saint's vizard, tore him to pieces for his tyranny. From stories of this nature both ancient and modern which abound, the poets also, and some English, have been in this point so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closet companion of these his solitudes, William Shakspeare; who introduces the person of Richard the third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage of this book, and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place; "I intended," saith he, "not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies." The like saith Richard, Act II. Scene 1.

> "I do not know that Englishman alive,
> With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
> More than the infant that is born to night;
> I thank my God for my humility."

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the whole tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of religion.

In praying therefore, and in the outward work of devotion, this king we see hath not at all exceeded the worst of kings before him. But herein the worst of kings, professing Christianism, have by far exceeded him. They, for aught we know, have still prayed their own, or at least borrowed from fit authors. But this king, not content with that which, although in a thing holy, is no holy theft, to attribute to his own making other men's whole prayers, hath as it were unhallowed and unchristened the very duty of prayer itself, by borrowing to a christian use prayers offered to a heathen god. Who would have imagined so little fear in him of the true all-seeing Deity, so little reverence of the Holy Ghost, whose office is to dictate and present our christian prayers, so little care of truth in his last words, or honour to himself, or to his friends, or sense of his afflictions, or of that sad hour which was upon him, as immediately before his death to pop into the hand of that grave bishop who attended him, for a special relique of his saintly exercises, a prayer stolen word for word from the mouth of a heathen woman * praying to a heathen god; and that in no serious book, but the vain amatorious poem of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia; a book in that kind full of worth and wit, but among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be named; nor to be read at any time without good caution, much less in time of trouble and affliction to be a Christian's prayer-book? They who are yet incredulous of what I tell them for a truth, that this philippic prayer is no part of the king's goods, may satisfy their own eyes at leisure, in the 3d book of Sir Philip's Arcadia, p. 248, comparing Pamela's prayer with the first prayer of his majesty, delivered to Dr. Juxton immediately before his death, and entitled a Prayer in time of Captivity, printed in all the best editions of his book. And since there be a crew of lurking railers, who in their libels, and their fits of railing up and down, as I hear from others, take it so currishly, that I should dare to tell abroad the secrets of their Ægyptian Apis; to gratify their gall in some measure yet more, which to them will be a kind of alms, (for it is the weekly vomit of their gall which to most of them is the sole means of their feeding,) that they may not starve for me, I shall gorge them once more with this digression somewhat larger than before: nothing troubled or offended at the working upward of their sale-venom thereupon, though it happen to asperse me; being, it seems, their best livelihood, and the only use or good digestion that their sick and perishing minds can make of truth charitably told them. However, to the benefit of others much more worth the gaining, I shall proceed in my assertion; that if only but to taste wittingly of meat or drink offered to an idol, be in the doctrine of St. Paul judged a pollution, much more must be his sin who takes a prayer so dedicated into his mouth, and offers it to God. Yet hardly it can be thought upon (though how sad a thing!) without some kind of laughter at the manner and solemn transaction of so gross a cosenage, that he, who had trampled over us so stately and so tragically, should leave the world at last so ridiculously in his exit, as to bequeath among his deifying friends that stood about him such a pre-

* The second edition for woman, has fiction

cious piece of mockery to be published by them, as must needs cover both his and their heads with shame, if they have any left. Certainly they that will may now see at length how much they were deceived in him, and were ever like to be hereafter, who cared not, so near the minute of his death, to deceive his best and dearest friends with the trumpery of such a prayer, not more secretly than shamefully purloined; yet given them as the royal issue of his own proper zeal. And sure it was the hand of God to let them fall, and be taken in such a foolish trap, as hath exposed them to all derision; if for nothing else, to throw contempt and disgrace in the sight of all men, upon this his idolized book, and the whole rosary of his prayers; thereby testifying how little he accepted them from those, who thought no better of the living God than of a buzzard idol, fit to be so served and worshipped in reversion, with the polluted orts and refuse of Arcadias and romances, without being able to discern the affront rather than the worship of such an ethnic prayer. But leaving what might justly be offensive to God, it was a trespass also more than usual against human right, which commands, that every author should have the property of his own work reserved to him after death, as well as living. Many princes have been rigorous in laying taxes on their subjects by the head, but of any king heretofore that made a levy upon their wit, and seized it as his own legitimate, I have not whom beside to instance. True it is, I looked rather to have found him gleaning out of books written purposely to help devotion. And if in likelihood he have borrowed much more out of prayerbooks than out of pastorals, then are these painted feathers, that set him off so gay among the people, to be thought few or none of them his own. But if from his divines he have borrowed nothing, nothing out of all the magazine, and the rheum of their mellifluous prayers and meditations, let them who now mourn for him as for Tamuz, them who howl in their pulpits, and by their howling declare themselves right wolves, remember and consider in the midst of their hideous faces, when they do only not cut their flesh for him like those rueful priests whom Elijah mocked; that he who was once their Ahab, now their Josiah, though feigning outwardly to reverence churchmen, yet here hath so extremely set at naught both them and their praying faculty, that being at a loss himself what to pray in captivity, he consulted neither with the liturgy, nor with the directory, but neglecting the huge fardell of all their honeycomb devotions, went directly where he doubted not to find better praying to his mind with Pamela, in the Countess's Arcadia. What greater argument of disgrace and ignominy could have been thrown with cunning upon the whole clergy, than that the king, among all his priestery, and all those numberless volumes of their theological distillations, not meeting with one man or book of that coat that could befriend him with a prayer in captivity, was forced to rob Sir Philip and his captive shepherdess of their heathen orisons, to supply in any fashion his miserable indigence, not of bread, but of a single prayer to God? I say therefore not of bread, for that want may befal a good man, and yet not make him totally miserable: but he who wants a prayer to beseech God in his necessity, it is inexpressible how poor he is; far poorer within himself than all his enemies can make him. And the unfitness, the indecency of that pitiful supply which he sought, expresses yet further the deepness of his poverty.

Thus much be said in general to his prayers, and in special to that Arcadian prayer used in his captivity; enough to undeceive us what esteem we are to set upon the rest.

For he certainly, whose mind could serve him to seek a christian prayer out of a pagan legend, and assume it for his own, might gather up the rest God knows from whence; one perhaps out of the French Astræa, another out of the Spanish Diana; Amadis and Palmerin could hardly scape him. Such a person we may be sure had it not in him to make a prayer of his own, or at least would excuse himself the pains and cost of his invention so long as such sweet rhapsodies of heathenism and knight-errantry could yield him prayers. How dishonourable then, and how unworthy of a christian king, were these ignoble shifts to seem holy, and to get a saintship among the ignorant and wretched people; to draw them by this deception, worse than all his former injuries, to go a whoring after him? And how unhappy, how forsook of grace, and unbeloved of God that people, who resolve to know no more of piety or of goodness, than to account him their chief saint and martyr, whose bankrupt devotion came not honestly by his very prayers; but having sharked them from the mouth of a heathen worshipper, (detestable to teach him prayers!) sold them to those that stood and honoured him next to the Messiah, as his own heavenly compositions in adversity, for hopes no less vain and presumptuous (and death at that time so imminent upon him) than by these goodly relics to be held a saint and martyr in opinion with the cheated people!

And thus far in the whole chapter we have seen and considered, and it cannot but be clear to all men, how, and for what ends, what concernments and necessities, the late king was no way induced, but every way constrained, to call this last parliament; yet here in his first prayer he trembles not to avouch as in the ears of God, "That he did it with an upright intention to his glory, and his people's good:" of which dreadful attestation, how sincerely meant, God, to whom it was avowed, can only judge; and he hath judged already, and hath written his impartial sentence in characters legible to all christendom; and besides hath taught us, that there be some, whom he hath given over to delusion, whose very mind and conscience is defiled; of whom St. Paul to Titus makes mention.

II. *Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death.*

This next chapter is a penitent confession of the king, and the strangest, if it be well weighed, that ever was auricular. For he repents here of giving his con-

sent, though most unwillingly, to the most seasonable and solemn piece of justice, that had been done of many years in the land: but his sole conscience thought the contrary. And thus was the welfare, the safety, and within a little, the unanimous demand of three populous nations, to have attended still on the singularity of one man's opinionated conscience; if men had always been so tame and spiritless, and had not unexpectedly found the grace to understand, that, if his conscience were so narrow and peculiar to itself, it was not fit his authority should be so ample and universal over others: for certainly a private conscience sorts not with a public calling, but declares that person rather meant by nature for a private fortune. And this also we may take for truth, that he, whose conscience thinks it sin to put to death a capital offender, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a righteous person. But let us hear what the sin was, that lay so sore upon him, and, as one of his prayers given to Dr. Juxton testifies, to the very day of his death; it was his signing the bill of Strafford's execution; a man whom all men looked upon as one of the boldest and most impetuous instruments that the king had, to advance any violent or illegal design. He had ruled Ireland, and some parts of England, in an arbitrary manner; had endeavoured to subvert fundamental laws, to subvert parliaments, and to incense the king against them; he had also endeavoured to make hostility between England and Scotland: he had counselled the king, to call over that Irish army of papists, which he had cunningly raised, to reduce England, as appeared by good testimony then present at the consultation: for which, and many other crimes alleged and proved against him in twenty-eight articles, he was condemned of high treason by the parliament. The commons by far the greater number cast him: the lords, after they had been satisfied in a full discourse by the king's solicitor, and the opinions of many judges delivered in their house, agreed likewise to the sentence of treason. The people universally cried out for justice. None were his friends but courtiers and clergymen, the worst at that time, and most corrupted sort of men; and court ladies, not the best of women; who, when they grow to that insolence as to appear active in state-affairs, are the certain sign of a dissolute, degenerate, and pusillanimous commonwealth. Last of all the king, or rather first, for these were but his apes, was not satisfied in conscience to condemn him of high treason; and declared to both houses, "that no fears or respects whatsoever should make him alter that resolution founded upon his conscience:" either then his resolution was indeed not founded upon his conscience, or his conscience received better information, or else both his conscience and this his strong resolution strook sail, notwithstanding these glorious words, to his stronger fear; for within a few days after, when the judges at a privy council and four of his elected bishops had picked the thorn out of his conscience, he was at length persuaded to sign the bill for Strafford's execution. And yet perhaps, that it wrung his conscience to condemn the earl of high treason is not unlikely; not because he thought him guiltless of highest treason, had half those crimes been committed against his own private interest or person, as appeared plainly by his charge against the six members; but because he knew himself a principal in what the earl was but his accessory, and thought nothing treason against the commonwealth, but against himself only.

Had he really scrupled to sentence that for treason, which he thought not treasonable, why did he seem resolved by the judges and the bishops? and if by them resolved, how comes the scruple here again? It was not then, as he now pretends, "the importunities of some, and the fear of many," which made him sign, but the satisfaction given him by those judges and ghostly fathers of his own choosing. Which of him shall we believe? for he seems not one, but double; either here we must not believe him professing that his satisfaction was but seemingly received and out of fear, or else we may as well believe that the scruple was no real scruple, as we can believe him here against himself before, that the satisfaction then received was no real satisfaction. Of such a variable and fleeting conscience what hold can be taken? But that indeed it was a facil conscience, and could dissemble satisfaction when it pleased, his own ensuing actions declared; being soon after found to have the chief hand in a most detested conspiracy against the parliament and kingdom, as by letters and examinations of Percy, Goring, and other conspirators came to light; that his intention was to rescue the earl of Strafford, by seizing on the Tower of London; to bring up the English army out of the North, joined with eight thousand Irish papists raised by Strafford, and a French army to be landed at Portsmouth, against the parliament and their friends. For which purpose the king, though requested by both houses to disband those Irish papists, refused to do it, and kept them still in arms to his own purposes. No marvel then, if, being as deeply criminous as the earl himself, it stung his conscience to adjudge to death those misdeeds, whereof himself had been the chief author: no marvel though instead of blaming and detesting his ambition, his evil counsel, his violence, and oppression of the people, he fall to praise his great abilities; and with scholastic flourishes beneath the decency of a king, compares him to the sun, which in all figurative use and significance bears allusion to a king, not to a subject: no marvel though he knit contradictions as close as words can lie together, "not approving in his judgment," and yet approving in his subsequent reason all that Strafford did, as "driven by the necessity of times, and the temper of that people;" for this excuses all his misdemeanors. Lastly, no marvel that he goes on building many fair and pious conclusions upon false and wicked premises, which deceive the common reader, not well discerning the antipathy of such connexions: but this is the marvel, and may be the astonishment, of all that have a conscience, how he durst in the sight of God (and with the same words of contrition wherewith David repents the murdering of Uriah) repent his lawful compliance to that just act of not saving him, whom he ought to have delivered up

to speedy punishment; though himself the guiltier of the two. If the deed were so sinful, to have put to death so great a malefactor, it would have taken much doubtless from the heaviness of his sin, to have told God in his confession, how he laboured, what dark plots he had contrived, into what a league entered, and with what conspirators, against his parliament and kingdoms, to have rescued from the claim of justice so notable and so dear an instrument of tyranny; which would have been a story, no doubt, as pleasing in the ears of Heaven, as all these equivocal repentances. For it was fear, and nothing else, which made him feign before both the scruple and the satisfaction of his conscience, that is to say, of his mind: his first fear pretended conscience, that he might be borne with to refuse signing; his latter fear, being more urgent, made him find a conscience both to sign, and to be satisfied. As for repentance, it came not on him till a long time after; when he saw "he could have suffered nothing more, though he had denied that bill." For how could he understandingly repent of letting that be treason, which the parliament and whole nation so judged? This was that which repented him, to have given up to just punishment so stout a champion of his designs, who might have been so useful to him in his following civil broils. It was a worldly repentance, not a conscientious; or else it was a strange tyranny, which his conscience had got over him, to vex him like an evil spirit for doing one act of justice, and by that means to "fortify his resolution" from ever doing so any more. That mind must needs be irrecoverably depraved, which, either by chance or importunity, tasting but once of one just deed, spatters at it, and abhors the relish ever after. To the scribes and Pharisees wo was denounced by our Saviour, for straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, though a gnat were to be strained at: but to a conscience with whom one good deed is so hard to pass down as to endanger almost a choking, and bad deeds without number, though as big and bulky as the ruin of three kingdoms, go down currently without straining, certainly a far greater wo appertains. If his conscience were come to that unnatural dyscrasy, as to digest poison and to keck at wholesome food, it was not for the parliament, or any of his kingdoms, to feed with him any longer. Which to conceal he would persuade us, that the parliament also in their conscience escaped not "some touches of remorse" for putting Strafford to death, in forbidding it by an after-act to be a precedent for the future. But, in a fairer construction, that act implied rather a desire in them to pacify the king's mind, whom they perceived by this means quite alienated: in the mean while not imagining that this after-act should be retorted on them to tie up justice for the time to come upon like occasion, whether this were made a precedent or not, no more than the want of such a precedent, if it had been wanting, had been available to hinder this.

But how likely is it, that this after-act argued in the parliament their least repenting for the death of Strafford, when it argued so little in the king himself: who, notwithstanding this after-act, which had his own hand and concurrence, if not his own instigation, within the same year accused of high treason no less than six members at once for the same pretended crimes, which his conscience would not yield to think treasonable in the earl: so that this his subtle argument to fasten a repenting, and by that means a guiltiness of Strafford's death upon the parliament, concludes upon his own head; and shews us plainly, that either nothing in his judgment was treason against the commonwealth, but only against the king's person; (a tyrannical principle!) or that his conscience was a perverse and prevaricating conscience, to scruple that the commonwealth should punish for treasonous in one eminent offender that which he himself sought so vehemently to have punished in six guiltless persons. If this were "that touch of conscience, which he bore with greater regret" than for any sin committed in his life, whether it were that proditory aid sent to Rochel and religion abroad, or that prodigality of shedding blood at home, to a million of his subjects' lives not valued in comparison to one Strafford; we may consider yet at last, what true sense and feeling could be in that conscience, and what fitness to be the master conscience of three kingdoms.

But the reason why he labours, that we should take notice of so much "tenderness and regret in his soul for having any hand in Strafford's death," is worth the marking ere we conclude: "he hoped it would be some evidence before God and man to all posterity, that he was far from bearing that vast load and guilt of blood" laid upon him by others: which hath the likeness of a subtle dissimulation; bewailing the blood of one man, his commodious instrument, put to death most justly, though by him unwillingly, that we might think him too tender to shed willingly the blood of those thousands whom he counted rebels. And thus by dipping voluntarily his finger's end, yet with shew of great remorse, in the blood of Strafford, whereof all men clear him, he thinks to scape that sea of innocent blood, wherein his own guilt inevitably hath plunged him all over. And we may well perceive to what easy satisfactions and purgations he had inured his secret conscience, who thought by such weak policies and ostentations as these to gain belief and absolution from understanding men.

III. *Upon his going to the House of Commons.*

Concerning his unexcusable and hostile march from the court to the house of commons, there needs not much be said; for he confesses it to be an act, which most men, whom he calls "his enemies," cried shame upon, "indifferent men grew jealous of and fearful, and many of his friends resented, as a motion arising rather from passion than reason:" he himself, in one of his answers to both houses, made profession to be convinced, that it was a plain breach of their privilege; yet here, like a rotten building newly trimmed over, he represents it speciously and fraudulently, to impose upon the simple reader; and seeks by smooth and sup-

ple words not here only, but through his whole book, to make some beneficial use or other even of his worst miscarriages.

"These men," saith he, meaning his friends, "knew not the just motives and pregnant grounds with which I thought myself furnished;" to wit, against the five members, whom he came to drag out of the house. His best friends indeed knew not, nor could ever know, his motives to such a riotous act; and had he himself known any just grounds, he was not ignorant how much it might have tended to his justifying, had he named them in this place, and not concealed them. But suppose them real, suppose them known, what was this to that violation and dishonour put upon the whole house, whose very door forcibly kept open, and all the passages near it, he beset with swords and pistols cocked and menaced in the hands of about three hundred swaggerers and ruffians, who but expected, nay audibly called for, the word of onset to begin a slaughter?

"He had discovered, as he thought, unlawful correspondences, which they had used, and engagements to embroil his kingdoms;" and remembers not his own unlawful correspondences and conspiracies with the Irish army of papists, with the French to land at Portsmouth, and his tampering both with the English and Scots army to come up against the parliament: the least of which attempts, by whomsoever, was no less than manifest treason against the commonwealth.

If to demand justice on the five members were his plea, for that which they with more reason might have demanded justice upon him, (I use his own argument,) there needed not so rough assistance. If he had "resolved to bear that repulse with patience," which his queen by her words to him at his return little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide against it with such an armed and unusual force? but his heart served him not to undergo the hazard that such a desperate scuffle would have brought him to. But wherefore did he go at all, it behoving him to know there were two statutes, that declared he ought first to have acquainted the parliament, who were the accusers, which he refused to do, though still professing to govern by law, and still justifying his attempts against law? And when he saw it was not permitted him to attaint them but by a fair trial, as was offered him from time to time, for want of just matter which yet never came to light, he let the business fall of his own accord; and all those pregnancies and just motives came to just nothing.

"He had no temptation of displeasure or revenge against those men:" none but what he thirsted to execute upon them, for the constant opposition which they made against his tyrannous proceedings, and the love and reputation which they therefore had among the people; but most immediately, for that they were supposed the chief, by whose activity those twelve protesting bishops were but a week before committed to the Tower.

"He missed but little to have produced writings under some men's own hands." But yet he missed, though their chambers, trunks, and studies were sealed up and searched; yet not found guilty. "Providence would not have it so." Good Providence! that curbs the raging of proud monarchs, as well as of mad multitudes. "Yet he wanted not such probabilities" (for his pregnant is come now to probable) "as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any king's heart:" and thus his pregnant motives are at last proved nothing but a tympany, or a Queen Mary's cushion; for in any king's heart, as kings go now, what shadowy conceit or groundless toy will not create a jealousy?

"That he had designed to insult the house of commons," taking God to witness, he utterly denies; yet in his answer to the city, maintains that "any course of violence had been very justifiable." And we may then guess how far it was from his design: however, it discovered in him an excessive eagerness to be avenged on them that crossed him; and that to have his will, he stood not to do things never so much below him. What a becoming sight it was, to see the king of England one while in the house of commons, and by and by in the Guildhall among the liveries and manufacturers, prosecuting so greedily the track of five or six fled subjects; himself not the solicitor only, but the pursuivant and the apparitor of his own partial cause! And although in his answers to the parliament, he hath confessed, first that his manner of prosecution was illegal, next "that as he once conceived he had ground enough to accuse them, so at length that he found as good cause to desert any prosecution of them;" yet here he seems to reverse all, and against promise takes up his old deserted accusation, that he might have something to excuse himself, instead of giving due reparation, which he always refused to give them whom he had so dishonoured.

"That I went," saith he of his going to his house of commons, "attended with some gentlemen;" gentlemen indeed! the ragged infantry of stews and brothels; the spawn and shipwreck of taverns and dicing-houses: and then he pleads, "it was no unwonted thing for the majesty and safety of a king to be so attended, especially in discontented times." An illustrious majesty no doubt, so attended! a becoming safety for the king of England, placed in the fidelity of such guards and champions! happy times, when braves and hacksters, the only contented members of his government, were thought the fittest and the faithfullest to defend his person against the discontents of a parliament and all good men! Were those the chosen ones to "preserve reverence to him," while he entered "unassured," and full of suspicions, into his great and faithful counsel? Let God then and the world judge, whether the cause were not in his own guilty and unwarrantable doings: the house of commons, upon several examinations of this business, declared it sufficiently proved, that the coming of those soldiers, papists and others, with the king, was to take away some of their members, and in case of opposition or denial, to have fallen upon the house in a hostile manner. This the king here denies; adding a fearful imprecation against his own life, "if he purposed any violence or oppres-

sion against the innocent, then," saith he, "let the enemy prosecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay my honour in the dust." What need then more disputing? He appealed to God's tribunal, and behold! God hath judged and done to him in the sight of all men according to the verdict of his own mouth: to be a warning to all kings hereafter how they use presumptuously the words and protestations of David, without the spirit and conscience of David. And the king's admirers may here see their madness, to mistake this book for a monument of his worth and wisdom, whenas indeed it is his doomsday-book; not like that of William the Norman his predecessor, but the record and memorial of his condemnation; and discovers whatever hath befallen him, to have been hastened on from divine justice by the rash and inconsiderate appeal of his own lips. But what evasions, what pretences, though never so unjust and empty, will he refuse in matters more unknown, and more involved in the mists and intricacies of state, who, rather than not justify himself in a thing so generally odious, can flatter his integrity with such frivolous excuses against the manifest dissent of all men, whether enemies, neuters, or friends? But God and his judgments have not been mocked; and good men may well perceive what a distance there was ever like to be between him and his parliament, and perhaps between him and all amendment, who for one good deed, though but consented to, asks God forgiveness; and from his worst deeds done, takes occasion to insist upon his righteousness!

IV. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

We have here, I must confess, a neat and well-couched invective against tumults, expressing a true fear of them in the author; but yet so handsomely composed, and withal so feelingly, that, to make a royal comparison, I believe Rehoboam the son of Solomon could not have composed it better. Yet Rehoboam had more cause to inveigh against them; for they had stoned his tribute-gatherer, and perhaps had as little spared his own person, had he not with all speed betaken him to his chariot. But this king hath stood the worst of them in his own house without danger, when his coach and horses, in a panic fear, have been to seek: which argues, that the tumults at Whitehall were nothing so dangerous as those at Sechem.

But the matter here considerable, is not whether the king or his household rhetorician have made a pithy declamation against tumults; but first, whether these were tumults or not; next, if they were, whether the king himself did not cause them. Let us examine therefore how things at that time stood. The king, as before hath been proved, having both called this parliament unwillingly, and as unwillingly from time to time condescended to their several acts, carrying on a disjoint and private interest of his own, and not enduring to be so crossed and overswayed, especially in the executing of his chief and boldest instrument, the deputy of Ireland first tempts the English army, with no less reward than the spoil of London, to come up and destroy the parliament. That being discovered by some of the officers, who, though bad enough, yet abhorred so foul a deed; the king, hardened in his purpose, tempts them the second time at Burrowbridge, promises to pawn his jewels for them, and that they should be met and assisted (would they but march on) with a gross body of horse under the earl of Newcastle. He tempts them yet the third time, though after discovery, and his own abjuration to have ever tempted them, as is affirmed in the declaration of "No more addresses." Neither this succeeding, he turns him next to the Scotch army, and by his own credential letters given to O Neal and Sir John Henderson, baits his temptation with a richer reward; not only to have the sacking of London, but four northern counties to be made Scottish, with jewels of great value to be given in pawn the while. But neither would the Scots, for any promise of reward, be brought to such an execrable and odious treachery: but with much honesty gave notice of the king's design both to the parliament and city of London. The parliament moreover had intelligence, and the people could not but discern, that there was a bitter and malignant party grown up now to such a boldness, as to give out insolent and threatening speeches against the parliament itself. Besides this, the rebellion in Ireland was now broke out; and a conspiracy in Scotland had been made, while the king was there, against some chief members of that parliament; great numbers here of unknown and suspicious persons resorted to the city. The king, being returned from Scotland, presently dismisses that guard, which the parliament thought necessary in the midst of so many dangers to have about them, and puts another guard in their place, contrary to the privilege of that high court, and by such a one commanded, as made them no less doubtful of the guard itself. Which they therefore, upon some ill effects thereof first found, discharge; deeming it more safe to sit free, though without guard, in open danger, than enclosed with a suspected safety. The people therefore, lest their worthiest and most faithful patriots, who had exposed themselves for the public, and whom they saw now left naked, should want aid, or be deserted in the midst of these dangers, came in multitudes, though unarmed, to witness their fidelity and readiness in case of any violence offered to the parliament. The king, both envying to see the people's love thus devolved on another object, and doubting lest it might utterly disable him to do with parliaments as he was wont, sent a message into the city forbidding such resorts. The parliament also, both by what was discovered to them, and what they saw in a malignant party, (some of which had already drawn blood in a fray or two at the court-gate, and even at their own gate in Westminster-hall,) conceiving themselves to be still in danger where they sate, sent a most reasonable and just petition to the king, that a guard might be allowed them out of the city, whereof the king's own chamberlain the earl of Essex, might have command; it being the right of

inferior courts to make choice of their own guard. This the king refused to do, and why he refused the very next day made manifest: for on that day it was that he sallied out from Whitehall, with those trusty myrmidons, to block up or give assault to the house of commons. He had, besides all this, begun to fortify his court, and entertained armed men not a few; who, standing at his palace gate, reviled and with drawn swords wounded many of the people, as they went by unarmed, and in a peaceable manner, whereof some died. The passing by of a multitude, though neither to St. George's feast, nor to a tilting, certainly of itself was no tumult; the expression of their loyalty and steadfastness to the parliament, whose lives and safeties by more than slight rumours they doubted to be in danger, was no tumult. If it grew to be so, the cause was in the king himself and his injurious retinue, who both by hostile preparations in the court, and by actual assailing of the people, gave them just cause to defend themselves.

Surely those unarmed and petitioning people needed not have been so formidable to any, but to such whose consciences misgave them how ill they had deserved of the people; and first began to injure them, because they justly feared it from them; and then ascribe that to popular tumult, which was occasioned by their own provoking.

And that the king was so emphatical and elaborate on this theme against tumults, and expressed with such a vehemence his hatred of them, will redound less perhaps than he was aware to the commendation of his government. For besides that in good governments they happen seldomest, and rise not without cause, if they prove extreme and pernicious, they were never counted so to monarchy, but to monarchical tyranny; and extremes one with another are at most antipathy. If then the king so extremely stood in fear of tumults, the inference will endanger him to be the other extreme. Thus far the occasion of this discourse against tumults: now to the discourse itself, voluble enough, and full of sentence, but that, for the most part, either specious rather than solid, or to his cause nothing pertinent.

"He never thought any thing more to presage the mischiefs that ensued, than those tumults." Then was his foresight but short, and much mistaken. Those tumults were but the mild effects of an evil and injurious reign; not signs of mischiefs to come, but seeking relief for mischiefs past: those signs were to be read more apparent in his rage and purposed revenge of those free expostulations and clamours of the people against his lawless government. "Not any thing," saith he, "portends more God's displeasure against a nation, than when he suffers the clamours of the vulgar to pass all bounds of law and reverence to authority." It portends rather his displeasure against a tyrannous king, whose proud throne he intends to overturn by that contemptible vulgar; the sad cries and oppressions of whom his loyalty regarded not. As for that supplicating people, they did no hurt either to law or authority, but stood for it rather in the parliament against whom they feared would violate it.

"That they invaded the honour and freedom of the two houses," is his own officious accusation, not seconded by the parliament, who, had they seen cause, were themselves best able to complain. And if they "shook and menaced" any, they were such as had more relation to the court than to the commonwealth; enemies, not patrons of the people. But if their petitioning unarmed were an invasion of both houses, what was his entrance into the house of commons, besetting it with armed men? In what condition then was the honour and freedom of that house?

"They forebore not rude deportments, contemptuous words and actions, to himself and his court."

It was more wonder, having heard what treacherous hostility he had designed against the city and his whole kingdom, that they forebore to handle him as people in their rage have handled tyrants heretofore for less offences.

"They were not a short ague, but a fierce quotidian fever." He indeed may best say it, who most felt it; for the shaking was within him, and it shook him by his own description "worse than a storm, worse than an earthquake;" Belshazzar's palsy. Had not worse fears, terrours, and envies made within him that commotion, how could a multitude of his subjects, armed with no other weapon than petitions, have shaken all his joints with such a terrible ague? Yet that the parliament should entertain the least fear of bad intentions from him or his party, he endures not; but would persuade us, that "men scare themselves and others without cause:" for he thought fear would be to them a kind of armour, and his design was, if it were possible, to disarm all, especially of a wise fear and suspicion; for that he knew would find weapons.

He goes on therefore with vehemence, to repeat the mischiefs done by these tumults. "They first petitioned, then protested; dictate next, and lastly overawe the parliament. They removed obstructions, they purged the houses, cast out rotten members." If there were a man of iron, such as Talus, by our poet Spencer, is feigned to be, the page of justice, who with his iron flail could do all this, and expeditiously, without those deceitful forms and circumstances of law, worse than ceremonies in religion; I say, God send it done, whether by one Talus, or by a thousand.

"But they subdued the men of conscience in parliament, backed and abetted all seditious and schismatical proposals against government ecclesiastical and civil."

Now we may perceive the root of his hatred, whence it springs. It was not the king's grace or princely goodness, but this iron flail, the people, that drove the bishops out of their baronies, out of their cathedrals, out of the lords' house, out of their copes and surplices, and all those papistical innovations, threw down the high-commission and star-chamber, gave us a triennial parliament, and what we most desired; in revenge whereof he now so bitterly inveighs against them; these are those seditious and schismatical proposals then by him condescended to as acts of grace, now of another name; which declares him, touching matters

of church and state, to have been no other man in the deepest of his solitude, than he was before at the highest of his sovereignty.

But this was not the worst of these tumults, they played the hasty "midwives, and would not stay the ripening, but went straight to ripping up, and forcibly cut out abortive votes."

They would not stay perhaps the Spanish demurring, and putting off such wholesome acts and counsels, as the politic cabinet at Whitehall had no mind to. But all this is complained here as done to the parliament, and yet we heard not the parliament at that time complain of any violence from the people, but from him. Wherefore intrudes he to plead the cause of parliament against the people, while the parliament was pleading their own cause against him; and against him were forced to seek refuge of the people? It is plain then, that those confluxes and resorts interrupted not the parliament, nor by them were thought tumultuous, but by him only and his court faction.

"But what good man had not rather want any thing he most desired for the public good, than attain it by such unlawful and irreligious means?" As much as to say, had not rather sit still, and let his country be tyrannized, than that the people, finding no other remedy, should stand up like men, and demand their rights and liberties. This is the artificialest piece of finesse to persuade men into slavery that the wit of court could have invented. But hear how much better the moral of this lesson would befit the teacher. What good man had not rather want a boundless and arbitrary power, and those fine flowers of the crown, called prerogatives, than for them to use force and perpetual vexation to his faithful subjects, nay to wade for them through blood and civil war? So that this and the whole bundle of those following sentences may be applied better to the convincement of his own violent courses, than of those pretended tumults.

"Who were the chief demagogues to send for those tumults, some alive are not ignorant." Setting aside the affrightment of this goblin word; for the king, by his leave, cannot coin English, as he could money, to be current, (and it is believed this wording was above his known style and orthography, and accuses the whole composure to be conscious of some other author,) yet if the people were sent for, emboldened and directed by those demagogues, who, saving his Greek, were good patriots, and by his own confession "men of some repute for parts and piety," it helps well to assure us there was both urgent cause, and the less danger of their coming.

"Complaints were made, yet no redress could be obtained." The parliament also complained of what danger they sate in from another party, and demanded of him a guard, but it was not granted. What marvel then if it cheared them to see some store of their friends, and in the Roman, not the pettifogging sense, their clients so near about them; a defence due by nature both from whom it was offered, and to whom, as due as to their parents; though the court stormed and fretted to see such honour given to them, who were then best fathers of the commonwealth. And both the parliament and people complained, and demanded justice for those assaults, if not murders, done at his own doors by that crew of rufflers; but he, instead of doing justice on them, justified and abetted them in what they did, as in his public answer to a petition from the city may be read. Neither is it slightly to be passed over, that in the very place where blood was first drawn in this cause, at the beginning of all that followed, there was his own blood shed by the executioner: according to that sentence of divine justice, "in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine."

From hence he takes occasion to excuse that improvident and fatal errour of his absenting from the parliament. "When he found that no declaration of the bishops could take place against those tumults." Was that worth his considering, that foolish and self-undoing declaration of twelve cipher bishops, who were immediately appeached of treason for that audacious declaring? The bishops peradventure were now and then pulled by the rochets, and deserved another kind of pulling; but what amounted this to "the fear of his own person in the streets?" Did he not the very next day after his irruption into the house of commons, than which nothing had more exasperated the people, go in his coach unguarded into the city? Did he receive the least affront, much less violence, in any of the streets, but rather humble demeanors and supplications? Hence may be gathered, that however in his own guiltiness he might have justly feared, yet that he knew the people so full of awe and reverence to his person, as to dare commit himself single among the thickest of them, at a time when he had most provoked them. Besides, in Scotland they had handled the bishops in a more robustious manner; Edinburgh had been full of tumults, two armies from thence had entered England against him: yet after all this he was not fearful, but very forward to take so long a journey to Edinburgh; which argues first, as did also his rendition afterward to the Scots army, that to England he continued still, as he was indeed, a stranger, and full of diffidence, to the Scots only a native king, in his confidence; though not in his dealing towards them. It shows us next beyond doubting, that all this his fear of tumults was but a mere colour and occasion taken of his resolved absence from the parliament, for some end not difficult to be guessed. And those instances wherein valour is not to be questioned for not "scuffling with the sea, or an undisciplined rabble," are but subservient to carry on the solemn jest of his fearing tumults; if they discover not withal the true reason why he departed, only to turn his slashing at the court-gate to slaughtering in the field; his disorderly bickering to an orderly invading; which was nothing else but a more orderly disorder.

"Some suspected and affirmed, that he meditated a war when he went first from Whitehall." And they were not the worst heads that did so, nor did any of his former acts weaken him to that, as he alleges for himself; or if they had, they clear him only for the time of

passing them, not for whatever thoughts might come after into his mind. Former actions of improvidence or fear, not with him unusual, cannot absolve him of all after-meditations.

He goes on protesting his "no intention to have left Whitehall," had these horrid tumults given him but fair quarter; as if he himself, his wife, and children had been in peril. But to this enough hath been answered.

"Had this parliament, as it was in its first election," namely, with the lord and baron bishops, "sate full and free," he doubts not but all had gone well. What warrant this of his to us, whose not doubting was all good men's greatest doubt?

"He was resolved to hear reason, and to consent so far as he could comprehend." A hopeful resolution: what if his reason were found by oft experience to comprehend nothing beyond his own advantages; was this a reason fit to be intrusted with the common good of three nations?

"But," saith he, "as swine are to gardens, so are tumults to parliaments." This the parliament, had they found it so, could best have told us. In the mean while, who knows not that one great hog may do as much mischief in a garden as many little swine?

"He was sometimes prone to think, that had he called this last parliament to any other place in England, the sad consequences might have been prevented." But change of air changes not the mind. Was not his first parliament at Oxford dissolved after two subsidies given him, and no justice received? Was not his last in the same place, where they sate with as much freedom, as much quiet from tumults, as they could desire; a parliament, both in his account and their own, consisting of all his friends, that fled after him, and suffered for him, and yet by him nicknamed, and cashiered for a "mongrel parliament, that vexed his queen with their base and mutinous motions," as his cabinet-letter tells us? Whereby the world may see plainly, that no shifting of place, no sifting of members to his own mind, no number, no paucity, no freedom from tumults, could ever bring his arbitrary wilfulness, and tyrannical designs, to brook the least shape or similitude, the least counterfeit of a parliament.

Finally, instead of praying for his people as a good king should do, he prays to be delivered from them, as "from wild beasts, inundations, and raging seas, that had overborne all loyalty, modesty, laws, justice, and religion." God save the people from such intercessors!

V. *Upon the Bill for triennial Parliaments, and for settling this, &c.*

The bill for a triennial parliament was but the third part of one good step toward that which in times past was our annual right. The other bill for settling this parliament was new indeed, but at that time very necessary; and in the king's own words no more than what the world "was fully confirmed he might in justice, reason, honour, and conscience grant them;" for to that end he affirms to have done it.

But whereas he attributes the passing of them to his own act of grace and willingness, (as his manner is to make virtues of his necessities,) and giving to himself all the praise, heaps ingratitude upon the parliament, a little memory will set the clean contrary before us; that for those beneficial acts we owe what we owe to the parliament, but to his granting them neither praise nor thanks. The first bill granted much less than two former statutes yet in force by Edward the Third; that a parliament should be called every year, or oftener, if need were: nay, from a far ancienter law-book called the "Mirror," it is affirmed in a late treatise called "Rights of the kingdom,"* that parliaments by our old laws ought twice a year to be at London. From twice in one year to once in three years, it may be soon cast up how great a loss we fell into of our ancient liberty by that act, which in the ignorant and slavish minds we then were, was thought a great purchase. Wisest men perhaps were contented (for the present, at least) by this act to have recovered parliaments, which were then upon the brink of danger to be for ever lost. And this is that which the king preaches here for a special token of his princely favour, to have abridged and overreached the people five parts in six of what their due was, both by ancient statute and originally. And thus the taking from us all but a triennial remnant of that English freedom which our fathers left us double, in a fair annuity enrolled, is set out, and sold to us here for the gracious and over-liberal giving of a new enfranchisement. How little, may we think, did he ever give us, who in the bill of his pretended givings writes down imprimis that benefit or privilege once in three years given us, which by so giving he more than twice every year illegally took from us; such givers as give single to take away sixfold, be to our enemies! for certainly this commonwealth, if the statutes of our ancestors be worth aught, would have found it hard and hazardous to thrive under the damage of such a guileful liberality. The other act was so necessary, that nothing in the power of man more seemed to be the stay and support of all things from that steep ruin to which he had nigh brought them, than that act obtained. He had by his ill stewardship, and, to say no worse, the needless raising of two armies intended for a civil war, beggared both himself and the public; and besides had left us upon the score of his needy enemies for what it cost them in their own defence against him. To disengage him and the kingdom great sums were to be borrowed, which would never have been lent, nor could ever be repaid, had the king chanced to dissolve this parliament as heretofore. The errours also of his government had brought the kingdom to such extremes, as were incapable of all recovery without the absolute continuance of a parliament. It had been else in vain to go about the settling of so great distempers, if he, who first caused the malady, might, when he pleased, reject the remedy. Notwithstanding all which, that he granted both these acts unwillingly,

* Written by Mr. Sadler, of which the best edition is that of 1649, in quarto, the edition of 1687 being curtailed. It is an excellent book.

and as a mere passive instrument, was then visible even to most of those men who now will see nothing.

At passing of the former act he himself concealed not his unwillingness; and testifying a general dislike of their actions, which they then proceeded in with great approbation of the whole kingdom, he told them with a masterly brow, that "by this act he had obliged them above what they had deserved," and gave a piece of justice to the commonwealth six times short of his predecessors, as if he had been giving some boon or begged office to a sort of his desertless grooms.

That he passed the latter act against his will, no man in reason can hold it questionable. For if the February before he made so dainty, and were so loth to bestow a parliament once in three years upon the nation, because this had so opposed his courses, was it likely that the May following he should bestow willingly on this parliament an indissoluble sitting, when they had offended him much more by cutting short and impeaching of high treason his chief favourites? It was his fear then, not his favour, which drew from him that act, lest the parliament, incensed by his conspiracies against them about the same time discovered, should with the people have resented too heinously those his doings, if to the suspicion of their danger from him he had also added the denial of this only means to secure themselves.

From these acts therefore in which he glories, and wherewith so oft he upbraids the parliament, he cannot justly expect to reap aught but dishonour and dispraise; as being both unwillingly granted, and the one granting much less than was before allowed by statute, the other being a testimony of his violent and lawless custom, not only to break privileges, but whole parliaments; from which enormity they were constrained to bind him first of all his predecessors; never any before him having given like causes of distrust and jealousy to his people. As for this parliament, how far he was from being advised by them as he ought, let his own words express.

He taxes them with "undoing what they found well done:" and yet knows they undid nothing in the church but lord bishops, liturgies, ceremonies, high-commission, judged worthy by all true protestants to be thrown out of the church. They undid nothing in the state but irregular and grinding courts, the main grievances to be removed; and if these were the things which in his opinion they found well done, we may again from hence be informed with what unwillingness he removed them; and that those gracious acts, whereof so frequently he makes mention, may be englished more properly acts of fear and dissimulation against his mind and conscience.

The bill preventing dissolution of this parliament he calls "an unparalleled act, out of the extreme confidence that his subjects would not make ill use of it." But was it not a greater confidence of the people, to put into one man's hand so great a power, till he abused it, as to summon and dissolve parliaments? He would be thanked for trusting them, and ought to thank them rather for trusting him: the trust issuing first from them, not from him.

And that it was a mere trust, and not his prerogative, to call and dissolve parliaments at his pleasure; and that parliaments were not to be dissolved, till all petitions were heard, all grievances redressed, is not only the assertion of this parliament, but of our ancient law-books, which aver it to be an unwritten law of common right, so engraven in the hearts of our ancestors, and by them so constantly enjoyed and claimed, as that it needed not enrolling. And if the Scots in their declaration could charge the king with breach of their laws for breaking up that parliament without their consent, while matters of greatest moment were depending; it were unreasonable to imagine, that the wisdom of England should be so wanting to itself through all ages, as not to provide by some known law, written or unwritten, against the not calling, or the arbitrary dissolving, of parliaments; or that they who ordained their summoning twice a year, or as oft as need required, did not tacitly enact also, that as necessity of affairs called them, so the same necessity should keep them undissolved, till that were fully satisfied. Were it not for that, parliaments, and all the fruit and benefit we receive by having them, would turn soon to mere abusion. It appears then, that if this bill of not dissolving were an unparalleled act, it was a known and common right, which our ancestors under other kings enjoyed as firmly, as if it had been graven in marble; and that the infringement of this king first brought it into a written act: who now boasts that as a great favour done us, which his own less fidelity than was in former kings constrained us only of an old undoubted right to make a new written act. But what needed written acts, whenas anciently it was esteemed part of his crown oath, not to dissolve parliaments till all grievances were considered? whereupon the old "Modi of Parliament" calls it flat perjury, if he dissolve them before: as I find cited in a book mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, to which and other law-tractats I refer the more lawyerly mooting of this point, which is neither my element, nor my proper work here; since the book, which I have to answer, pretends reason, not authorities and quotations: and I hold reason to be the best arbitrator, and the law of law itself.

It is true, that "good subjects think it not just, that the king's condition should be worse by bettering theirs." But then the king must not be at such a distance from the people in judging what is better and what worse; which might have been agreed, had he known (for his own words condemn him) "as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire, his own advantages."

"A continual parliament he thought would keep the commonwealth in tune." Judge, commonwealth, what proofs he gave, that this boasted profession was ever in his thought.

"Some," saith he, "gave out, that I repented me of that settling act." His own actions gave it out beyond all supposition; for doubtless it repented him to have

established that by law, which he went about so soon after to abrogate by the sword.

He calls those acts, which he confesses "tended to their good, not more princely than friendly contributions." As if to do his duty were of courtesy, and the discharge of his trust a parcel of his liberality; so nigh lost in his esteem was the birth-right of our liberties, that to give them back again upon demand, stood at the mercy of his contribution.

"He doubts not but the affections of his people will compensate his sufferings for those acts of confidence:" and imputes his sufferings to a contrary cause. Not his confidence, but his distrust, was that which brought him to those sufferings, from the time that he forsook his parliament; and trusted them never the sooner for what he tells "of their piety and religious strictness," but rather hated them as puritans, whom he always sought to extirpate.

He would have it believed, that "to bind his hands by these acts, argued a very short foresight of things, and extreme fatuity of mind in him," if he had meant a war. If we should conclude so, that were not the only argument: neither did it argue, that he meant peace; knowing that what he granted for the present out of fear, he might as soon repeal by force, watching his time; and deprive them the fruit of those acts, if his own designs, wherein he put his trust, took effect.

Yet he complains, "that the tumults threatened to abuse all acts of grace, and turn them into wantonness." I would they had turned his wantonness into the grace of not abusing Scripture. Was this becoming such a saint as they would make him, to adulterate those sacred words from the grace of God to the acts of his own grace? Herod was eaten up of worms for suffering others to compare his voice to the voice of God; but the borrower of this phrase gives much more cause of jealousy, that he likened his own acts of grace to the acts of God's grace.

From prophaneness he scarce comes off with perfect sense. "I was not then in a capacity to make war," therefore "I intended not." "I was not in a capacity," therefore "I could not have given my enemies greater advantage, than by so unprincely inconstancy to have scattered them by arms, whom but lately I had settled by parliament." What place could there be for his inconstancy in that thing whereto he was in no capacity? Otherwise his inconstancy was not so unwonted, or so nice, but that it would have easily found pretences to scatter those in revenge, whom he settled in fear.

"It had been a course full of sin, as well as of hazard and dishonour." True; but if those considerations withheld him not from other actions of like nature, how can we believe they were of strength sufficient, to withhold him from this? And that they withheld him not, the event soon taught us.

"His letting some men go up to the pinnacle of the temple, was a temptation to them to cast him down headlong." In this simile we have himself compared to Christ, the parliament to the devil, and his giving them that act of settling, to his letting them go up to the "pinnacle of the temple." A tottering and giddy act rather than a settling. This was goodly use made of Scripture in his solitudes: but it was no pinnacle of the temple, it was a pinnacle of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, from whence he and monarchy fell headlong together.

He would have others see that "all the kingdoms of the world are not worth gaining by ways of sin which hazard the soul;" and hath himself left nothing unhazarded to keep three. He concludes with sentences, that, rightly scanned, make not so much for him as against him, and confesses, that "the act of settling was no sin of his will;" and we easily believe him, for it hath been clearly proved a sin of his unwillingness.

With his orisons I meddle not, for he appeals to a high audit. This yet may be noted, that at his prayers he had before him the sad presage of his ill success, "as of a dark and dangerous storm, which never admitted his return to the port from whence he set out." Yet his prayer-book no sooner shut, but other hopes flattered him; and their flattering was his destruction.

VI. *Upon his Retirement from Westminster.*

The simile wherewith he begins I was about to have found fault with, as in a garb somewhat more poetical than for a statist: but meeting with many strains of like dress in other of his essays, and hearing him reported a more diligent reader of poets than of politicians, I begun to think that the whole book might perhaps be intended a piece of poetry. The words are good, the fiction smooth and cleanly; there wanted only rhyme, and that, they say, is bestowed upon it lately. But to the argument.

"I staid at Whitehall, till I was driven away by shame more than fear." I retract not what I thought of the fiction, yet here, I must confess, it lies too open. In his messages and declarations, nay in the whole chapter next but one before this, he affirms, that "the danger wherein his wife, his children, and his own person" were by those tumults, was the main cause that drove him from Whitehall, and appeals to God as witness: he affirms here that it was "shame more than fear." And Digby, who knew his mind as well as any, tells his new-listed guard, "that the principal cause of his majesty's going thence was to save them from being trod in the dirt." From whence we may discern what false and frivolous excuses are avowed for truth, either in those declarations, or in this penitential book. Our forefathers were of that courage and severity of zeal to justice and their native liberty, against the proud contempt and misrule of their kings, that when Richard the Second departed but from a committee of lords, who sate preparing matter for the parliament not yet assembled, to the removal of his evil counsellors, they first vanquished and put to flight Robert de Vere his chief favourite; and then, coming up to London with a huge army, required the king, then withdrawn for fear, but no further off than the Tower, to come to

Westminster, Which he refusing, they told him flatly, that unless he came they would choose another. So high a crime it was accounted then for kings to absent themselves, not from a parliament, which none ever durst, but from any meeting of his peers and counsellors, which did but tend towards a parliament. Much less would they have suffered, that a king, for such trivial and various pretences, one while for fear of tumults, another while "for shame to see them," should leave his regal station, and the whole kingdom bleeding to death of those wounds, which his own unskilful and perverse government had inflicted.

Shame then it was that drove him from the parliament, but the shame of what? Was it the shame of his manifold errours and misdeeds, and to see how weakly he had played the king? No; "but to see the barbarous rudeness of those tumults to demand any thing." We have started here another, and I believe the truest cause of his deserting the parliament. The worst and strangest of that "Any thing," which the people then demanded, was but the unlording of bishops, and expelling them the house, and the reducing of church-discipline to a conformity with other protestant churches; this was the barbarism of those tumults: and that he might avoid the granting of those honest and pious demands, as well demanded by the parliament as the people, for this very cause more than for fear, by his own confession here, he left the city; and in a most tempestuous season forsook the helm and steerage of the commonwealth. This was that terrible "Any thing," from which his Conscience and his Reason chose to run, rather than not deny. To be importuned the removing of evil counsellors, and other grievances in church and state, was to him "an intolerable oppression." If the people's demanding were so burdensome to him, what was his denial and delay of justice to them?

But as the demands of his people were to him a burden and oppression, so was the advice of his parliament esteemed a bondage; "Whose agreeing votes," as he affirms, "were not by any law or reason conclusive to his judgment." For the law, it ordains a parliament to advise him in his great affairs; but if it ordain also, that the single judgment of a king shall out-balance all the wisdom of his parliament, it ordains that which frustrates the end of its own ordaining. For where the king's judgment may dissent, to the destruction, as it may happen, both of himself and the kingdom, their advice, and no further, is a most insufficient and frustraneous means to be provided by law in cases of so high concernment. And where the main and principal law of common preservation against tyranny is left so fruitless and infirm, there it must needs follow, that all lesser laws are to their several ends and purposes much more weak and ineffectual. For that nation would deserve to be renowned and chronicled for folly and stupidity, that should by law provide force against private and petty wrongs, advice only against tyranny and public ruin. It being therefore most unlike a law, to ordain a remedy so slender and unlawlike, to be the utmost means of all public safety or prevention,* as advice is, which may at any time be rejected by the sole judgment of one man, the king, and so unlike the law of England, which lawyers say is the quintessence of reason and mature wisdom; we may conclude, that the king's negative voice was never any law, but an absurd and reasonless custom, begotten and grown up either from the flattery of basest times, or the usurpation of immoderate princes. Thus much to the law of it, by a better evidence than rolls and records, reason.

But is it possible he should pretend also to reason, that the judgment of one man, not as a wise or good man, but as a king, and ofttimes a wilful, proud, and wicked king, should outweigh the prudence and all the virtue of an elected parliament? What an abusive thing were it then to summon parliaments, that by the major part of voices greatest matters may be there debated and resolved, whenas one single voice after that shall dash all their resolutions?

He attempts to give a reason why it should, "Because the whole parliaments represent not him in any kind." But mark how little he advances; for if the parliament represent the whole kingdom, as is sure enough they do, then doth the king represent only himself; and if a king without his kingdom be in a civil sense nothing, then without or against the representative of his whole kingdom, he himself represents nothing; and by consequence his judgment and his negative is as good as nothing: and though we should allow him to be something, yet not equal† or comparable to the whole kingdom, and so neither to them who represent it: much less that one syllable of his breath put into the scales should be more ponderous than the joint voice and efficacy of a whole parliament, assembled by election, and endued with the plenipotence of a free nation, to make laws, not to be denied laws; and with no more but no, a sleeveless reason, in the most pressing times of danger and disturbance to be sent home frustrate and remediless.

Yet here he maintains, "to be no further bound to agree with the votes of both houses, than he sees them to agree with the will of God, with his just rights as a king, and the general good of his people." As to the freedom of his agreeing or not agreeing, limited with due bounds, no man reprehends it; this is the question here, or the miracle rather, why his only not agreeing should lay a negative bar and inhibition upon that which is agreed to by a whole parliament, though never so conducing to the public good or safety? To know the will of God better than his whole kingdom, whence should he have it? Certainly court-breeding and his perpetual conversation with flatterers was but a bad school. To judge of his own rights could not belong to him, who had no right by law in any court to judge of so much as felony or treason, being held a party in both these cases, much more in this; and his rights however should give place to the general good, for which end all his rights were given him. Lastly, to suppose a clearer insight and discerning of the general good, allotted to his own singular judgment,

* Second edition has it of all our safety or prevention.

† Second edition has equivalent.

than to the parliament and all the people, and from that self-opinion of discerning, to deny them that good which they, being all freemen, seek earnestly and call for, is an arrogance and iniquity beyond imagination rude and unreasonable; they undoubtedly having most authority to judge of the public good, who for that purpose are chosen out and sent by the people to advise him. And if it may be in him to see oft "the major part of them not in the right," had it not been more his modesty, to have doubted their seeing him more often in the wrong?

He passes to another reason of his denials, "because of some men's hydropic unsatiableness, and thirst of asking, the more they drank, whom no fountain of regal bounty was able to overcome." A comparison more properly bestowed on those that came to guzzle in his wine-cellar, than on a freeborn people that came to claim in parliament their rights and liberties, which a king ought therefore to grant, because of right demanded; not to deny them for fear his bounty should be exhausted, which in these demands (to continue the same metaphor) was not so much as broached; it being his duty, not his bounty, to grant these things. He who thus refuses to give us law, in that refusal gives us another law, which is his will, another name also, and another condition; of freemen to become his vassals.

Putting off the courtier, he now puts on the philosopher, and sententiously disputes to this effect, "That reason ought to be used to men, force and terrour to beasts; that he deserves to be a slave, who captivates the rational sovereignty of his soul and liberty of his will to compulsion; that he would not forfeit that freedom, which cannot be denied him as a king, because it belongs to him as a man and a Christian, though to preserve his kingdom; but rather die enjoying the empire of his soul, than live in such a vassalage, as not to use his reason and conscience, to like or dislike as a king." Which words, of themselves, as far as they are sense, good and philosophical, yet in the mouth of him, who, to engross this common liberty to himself, would tread down all other men into the condition of slaves and beasts, they quite lose their commendation. He confesses a rational sovereignty of soul and freedom of will in every man, and yet with an implicit repugnancy would have his reason the sovereign of that sovereignty, and would captivate and make useless that natural freedom of will in all other men but himself. But them that yield him this obedience he so well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be slaves. They who have lost all to be his subjects, may stoop and take up the reward. What that freedom is, which "cannot be denied him as a king, because it belongs to him as a man and a christian," I understand not. If it be his negative voice, it concludes all men, who have not such a negative as his against a whole parliament, to be neither men nor Christians: and what was he himself then, all this while that we denied it him as a king? Will he say, that he enjoyed within himself the less freedom for that? Might not he, both as a man and as a christian, have reigned within himself in full sovereignty of soul, no man repining, but that his outward and imperious will must invade the civil liberties of a nation? Did we therefore not permit him to use his reason or his conscience, not permitting him to bereave us the use of ours? And might not he have enjoyed both as a king, governing us as freemen by what laws we ourselves would be governed? It was not the inward use of his reason and of his conscience, that would content him, but to use them both as a law over all his subjects, "in whatever he declared as a king to like or dislike." Which use of reason, most reasonless and unconscionable, is the utmost that any tyrant ever pretended over his vassals.

In all wise nations the legislative power, and the judicial execution of that power, have been most commonly distinct, and in several hands; but yet the former supreme, the other subordinate. If then the king be only set up to execute the law, which is indeed the highest of his office, he ought no more to make or forbid the making of any law agreed upon in parliament, than other inferior judges, who are his deputies. Neither can he more reject a law offered him by the commons, than he can new make a law, which they reject. And yet the more to credit and uphold his cause, he would seem to have philosophy on his side; straining her wise dictates to unphilosophical purposes. But when kings come so low, as to fawn upon philosophy, which before they neither valued nor understood, it is a sign that fails not, they are then put to their last trump. And philosophy as well requites them, by not suffering her golden sayings either to become their lips, or to be used as masks and colours of injurious and violent deeds. So that what they presume to borrow from her sage and virtuous rules, like the riddle of Sphinx not understood, breaks the neck of their own cause.

But now again to politics: "He cannot think the Majesty of the crown of England to be bound by any coronation oath in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to whatever its subjects in parliament shall require." What tyrant could presume to say more, when he meant to kick down all law, government, and bond of oath? But why he so desires to absolve himself the oath of his coronation would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yielded, that the oath, which binds him to performance of his trust, ought in reason to contain the sum of what his chief trust and office is. But if it neither do enjoin, nor mention to him, as a part of his duty, the making or the marring of any law, or scrap of law, but requires only his assent to those laws which the people have already chosen, or shall choose; (for so both the Latin of that oath, and the old English; and all reason admits, that the people should not lose under a new king what freedom they had before;) then that negative voice so contended for, to deny the passing of any law, which the commons choose, is both against the oath of his coronation, and his kingly office. And if the king may deny to pass what the parliament hath chosen to be a law, then doth the king make himself superior to his whole kingdom; which not only the general maxims of policy gainsay, but even our own

standing laws, as hath been cited to him in remonstrances heretofore, that "the king hath two superiors, the law, and his court of parliament." But this he counts to be a blind and brutish formality, whether it be law, or oath, or his duty, and thinks to turn it off with wholesome words and phrases, which he then first learnt of the honest people, when they were so often compelled to use them against those more truly blind and brutish formalities thrust upon us by his own command, not in civil matters only, but in spiritual. And if his oath to perform what the people require, when they crown him, be in his esteem a brutish formality, then doubtless those other oaths of allegiance and supremacy, taken absolute on our part, may most justly appear to us in all respects as brutish and as formal; and so by his own sentence no more binding to us, than his oath to him.

As for his instance, in case "he and the house of peers attempted to enjoin the house of commons," it bears no equality; for he and the peers represent but themselves, the commons are the whole kingdom.

Thus he concludes "his oath to be fully discharged in governing by laws already made," as being not bound to pass any new, "if his reason bids him deny." And so may infinite mischiefs grow, and he with a pernicious negative may deny us all things good, or just, or safe, whereof our ancestors, in times much differing from ours, had either no foresight, or no occasion to foresee; while our general good and safety shall depend upon the private and overweening reason of one obstinate man, who against all the kingdom, if he list, will interpret both the law and his oath of coronation by the tenour of his own will. Which he himself confesses to be an arbitrary power, yet doubts not in his argument to imply, as if he thought it more fit the parliament should be subject to his will, than he to their advice; a man neither by nature nor by nurture wise. How is it possible, that he, in whom such principles as these were so deep rooted, could ever, though restored again, have reigned otherwise than tyrannically?

He objects, "That force was but a slavish method to dispel his errour." But how often shall it be answered him, that no force was used to dispel the errour out of his head, but to drive it from off our necks? for his errour was imperious, and would command all other men to renounce their own reason and understanding, till they perished under the injunction of his all ruling errour.

He alleges the uprightness of his intentions to excuse his possible failings, a position false both in law and divinity: yea, contrary to his own better principles, who affirms in the twelfth chapter, that "the goodness of a man's intention will not excuse the scandal and contagion of his example." His not knowing, through the corruption of flattery and court-principles, what he ought to have known, will not excuse his not doing what he ought to have done; no more than the small skill of him, who undertakes to be a pilot, will excuse him to be misled by any wandering star mistaken for the pole. But let his intentions be never so upright, what is that to us? what answer for the reason and the national rights, which God hath given us, if having parliaments, and laws, and the power of making more to avoid mischief, we suffer one man's blind intentions to lead us all with our eyes open to manifest destruction?

And if arguments prevail not with such a one, force is well used; not "to carry on the weakness of our counsels, or to convince his errour," as he surmises, but to acquit and rescue our own reason, our own consciences, from the force and prohibition laid by his usurping errour upon our liberties and understandings.

"Never any thing pleased him more, than when his judgment concurred with theirs." That was to the applause of his own judgment, and would as well have pleased any self-conceited man.

"Yea, in many things he chose rather to deny himself than them." That is to say, in trifles. For "of his own interests" and personal rights he conceives himself "master." To part with, if he please; not to contest for, against the kingdom, which is greater than he, whose rights are all subordinate to the kingdom's good. And "in what concerns truth, justice, the right of church, or his crown, no man shall gain his consent against his mind." What can be left then for a parliament, but to sit like images, while he still thus either with incomparable arrogance assumes to himself the best ability of judging for other men what is truth, justice, goodness, what his own and the church's right, or with unsufferable tyranny restrains all men from the enjoyment of any good, which his judgment, though erroneous, thinks not fit to grant them; notwithstanding that the law and his coronal oath requires his undeniable assent to what laws the parliament agree upon?

"He had rather wear a crown of thorns with our Saviour." Many would be all one with our Saviour, whom our Saviour will not know. They who govern ill those kingdoms which they had a right to, have to our Saviour's crown of thorns no right at all. Thorns they may find enow of their own gathering, and their own twisting; for thorns and snares, saith Solomon, are in the way of the froward: but to wear them, as our Saviour wore them, is not given to them, that suffer by their own demerits. Nor is a crown of gold his due, who cannot first wear a crown of lead; not only for the weight of that great office, but for the compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counsel him, which here he terms in scorn "An imbased flexibleness to the various and oft contrary dictates of any factions," meaning his parliament; for the question hath been all this while between them two. And to his parliament, though a numerous and choice assembly of whom the land thought wisest, he imputes, rather than to himself, "want of reason, neglect of the public, interest of parties, and particularity of private will and passion;" but with what modesty or likelihood of truth, it will be wearisome to repeat so often.

He concludes with a sentence fair in seeming, but fallacious. For if the conscience be ill edified, the resolution may more befit a foolish than a christian king,

to prefer a self-willed conscience before a kingdom's good; especially in the denial of that, which law and his regal office by oath bids him grant to his parliament and whole kingdom rightfully demanding. For we may observe him throughout the discourse to assert his negative power against the whole kingdom; now under the specious plea of his conscience and his reason, but heretofore in a louder note; "Without us, or against our consent, the votes of either or of both houses together, must not, cannot, shall not." Declar. May 4, 1642.

With these and the like deceivable doctrines he leavens also his prayer.

VII. *Upon the Queen's Departure*

To this argument we shall soon have said; for what concerns it us to hear a husband divulge his household privacies, extolling to others the virtues of his wife? an infirmity not seldom incident to those who have least cause. But how good she was a wife, was to himself, and be it left to his own fancy; how bad a subject, is not much disputed. And being such, it need be made no wonder, though she left a protestant kingdom with as little honour as her mother left a popish.

That this "is the first example of any protestant subjects, that have taken up arms against their king a protestant," can be to protestants no dishonour; when it shall be heard, that he first levied war on them, and to the interest of papists more than of protestants. He might have given yet the precedence of making war upon him to the subjects of his own nation, who had twice opposed him in the open field long ere the English found it necessary to do the like. And how groundless, how dissembled is that fear, lest she, who for so many years had been averse from the religion of her husband, and every year more and more, before these disturbances broke out, should for them be now the more alienated from that, to which we never heard she was inclined? But if the fear of her delinquency, and that justice which the protestants demanded on her, was any cause of her alienating the more, to have gained her by indirect means had been no advantage to religion, much less then was the detriment to lose her further off. It had been happy if his own actions had not given cause of more scandal to the protestants, than what they did against her could justly scandalize any papist.

Them who accused her, well enough known to be the parliament, he censures for "men yet to seek their religion, whether doctrine, discipline, or good manners;" the rest he soothes with the name of true English protestants, a mere schismatical name, yet he so great an enemy of schism.

He ascribes "rudeness and barbarity, worse than Indian," to the English parliament; and "all virtue" to his wife, in strains that come almost to sonnetting: how fit to govern men, undervaluing and aspersing the great council of his kingdom, in comparison of one woman! Examples are not far to seek, how great mischief and dishonour hath befallen nations under the government of effeminate and uxorious magistrates; who, being themselves governed and overswayed at home under a feminine usurpation, cannot but be far short of spirit and authority without doors, to govern a whole nation.

"Her tarrying here he could not think safe among them, who were shaking hands with allegiance, to lay faster hold on religion;" and taxes them of a duty rather than a crime, it being just to obey God rather than man, and impossible to serve two masters: I would they had quite shaken off what they stood shaking hands with; the fault was in their courage, not in their cause.

In his prayer he prays, that the disloyalty of his protestant subjects may not be a hinderance to her love of the true religion; and never prays, that the dissoluteness of his court, the scandals of his clergy, the unsoundness of his own judgment, the lukewarmness of his life, his letter of compliance to the pope, his permitting agents at Rome, the pope's nuncio, and her jesuited mother here, may not be found in the sight of God far greater hinderances to her conversion.

But this had been a subtle prayer indeed, and well prayed, though as duly as a Paternoster, if it could have charmed us to sit still, and have religion and our liberties one by one snatched from us, for fear lest rising to defend ourselves we should fright the queen, a stiff papist, from turning protestant! As if the way to make his queen a protestant, had been to make his subjects more than halfway papists.

He prays next, "that his constancy may be an antidote against the poison of other men's example." His constancy in what? Not in religion, for it is openly known, that her religion wrought more upon him, than his religion upon her; and his open favouring of papists, and his hatred of them called puritans, (the ministers also that prayed in churches for her conversion, being checked from court,) made most men suspect she had quite perverted him. But what is it, that the blindness of hypocrisy dares not do? It dares pray, and thinks to hide that from the eyes of God, which it cannot hide from the open view of man.

VIII. *Upon his Repulse at Hull, and the Fate of the Hothams.*

Hull, a town of great strength and opportunity both to sea and land affairs, was at that time the magazine of all those arms, which the king had bought with money most illegally extorted from his subjects of England, to use in a causeless and most unjust civil war against his subjects of Scotland. The king in high discontent and anger had left the parliament, and was gone towards the north, the queen into Holland, where she pawned and set to sale the crown jewels; (a crime heretofore counted treasonable in kings;) and to what intent these sums were raised, the parliament was

not ignorant. His going northward in so high a chafe they doubted was to possess himself of that strength, which the storehouse and situation of Hull might add suddenly to his malignant party. Having first therefore in many petitions earnestly prayed him to dispose and settle, with consent of both houses, the military power in trusty hands, and he as oft refusing, they were necessitated by the turbulence and danger of those times, to put the kingdom by their own authority into a posture of defence; and very timely sent Sir John Hotham, a member of the house, and knight of that county, to take Hull into his custody, and some of the trained bands to his assistance. For besides the general danger, they had, before the king's going to York, notice given them of his private commissions to the earl of Newcastle, and to Colonel Legg, one of those employed to bring the army up against the parliament; who had already made some attempts, and the former of them under a disguise, to surprise that place for the king's party. And letters of the Lord Digby were intercepted, wherein was wished, that the king would declare himself, and retire to some safe place; other information came from abroad, that Hull was the place designed for some new enterprise. And accordingly Digby himself not long after, with many other commanders, and much foreign ammunition, landed in those parts. But these attempts not succeeding, and that town being now in custody of the parliament, he sends a message to them, that he had firmly resolved to go in person into Ireland, to chastise those wicked rebels, (for these and worse words he then gave them,) and that towards this work he intended forthwith to raise by his commissions, in the counties near Westchester, a guard for his own person, consisting of 2000 foot, and 200 horse, that should be armed from his magazine at Hull. On the other side, the parliament, foreseeing the king's drift, about the same time send him a petition, that they might have leave for necessary causes to remove the magazine of Hull to the Tower of London, to which the king returns his denial; and soon after going to Hull attended with about 400 horse, requires the governor to deliver him up the town: whereof the governor besought humbly to be excused, till he could send notice to the parliament, who had intrusted him; whereat the king much incensed proclaims him traitor before the town walls, and gives immediate order to stop all passages between him and the parliament. Yet he himself dispatches post after post to demand justice, as upon a traitor; using a strange iniquity to require justice upon him, whom he then waylaid, and debarred from his appearance. The parliament no sooner understood what had passed, but they declare, that Sir John Hotham had done no more than was his duty, and was therefore no traitor.

This relation, being most true, proves that which is affirmed here to be most false; seeing the parliament, whom he accounts his "greatest enemies," had "more confidence to abet and own" what Sir John Hotham had done, than the king had confidence to let him answer in his own behalf.

To speak of his patience, and in that solemn manner, he might better have forborne; "God knows," saith he, "it affected me more with sorrow for others, than with anger for myself; nor did the affront trouble me so much as their sin." This is read, I doubt not, and believed? and as there is some use of every thing, so is there of this book, were it but to show us, what a miserable, credulous, deluded thing that creature is, which is called the vulgar; who, notwithstanding what they might know, will believe such vainglories as these. Did not that choleric and vengeful act of proclaiming him traitor before due process of law, having been convinced so late before of his illegality with the five members, declare his anger to be incensed? doth not his own relation confess as much? and his second message left him fuming three days after, and in plain words testifies "his impatience of delay" till Hotham be severely punished, for that which he there terms an insupportable affront.

Surely if his sorrow for Sir John Hotham's sin were greater than his anger for the affront, it was an exceeding great sorrow indeed, and wonderous charitable. But if it stirred him so vehemently to have Sir John Hotham punished, and not at all, that we hear, to have him repent, it had a strange operation to be called a sorrow for his sin. He who would persuade us of his sorrow for the sins of other men, as they are sins, not as they are sinned against himself, must give us first some testimony of a sorrow for his own sins, and next for such sins of other men as cannot be supposed a direct injury to himself. But such compunction in the king no man hath yet observed; and till then his sorrow for Sir John Hotham's sin will be called no other than the resentment of his repulse; and his labour to have the sinner only punished will be called by a right name, his revenge.

And "the hand of that cloud, which cast all soon after into darkness and disorder," was his own hand. For assembling the inhabitants of Yorkshire and other counties, horse and foot, first under colour of a new guard to his person, soon after, being supplied with ammunition from Holland, bought with the crown jewels, he begins an open war by laying siege to Hull: which town was not his own, but the kingdom's; and the arms there, public arms, bought with the public money, or not his own. Yet had they been his own by as good right as the private house and arms of any man are his own; to use either of them in a way not private, but suspicious to the commonwealth, no law permits. But the king had no propriety at all either in Hull or in the magazine: so that the following maxims, which he cites "of bold and disloyal undertakers," may belong more justly to whom he least meant them. After this he again relapses into the praise of his patience at Hull, and by his overtalking of it seems to doubt either his own conscience or the hardness of other men's belief. To me the more he praises it in himself, the more he seems to suspect that in very deed it was not in him; and that the lookers on so likewise thought.

Thus much of what he suffered by Hotham, and with what patience; now of what Hotham suffered, as he

judges, for opposing him: "he could not but observe how God not long after pleaded and avenged his cause." Most men are too apt, and commonly the worst of men, so to interpret and expound the judgments of God, and all other events of Providence or chance, as makes most to the justifying of their own cause, though never so evil; and attribute all to the particular favour of God towards them. Thus when Saul heard that David was in Keilah, "God," saith he, "hath delivered him into my hands, for he is shut in." But how far that king was deceived in his thought that God was favouring to his cause, that story unfolds; and how little reason this king had to impute the death of Hotham to God's avengement of his repulse at Hull, may easily be seen. For while Hotham continued faithful to his trust, no man more safe, more successful, more in reputation than he: but from the time he first sought to make his peace with the king, and to betray into his hands that town, into which before he had denied him entrance, nothing prospered with him. Certainly had God purposed him such an end for his opposition to the king, he would not have deferred to punish him till then, when of an enemy he was changed to be the king's friend, nor have made his repentance and amendment the occasion of his ruin. How much more likely is it, since he fell into the act of disloyalty to his charge, that the judgment of God concurred with the punishment of man, and justly cut him off for revolting to the king! to give the world an example, that glorious deeds done to ambitious ends find reward answerable, not to their outward seeming, but to their inward ambition. In the mean while, what thanks he had from the king for revolting to his cause, and what good opinion for dying in his service, they who have ventured like him, or intend, may here take notice.

He proceeds to declare, not only in general wherefore God's judgment was upon Hotham, but undertakes by fancies, and allusions, to give a criticism upon every particular: "that his head was divided from his body, because his heart was divided from the king; two heads cut off in one family for affronting the head of the commonwealth; the eldest son being infected with the sin of his father, against the father of his country." These petty glosses and conceits on the high and secret judgments of God, besides the boldness of unwarrantable commenting, are so weak and shallow, and so like the quibbles of a court sermon, that we may safely reckon them either fetched from such a pattern, or that the hand of some household priest foisted them in; lest the world should forget how much he was a disciple of those cymbal doctors. But that argument, by which the author would commend them to us, discredits them the more: for if they be so "obvious to every fancy," the more likely to be erroneous, and to misconceive the mind of those high secrecies, whereof they presume to determine. For God judges not by human fancy.

But however God judged Hotham, yet he had the king's pity: but mark the reason how preposterous; so far he had his pity, "as he thought he at first acted more against the light of his conscience, than many other men in the same cause." Questionless they who act against conscience, whether at the bar of human or divine justice, are pitied least of all. These are the common grounds and verdicts of nature, whereof when he who hath the judging of a whole nation is found destitute, under such a governor that nation must needs be miserable.

By the way he jerks at "some men's reforming to models of religion, and that they think all is gold of piety, that doth but glister with a show of zeal." We know his meaning, and apprehend how little hope there could be of him from such language as this: but are sure that the piety of his prelatic model glistered more upon the posts and pillars, which their zeal and fervency gilded over, than in the true works of spiritual edification.

"He is sorry that Hotham felt the justice of others, and fell not rather into the hands of his mercy." But to clear that, he should have shewn us what mercy he had ever used to such as fell into his hands before, rather than what mercy he intended to such as never could come to ask it. Whatever mercy one man might have expected, it is too well known the whole nation found none; though they besought it often, and so humbly; but had been swallowed up in blood and ruin, to set his private will above the parliament, had not his strength failed him. "Yet clemency he counts a debt, which he ought to pay to those that crave it; since we pay not any thing to God for his mercy but prayers and praises." By this reason we ought as freely to pay all things to all men; for of all that we receive from God, what do we pay for, more than prayers and praises? we looked for the discharge of his office, the payment of his duty to the kingdom, and are paid court-payment with empty sentences that have the sound of gravity, but the significance of nothing pertinent.

Yet again after his mercy past and granted, he returns back to give sentence upon Hotham; and whom he tells us he would so fain have saved alive, him he never leaves killing with a repeated condemnation, though dead long since. It was ill that somebody stood not near to whisper him, that a reiterating judge is worse than a tormentor. "He pities him, he rejoices not, he pities him" again; but still is sure to brand him at the tail of his pity with some ignominious mark, either of ambition or disloyalty. And with a kind of censorious pity aggravates rather than lessens or conceals the fault: to pity thus, is to triumph.

He assumes to foreknow, that "after-times will dispute, whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull, or at Tower-hill." What knew he of after-times, who, while he sits judging and censuring without end the fate of that unhappy father and his son at Tower-hill, knew not the like fate attended him before his own palace gate; and as little knew whether after-times reserve not a greater infamy to the story of his own life and reign?

He says but over again in his prayer what his sermon hath preached: how acceptably to those in heaven we leave to be decided by that precept, which

forbids "vain repetitions." Sure enough it lies as heavy as he can lay it upon the head of poor Hotham.

Needs he will fasten upon God a piece of revenge as done for his sake; and take it for a favour, before he know it was intended him: which in his closet had been excusable, but in a written and published prayer too presumptuous. Ecclesiastes hath a right name for such kind of sacrifices.

Going on he prays thus, "Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy." To folly, or to blasphemy, or to both, shall we impute this? Shall the justice of God give place, and serve to glorify the mercies of a man? All other men, who know what they ask, desire of God, that their doings may tend to his glory; but in this prayer God is required, that his justice would forbear to prevent, and as good have said to intrench upon the glory of a man's mercy. If God forbear his justice, it must be, sure, to the magnifying of his own mercy: how then can any mortal man, without presumption little less than impious, take the boldness to ask that glory out of his hand? It may be doubted now by them who understand religion, whether the king were more unfortunate in this his prayer, or Hotham in those his sufferings.

IX. *Upon the listing and raising Armies, &c.*

It were an endless work, to walk side by side with the verbosity of this chapter; only to what already hath not been spoken, convenient answer shall be given. He begins again with tumults: all demonstration of the people's love and loyalty to the parliament was tumult; their petitioning tumult; their defensive armies were but listed tumults; and will take no notice that those about him, those in a time of peace listed into his own house, were the beginners of all these tumults; abusing and assaulting not only such as came peaceably to the parliament at London, but those that came petitioning to the king himself at York. Neither did they abstain from doing violence and outrage to the messengers sent from parliament; he himself either countenancing or conniving at them.

He supposes, that "his recess gave us confidence, that he might be conquered." Other men suppose both that and all things else, who knew him neither by nature warlike, nor experienced, nor fortunate; so far was any man, that discerned aught, from esteeming him unconquerable; yet such are readiest to embroil others.

"But he had a soul invincible." What praise is that? The stomach of a child is ofttimes invincible to all correction. The unteachable man hath a soul to all reason and good advice invincible; and he who is intractable, he whom nothing can persuade, may boast himself invincible; whenas in some things to be overcome, is more honest and laudable than to conquer.

He labours to have it thought, that "his fearing God more than man" was the ground of his sufferings; but he should have known, that a good principle not rightly understood may prove as hurtful as a bad; and his fear of God may be as faulty as a blind zeal. He pretended to fear God more than the parliament, who never urged him to do otherwise; he should also have feared God more than he did his courtiers, and the bishops, who drew him, as they pleased, to things inconsistent with the fear of God. Thus boasted Saul to have "performed the commandment of God," and stood in it against Samuel; but it was found at length, that he had feared the people more than God, in saving those fat oxen for the worship of God, which were appointed for destruction. Not much unlike, if not much worse, was that fact of his, who, for fear to displease his court and mongrel clergy, with the dissolutest of the people, upheld in the church of God, while his power lasted, those beasts of Amalec, the prelates, against the advice of his parliament and the example of all reformation; in this more inexcusable than Saul, that Saul was at length convinced, he to the hour of death fixed in his false persuasion; and soothes himself in the flattering peace of an erroneous and obdurate conscience; singing to his soul vain psalms of exultation, as if the parliament had assailed his reason with the force of arms, and not he on the contrary their reason with his arms; which hath been proved already, and shall be more hereafter.

He twits them with "his acts of grace;" proud, and unselfknowing words in the mouth of any king, who affects not to be a god, and such as ought to be as odious in the ears of a free nation. For if they were unjust acts, why did he grant them as of grace? If just, it was not of his grace, but of his duty and his oath to grant them.

"A glorious king he would be, though by his sufferings:" but that can never be to him, whose sufferings are his own doings. He feigns "a hard choice" put upon him, "either to kill his subjects, or be killed." Yet never was king less in danger of any violence from his subjects, till he unsheathed his sword against them; nay long after that time, when he had spilt the blood of thousands, they had still his person in a foolish veneration.

He complains, "that civil war must be the fruits of his seventeen years reigning with such a measure of justice, peace, plenty, and religion, as all nations either admired or envied." For the justice we had, let the council-table, star-chamber, high-commission speak the praise of it; not forgetting the unprincely usage, and, as far as might be, the abolishing of parliaments, the displacing of honest judges, the sale of offices, bribery, and exaction, not found out to be punished, but to be shared in with impunity for the time to come. Who can number the extortions, the oppressions, the public robberies and rapines committed on the subject both by sea and land under various pretences? their possessions also taken from them, one while as forest-land, another while as crown-land; nor were their goods exempted, no not the bullion in the mint; piracy was become a project owned and authorized against the subject.

For the peace we had, what peace was that which drew out the English to a needless and dishonourable voyage against the Spaniard at Cales? Or that which

lent our shipping to a treacherous and antichristian war against the poor protestants of Rochel our suppliants? What peace was that which fell to rob the French by sea, to the embarring of all our merchants in that kingdom? which brought forth that unblest expedition to the Isle of Rhee, doubtful whether more calamitous in the success or in the design, betraying all the flower of our military youth and best commanders to a shameful surprisal and execution. This was the peace we had, and the peace we gave, whether to friends or to foes abroad. And if at home any peace were intended us, what meant those Irish billetted soldiers in all parts of the kingdom, and the design of German horse to subdue us in our peaceful houses?

For our religion, where was there a more ignorant, profane, and vitious clergy, learned in nothing but the antiquity of their pride, their covetousness, and superstition? whose unsincere and leavenous doctrine, corrupting the people, first taught them looseness, then bondage; loosening them from all sound knowledge and strictness of life, the more to fit them for the bondage of tyranny and superstition. So that what was left us for other nations not to pity, rather than admire or envy, all those seventeen years, no wise man could see. For wealth and plenty in a land where justice reigns not is no argument of a flourishing state, but of a nearness rather to ruin or commotion.

These were not "some miscarriages" only of government, "which might escape," but a universal distemper, and reducement of law to arbitrary power; not through the evil counsels of "some men," but through the constant course and practice of all that were in highest favour: whose worst actions frequently avowing he took upon himself; and what faults did not yet seem in public to be originally his, such care he took by professing, and proclaiming openly, as made them all at length his own adopted sins. The persons also, when he could no longer protect, he esteemed and favoured to the end; but never, otherwise than by constraint, yielded any of them to due punishment; thereby manifesting that what they did was by his own authority and approbation.

Yet here he asks, "whose innocent blood he hath shed, what widows' or orphans' tears can witness against him?" After the suspected poisoning of his father, not inquired into, but smothered up, and him protected and advanced to the very half of his kingdom, who was accused in parliament to be author of the fact; (with much more evidence than Duke Dudley, that false protector, is accused upon record to have poisoned Edward the Sixth;) after all his rage and persecution, after so many years of cruel war on his people in three kingdoms! Whence the author of "Truths manifest,"* a Scotsman, not unacquainted with affairs, positively affirms, "that there hath been more christian blood shed by the commission, approbation, and connivance of King Charles, and his father James, in the latter end of their reign, than in the ten Roman persecutions." Not to speak of those many whippings, pillories, and other corporal inflictions, wherewith his reign also before this war was not unbloody; some have died in prison under cruel restraint, others in banishment, whose lives were shortened through the rigour of that persecution, wherewith so many years he infested the true church. And those six members all men judged to have escaped no less than capital danger, whom he so greedily pursuing into the house of commons, had not there the forbearance to conceal how much it troubled him, "that the birds were flown." If some vulture in the mountains could have opened his beak intelligibly and spoke, what fitter words could he have uttered at the loss of his prey? The tyrant Nero, though not yet deserving that name, set his hand so unwillingly to the execution of a condemned person, as to wish "he had not known letters." Certainly for a king himself to charge his subjects with high treason, and so vehemently to prosecute them in his own cause, as to do the office of a searcher, argued in him no great aversation from shedding blood, were it but to "satisfy his anger," and that revenge was no unpleasing morsel to him, whereof he himself thought not much to be so diligently his own caterer. But we insist rather upon what was actual, than what was probable.

He now falls to examine the causes of this war, as a difficulty which he had long "studied" to find out. "It was not," saith he, "my withdrawing from Whitehall; for no account in reason could be given of those tumults, where an orderly guard was granted." But if it be a most certain truth, that the parliament could never yet obtain of him any guard fit to be confided in, then by his own confession some account of those pretended tumults "may in reason be given;" and both concerning them and the guards enough hath been said already.

"Whom did he protect against the justice of parliament?" Whom did he not to his utmost power? Endeavouring to have rescued Strafford from their justice, though with the destruction of them and the city; to that end expressly commanding the admittance of new soldiers into the Tower, raised by Suckling and other conspirators, under pretence for the Portugal; though that ambassador, being sent to, utterly denied to know of any such commission from his master. And yet that listing continued: not to repeat his other plot of bringing up the two armies. But what can be disputed with such a king, in whose mouth and opinion the parliament itself was never but a faction, and their justice no justice, but "the dictates and overswaying insolence of tumults and rabbles?" and under that excuse avouches himself openly the general patron of most notorious delinquents, and approves their flight out of the land, whose crimes were such, as that the justest and the fairest trial would have soonest condemned them to death. But did not Catiline plead in like manner against the Roman senate, and the injustice of their trial, and the justice of his flight from Rome? Cæsar also, then hatching tyranny, injected

* The title of the treatise here referred to, is, Truth its Manifest; or, a short and true Relation of divers main Passages of Things (in some whereof the Scots are particularly concerned) from the very first Beginning of these unhappy Troubles to this Day. Published in 12mo, 1645. A reply to this was published in quarto, 1646, entitled, Manifest Truths; or, an Inversion of Truths Manifest.

the same scrupulous demurs, to stop the sentence of death in full and free senate decreed on Lentulus and Cethegus, two of Catiline's accomplices, which were renewed and urged for Strafford. He vouchsafes to the reformation, by both kingdoms intended, no better name than "innovation and ruin both in church and state." And what we would have learned so gladly of him in other passages before, to know wherein, he tells us now of his own accord. The expelling bishops out of the house of peers, that was "ruin to the state;" the "removing" them "root and branch," this was "ruin to the church."

How happy could this nation be in such a governor, who counted that their ruin, which they thought their deliverance; the ruin both of church and state, which was the recovery and the saving of them both?

To the passing of those bills against bishops how is it likely that the house of peers gave so hardly their consent, which they gave so easily before to the attaching them of high treason, twelve at once, only for protesting that the parliament could not act without them? Surely if their rights and privileges were thought so undoubted in that house, as is here maintained; then was that protestation, being meant and intended in the name of their whole spiritual order, no treason; and so that house itself will become liable to a just construction either of injustice to appeach them for so consenting, or of usurpation, representing none but themselves, to expect that their voting or not voting should obstruct the commons: who not for "five repulses of the lords," no not for fifty, were to desist from what in the name of the whole kingdom they demanded, so long as those lords were none of our lords. And for the bill against root and branch, though it passed not in both houses till many of the lords and some few of the commons, either enticed away by the king, or overawed by the sense of their own malignancy not prevailing, deserted the parliament, and made a fair riddance of themselves; that was no warrant for them who remained faithful, being far the greater number, to lay aside that bill of root and branch, till the return of their fugitives; a bill so necessary and so much desired by themselves as well as by the people.

This was the partiality, this degrading of the bishops, a thing so wholesome in the state, and so orthodoxal in the church both ancient and reformed; which the king rather than assent to "will either hazard both his own and the kingdom's ruin," by our just defence against his force of arms; or prostrate our consciences in a blind obedience to himself, and those men, whose superstition, zealous or unzealous, would enforce upon us an antichristian tyranny in the church, neither primitive, apostolical, nor more anciently universal than some other manifest corruptions.

But "he was bound, besides his judgment, by a most strict and indispensable oath, to preserve the order and the rights of the church." If he mean that oath of his coronation, and that the letter of that oath admit not to be interpreted either by equity, reformation, or better knowledge, then was the king bound by that oath, to grant the clergy all those customs, franchises, and canonical privileges granted to them by Edward the Confessor: and so might one day, under pretence of that oath and his conscience, have brought us all again to popery: but had he so well remembered as he ought the words to which he swore, he might have found himself no otherwise obliged there, than "according to the laws of God, and true profession of the gospel." For if those following words, "established in this kingdom," be set there to limit and lay prescription on the laws of God and truth of the gospel by man's establishment, nothing can be more absurd or more injurious to religion. So that however the German emperors or other kings have levied all those wars on their protestant subjects under the colour of a blind and literal observance to an oath, yet this king had least pretence of all; both sworn to the laws of God and evangelic truth, and disclaiming, as we heard him before, "to be bound by any coronation oath, in a blind and brutish formality." Nor is it to be imagined, if what shall be established come in question, but that the parliament should oversway the king, and not he the parliament. And by all law and reason that which the parliament will not is no more established in this kingdom, neither is the king bound by oath to uphold it as a thing established. And that the king (who of his princely grace, as he professes, hath so oft abolished things that stood firm by law, as the star-chamber and high-commission) ever thought himself bound by oath to keep them up, because established; he who will believe, must at the same time condemn him of as many perjuries, as he is well known to have abolished both laws and jurisdictions that wanted no establishment.

"Had he gratified," he thinks, "their antiepiscopal faction with his consent, and sacrificed the church-government and revenues to the fury of their covetousness," &c. an army had not been raised. Whereas it was the fury of his own hatred to the professors of true religion, which first incited him to prosecute them with the sword of war, when whips, pillories, exiles, and imprisonments were not thought sufficient. To colour which he cannot find wherewithal, but that stale pretence of Charles the Vth, and other popish kings, that the protestants had only an intent to lay hands upon the church-revenues, a thing never in the thoughts of this parliament, till exhausted by his endless war upon them, their necessity seized on that for the commonwealth, which the luxury of prelates had abused before to a common mischief.

His consent to the unlording of bishops, (for to that he himself consented, and at Canterbury the chief seat of their pride, so God would have it!) "was from his firm persuasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution of their rights." Can any man, reading this, not discern the pure mockery of a royal consent, to delude us only for "the present," meaning, it seems, when time should serve, to revoke all? By this reckoning, his consents and his denials come all to one pass: and we may hence perceive the small wisdom and integrity of those votes, which voted his concessions of the Isle of Wight for grounds of a lasting peace. This he alleges, this controversy about

bishops, "to be the true state" of that difference between him and the parliament. For he held episcopacy "both very sacred and divine;" with this judgment, and for this cause, he withdrew from the parliament, and confesses that some men knew "he was like to bring again the same judgment which he carried with him." A fair and unexpected justification from his own mouth afforded to the parliament, who, notwithstanding what they knew of his obstinate mind, omitted not to use all those means and that patience to have gained him.

As for delinquents, "he allows them to be but the necessary consequences of his and their withdrawing and defending," a pretty shift! to mince the name of a delinquent into a necessary consequent: what is a traitor, but the necessary consequence of his treason? What a rebel, but of his rebellion? From his conceit he would infer a pretext only in the parliament "to fetch in delinquents," as if there had indeed been no such cause, but all the delinquency in London tumults. Which is the overworn theme and stuffing of all his discourses.

This he thrice repeats to be the true state and reason of all that war and devastation in the land; and that "of all the treaties and propositions" offered him, he was resolved "never to grant the abolishing of episcopal, or the establishment of presbyterian, government." I would demand now of the Scots and covenanters, (for so I call them, as misobservers of the covenant,) how they will reconcile "the preservation of religion and their liberties, and the bringing of delinquents to condign punishment," with the freedom, honour, and safety of this avowed resolution here, that esteems al the zeal of their prostituted covenant no better than "a noise and shew of piety, a heat for reformation, filling them with prejudice, and obstructing all equality and clearness of judgment in them." With these principles who knows but that at length he might have come to take the covenant, as others, whom they brotherly admit, have done before him? And then all, no doubt, had gone well, and ended in a happy peace.

His prayer is most of it borrowed out of David; but what if it be answered him as the Jews, who trusted in Moses, were answered by our Saviour; "there is one that accuseth you, even David, whom you misapply."

He tells God, "that his enemies are many," but tells the people, when it serves his turn, they are but "a faction of some few, prevailing over the major part of both houses."

"God knows he had no passion, design, or preparation, to embroil his kingdom in a civil war." True; for he thought his kingdom to be Issachar, a "strong ass that would have couched down between two burdens," the one of prelatical superstition, the other of civil tyranny: but what passion and design, what close and open preparation he had made, to subdue us to both these by terrour and preventive force, all the nation knows.

"The confidence of some men had almost persuaded him to suspect his own innocence." As the words of Saint Paul had almost persuaded Agrippa to be a Christian. But almost, in the works of repentance, is as good as not at all.

"God," saith he, "will find out bloody and deceitful men, many of whom have not lived out half their days." It behoved him to have been more cautious how he tempted God's finding out of blood and deceit, till his own years had been further spent, or that he had enjoyed longer the fruits of his own violent counsels.

But instead of wariness he adds another temptation, charging God "to know, that the chief design of this war was either to destroy his person, or to force his judgment." And thus his prayer, from the evil practice of unjust accusing men to God, arises to the hideous rashness of accusing God before men, to know that for truth which all men know to be most false.

He prays, "that God would forgive the people, for they know not what they do." It is an easy matter to say over what our Saviour said; but how he loved the people other arguments than affected sayings must demonstrate. He who so oft hath presumed rashly to appeal to the knowledge and testimony of God in things so evidently untrue, may be doubted what belief or esteem he had of his forgiveness, either to himself, or those for whom he would *so feign that men should hear he prayed.

X. *Upon their seizing the magazines, forts, &c.*

To put the matter soonest out of controversy who was the first beginner of this civil war, since the beginning of all war may be discerned not only by the first act of hostility, but by the counsels and preparations foregoing, it shall evidently appear, that the king was still foremost in all these. No king had ever at his first coming to the crown more love and acclamation from a people; never any people found worse requital of their loyalty and good affection: first, by his extraordinary fear and mistrust, that their liberties and rights were the impairing and diminishing of his regal power, the true original of tyranny; next, by his hatred to all those who were esteemed religious; doubting that their principles too much asserted liberty. This was quickly seen by the vehemence, and the causes alleged of his persecuting, the other by his frequent and opprobrious dissolution of parliaments; after he had demanded more money of them, and they to obtain their rights had granted him, than would have bought the Turk out of Morea, and set free all the Greeks. But when he sought to extort from us, by way of tribute, that which had been offered to him conditionally in parliament, as by a free people, and that those extortions were now consumed and wasted by the luxury of his court, he began then (for still the more he did wrong, the more he feared) before any tumult or insurrection of the people to take counsel how he might totally subdue them to his own will. Then was the design of German horse, while the duke reigned, and

* The second edition has so fain. To feign, is to dissemble; but we use the word feign for fond desire of a thing.

which was worst of all, some thousands of the Irish papists were in several parts billeted upon us, while a parliament was then sitting. The pulpits resounded with no other doctrine than that which gave all property to the king, and passive obedience to the subject. After which, innumerable forms and shapes of new exactions and exactors overspread the land: nor was it enough to be impoverished, unless we were disarmed. Our trained bands, which are the trustiest and most proper strength of a free nation not at war with itself, had their arms in divers counties taken from them; other ammunition by design was ingrossed and kept in the Tower, not to be bought without a licence, and at a high rate.

Thus far and many other ways were his counsels and preparations before-hand with us, either to a civil war, if it should happen, or to subdue us without a war, which is all one, until the raising of his two armies against the Scots, and the latter of them raised to the most perfidious breaking of a solemn pacification: the articles whereof though subscribed with his own hand, he commanded soon after to be burned openly by the hangman. What enemy durst have done him that dishonour and affront, which he did therein to himself?

After the beginning of this parliament, whom he saw so resolute and unanimous to relieve the commonwealth, and that the earl of Strafford was condemned to die, other of his evil counsellors impeached and imprisoned; to shew there wanted not evil counsel within himself sufficient to begin a war upon his subjects, though no way by them provoked, he sends an agent with letters to the king of Denmark, requiring aid against the parliament: and that aid was coming, when Divine Providence, to divert them, sent a sudden torrent of Swedes into the bowels of Denmark. He then endeavours to bring up both armies, first the English, with whom 8000 Irish papists, raised by Strafford, and a French army were to join; then the Scots at Newcastle, whom he thought to have encouraged by telling them what money and horse he was to have from Denmark. I mention not the Irish conspiracy till due place. These and many other were his counsels toward a civil war. His preparations, after those two armies were dismissed, could not suddenly be too open: nevertheless there were 8000 Irish papists, which he refused to disband, though entreated by both houses, first for reasons best known to himself, next under pretence of lending them to the Spaniard; and so kept them undisbanded till very near the month wherein that rebellion broke forth. He was also raising forces in London, pretendedly to serve the Portugal, but with intent to seize the Tower; into which divers cannoneers were by him sent with many fireworks and grenadoes; and many great battering pieces were mounted against the city. The court was fortified with ammunition, and soldiers new listed, who followed the king from London, and appeared at Kingston some hundreds of horse in a warlike manner, with waggons of ammunition after them; the queen in Holland was buying more; of which the parliament had certain knowledge, and had not yet so much as demanded the militia to be settled, till they knew both of her going over sea, and to what intent. For she had packed up the crown jewels to have been going long before, had not the parliament, suspecting by the discoveries at Burrow-bridge what was intended with the jewels, used means to stay her journey till the winter. Hull and the magazine there had been secretly attempted under the king's hand; from whom (though in his declarations renouncing all thought of war) notes were sent oversea for supply of arms; which were no sooner come, but the inhabitants of Yorkshire and other counties were called to arms, and actual forces raised, while the parliament were yet petitioning in peace, and had not one man listed.

As to the act of hostility, though not much material in whom first it began, or by whose commissions dated first, after such counsels and preparations discovered, and so far advanced by the king, yet in that act also he will be found to have had precedency, if not at London by the assault of his armed court upon the naked people, and his attempt upon the house of commons, yet certainly at Hull, first by his close practices on that town, next by his siege. Thus whether counsels, preparations, or acts of hostility be considered, it appears with evidence enough, though much more might be said, that the king is truly charged to be the first beginner of these civil wars. To which may be added as a close, that in the Isle of Wight he charged it upon himself at the public treaty, and acquitted the parliament.

But as for the securing of Hull and the public stores therein, and in other places, it was no "surprisal of his strength;" the custody whereof by authority of parliament was committed into hands most fit and most responsible for such a trust. It were a folly beyond ridiculous, to count ourselves a free nation, if the king, not in parliament, but in his own person, and against them, might appropriate to himself the strength of a whole nation as his proper goods. What the laws of the land are, a parliament should know best, having both the life and death of laws in their lawgiving power: and the law of England is, at best, but the reason of parliament. The parliament therefore, taking into their hands that whereof most properly they ought to have the keeping, committed no surprisal. If they prevented him, that argued not at all either "his innocency or unpreparedness," but their timely foresight to use prevention.

But what needed that? "They knew his chiefest arms left him were those only, which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their persecutors, prayers and tears." O sacred reverence of God! respect and shame of men! whither were ye fled when these hypocrisies were uttered? Was the kingdom then at all that cost of blood to remove from him none but prayers and tears? What were those thousands of blaspheming cavaliers about him, whose mouths let fly oaths and curses by the volley; were those the prayers? and those carouses drunk to the confusion of all things good or holy, did those minister the tears? Were they prayers and tears that were listed at York, mustered on Heworth moor, and laid siege to Hull for the guard of his per-

son? Were prayers and tears at so high a rate in Holland, that nothing could purchase them but the crown jewels? Yet they in Holland (such word was sent us) sold them for guns, carabines, mortar-pieces, cannons, and other deadly instruments of war; which, when they came to York, were all, no doubt by the merit of some great saint, suddenly transformed into prayers and tears: and, being divided into regiments and brigades, were the only arms that mischieved us in all those battles and encounters.

These were his chief arms, whatever we must call them, and yet such arms as they who fought for the commonwealth have by the help of better prayers vanquished and brought to nothing.

He bewails his want of the militia, "not so much in reference to his own protection, as the people's, whose many and sore oppressions grieve him." Never considering how ill for seventeen years together he had protected them, and that these miseries of the people are still his own handwork, having smitten them, like a forked arrow, so sore into the kingdom's sides, as not to be drawn out and cured without the incision of more flesh.

He tells us, that "what he wants in the hand of power," he has in "the wings of faith and prayer." But they who made no reckoning of those wings, while they had that power in their hands, may easily mistake the wings of faith for the wings of presumption, and so fall headlong.

We meet next with a comparison, how apt let them judge who have travelled to Mecca, "that the parliament have hung the majesty of kingship in an airy imagination of regality, between the privileges of both houses, like the tomb of Mahomet." He knew not that he was prophesying the death and burial of a Turkish tyranny, that spurned down those laws which gave it life and being, so long as it endured to be a regulated monarchy.

He counts it an injury "not to have the sole power in himself to help or hurt any;" and that the "militia, which he holds to be his undoubted right, should be disposed as the parliament thinks fit:" and yet confesses, that, if he had it in his actual disposing, he would defend those whom he calls "his good subjects, from those men's violence and fraud, who would persuade the world, that none but wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the shepherd and his flock." Surely, if we may guess whom he means here, by knowing whom he hath ever most opposed in this controversy, we may then assure ourselves, that by violence and fraud he means that which the parliament hath done in settling the militia, and those the wolves into whose hands it was by them intrusted: which draws a clear confession from his own mouth, that if the parliament had left him sole power of the militia, he would have used it to the destruction of them and their friends.

As for sole power of the militia, which he claims as a right no less undoubted than the crown, it hath been oft enough told him, that he hath no more authority over the sword, than over the law; over the law he hath none, either to establish or to abrogate, to interpret or to execute, but only by his courts and in his courts, whereof the parliament is highest; no more therefore hath he power of the militia, which is the sword, either to use or to dispose, but with consent of parliament; give him but that, and as good give him in a lump all our laws and liberties. For if the power of the sword were any where separate and undepending from the power of the law, which is originally seated in the highest court, then would that power of the sword be soon master of the law: and being at one man's disposal might, when he pleased, control the law; and in derision of our Magna Charta, which were but weak resistance against an armed tyrant, might absolutely enslave us. And not to have in ourselves, though vaunting to be freeborn, the power of our own freedom, and the public safety, is a degree lower than not to have the property of our own goods. For liberty of person, and the right of self-preservation, is much nearer, much more natural, and more worth to all men, than the propriety of their goods and wealth. Yet such power as all this did the king in open terms challenge to have over us, and brought thousands to help him win it; so much more good at fighting than at understanding, as to persuade themselves, that they fought then for the subject's liberty.

He is contented, because he knows no other remedy, to resign this power "for his own time, but not for his successors:" so diligent and careful he is, that we should be slaves, if not to him, yet to his posterity, and fain would leave us the legacy of another war about it. But the parliament have done well to remove that question: whom, as his manner is to dignify with some good name or other, he calls now a "many-headed hydra of government, full of factious distractions, and not more eyes than mouths." Yet surely not more mouths, or not so wide, as the dissolute rabble of all his courtiers had, both hees and shees, if there were any males among them.

He would prove, that to govern by parliament hath "a monstrosity rather than perfection;" and grounds his argument upon two or three eminent absurdities: first, by placing counsel in the senses; next, by turning the senses out of the head, and in lieu thereof placing power supreme above sense and reason: which be now the greater monstrosities? Further to dispute what kind of government is best would be a long debate; it sufficeth that his reasons here for monarchy are found weak and inconsiderable.

He bodes much "horrour and bad influence after his eclipse." He speaks his wishes; but they who by weighing prudently things past foresee things to come, the best divination, may hope rather all good success and happiness, by removing that darkness, which the misty cloud of his prerogative made between us and a peaceful reformation, which is our true sun-light, and not he, though he would be taken for our sun itself. And wherefore should we not hope to be governed more happily without a king, whenas all our misery and trouble hath been either by a king, or by our necessary vindication and defence against him?

He would be thought "inforced to perjury," by hav-

ing granted the militia, by which his oath bound him to protect the people. If he can be perjured in granting that, why doth he refuse for no other cause the abolishing of episcopacy? But never was any oath so blind as to swear him to protect delinquents against justice, but to protect all the people in that order, and by those hands which the parliament should advise him to, and the protected confide in; not under the show of protection to hold a violent and incommunicable sword over us, as ready to be let fall upon our own necks, as upon our enemies; nor to make our own hands and weapons fight against our own liberties.

By his parting with the militia he takes to himself much praise of his "assurance in God's protection;" and to the parliament imputes the fear "of not daring to adventure the injustice of their actions upon any other way of safety." But wherefore came not this assurance of God's protection to him till the militia was wrung out of his hands? It should seem by his holding it so fast, that his own actions and intentions had no less of injustice in them, than what he charges upon others, whom he terms Chaldeans, Sabeans, and the devil himself. But Job used no such militia against those enemies, nor such a magazine as was at Hull, which this king so contended for, and made war upon us, that he might have wherewithal to make war against us.

He concludes, that, "although they take all from him, yet can they not obstruct his way to heaven." It was no handsome occasion, by feigning obstructions where they are not, to tell us whither he was going: he should have shut the door, and prayed in secret, not here in the high street. Private prayers in public ask something of whom they ask not, and that shall be their reward.

XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propositions, &c.*

Of the nineteen propositions he names none in particular, neither shall the answer: But he insists upon the old plea of "his conscience, honour, and reason;" using the plausibility of large and indefinite words, to defend himself at such a distance as may hinder the eye of common judgment from all distinct view and examination of his reasoning. "He would buy the peace of his people at any rate, save only the parting with his conscience and honour." Yet shews not how it can happen that the peace of a people, if otherwise to be bought at any rate, should be inconsistent or at variance with the conscience and honour of a king. Till then, we may receive it for a better sentence, that nothing should be more agreeable to the conscience and honour of a king, than to preserve his subjects in peace; especially from civil war.

And which of the propositions were "obtruded on him with the point of the sword," till he first with the point of the sword thrust from him both the propositions and the propounders? He never reckons those violent and merciless obtrusions, which for almost twenty years he had been forcing upon tender consciences by all sorts of persecution, till through the multitude of them that were to suffer, it could no more be called a persecution, but a plain war. From which when first the Scots, then the English, were constrained to defend themselves, this their just defence is that which he calls here, "their making war upon his soul."

He grudges that "so many things are required of him, and nothing offered him in requital of those favours which he had granted." What could satiate the desires of this man, who being king of England, and master of almost two millions yearly what by hook or crook, was still in want; and those acts of justice which he was to do in duty, counts done as favours; and such favours as were not done without the avaricious hope of other rewards besides supreme honour, and the constant revenue of his place?

"This honour," he saith, "they did him, to put him on the giving part." And spake truer than he intended, it being merely for honour's sake that they did so; not that it belonged to him of right: for what can he give to a parliament, who receives all he hath from the people, and for the people's good? Yet now he brings his own conditional rights to contest and be preferred before the people's good; and yet unless it be in order to their good, he hath no rights at all; reigning by the laws of the land, not by his own; which laws are in the hands of parliament to change or abrogate as they shall see best for the commonwealth, even to the taking away of kingship itself, when it grows too masterful and burdensome. For every commonwealth is in general defined, a society sufficient of itself, in all things conducible to well-being and commodious life. Any of which requisite things, if it cannot have without the gift and favour of a single person, or without leave of his private reason or his conscience, it cannot be thought sufficient of itself, and by consequence no commonwealth, nor free; but a multitude of vassals in the possession and domain of one absolute lord, and wholly obnoxious to his will. If the king have power to give or deny any thing to his parliament, he must do it either as a person several from them, or as one greater: neither of which will be allowed him: not to be considered severally from them; for as the king of England can do no wrong, so neither can he do right but in his courts and by his courts; and what is legally done in them, shall be deemed the king's assent, though he as a several person shall judge or endeavour the contrary; so that indeed without his courts, or against them, he is no king. If therefore he obtrude upon us any public mischief, or withhold from us any general good, which is wrong in the highest degree, he must do it as a tyrant, not as a king of England, by the known maxims of our law. Neither can he, as one greater, give aught to the parliament which is not in their own power, but he must be greater also than the kingdom which they represent: so that to honour him with the giving part was a mere civility, and may be well termed the courtesy of England, not the king's due.

But the "incommunicable jewel of his conscience"

he will not give, "but reserve to himself." It seems that his conscience was none of the crown jewels; for those we know were in Holland, not incommunicable, to buy arms against his subjects. Being therefore but a private jewel, he could not have done a greater pleasure to the kingdom, than by reserving it to himself. But he, contrary to what is here professed, would have his conscience not an incommunicable, but a universal conscience, the whole kingdom's conscience. Thus what he seems to fear lest we should ravish from him, is our chief complaint that he obtruded upon us; we never forced him to part with his conscience, but it was he that would have forced us to part with ours.

Some things he taxes them to have offered him, "which, while he had the mastery of his reason, he would never consent to." Very likely; but had his reason mastered him as it ought, and not been mastered long ago by his sense and humour, (as the breeding of most kings hath been ever sensual and most humoured,) perhaps he would have made no difficulty. Meanwhile at what a fine pass is the kingdom, that must depend in greatest exigencies upon the fantasy of a king's reason, be he wise or fool, who arrogantly shall answer all the wisdom of the land, that what they offer seems to him unreasonable!

He prefers his "love of truth" before his love of the people. His love of truth would have led him to the search of truth, and have taught him not to lean so much upon his own understanding. He met at first with doctrines of unaccountable prerogative; in them he rested, because they pleased him; they therefore pleased him because they gave him all; and this he calls his love of truth, and prefers it before the love of his people's peace.

Some things they proposed, "which would have wounded the inward peace of his conscience." The more our evil hap, that three kingdoms should be thus pestered with one conscience; who chiefly scrupled to grant us that, which the parliament advised him to, as the chief means of our public welfare and reformation. These scruples to many perhaps will seem pretended; to others, upon as good grounds, may seem real; and that it was the just judgment of God, that he who was so cruel and so remorseless to other men's consciences, should have a conscience within him as cruel to himself; constraining him, as he constrained others, and ensnaring him in such ways and counsels as were certain to be his destruction.

"Other things though he could approve, yet in honour and policy he thought fit to deny, lest he should seem to dare deny nothing." By this means he will be sure, what with reason, honour, policy, or punctilios, to be found never unfurnished of a denial; whether it were his envy not to be overbounteous, or that the submissness of our asking stirred up in him a certain pleasure of denying. Good princes have thought it their chief happiness to be always granting; if good things, for the things' sake; if things indifferent, for the people's sake; while this man sits calculating variety of excuses how he may grant least; as if his whole strength and royalty were placed in a mere negative.

Of one proposition especially he laments him much, that they would bind him "to a general and implicit consent for whatever they desired." Which though I find not among the nineteen, yet undoubtedly the oath of his coronation binds him to no less; neither is he at all by his office to interpose against a parliament in the making or not making of any law; but to take that for just and good legally, which is there decreed, and to see it executed accordingly. Nor was he set over us to vie wisdom with his parliament, but to be guided by them; any of whom possibly may as far excel him in the gift of wisdom, as he them in place and dignity. But much nearer is it to impossibility, that any king alone should be wiser than all his council; sure enough it was not he, though no king ever before him so much contended to have it thought so. And if the parliament so thought not, but desired him to follow their advice and deliberation in things of public concernment, he accounts it the same proposition, as if Samson had been moved "to the putting out his eyes, that the Philistines might abuse him." And thus out of an unwise or pretended fear, lest others should make a scorn of him for yielding to his parliament, he regards not to give cause of worse suspicion, that he made a scorn of his regal oath.

But "to exclude him from all power of denial seems an arrogance;" in the parliament he means: what in him then to deny against the parliament? None at all, by what he argues: for "by petitioning, they confess their inferiority, and that obliges them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their superior thinks fit to give." First, petitioning, in better English, is no more than requesting or requiring; and men require not favours only, but their due; and that not only from superiors, but from equals, and inferiors also. The noblest Romans, when they stood for that which was a kind of regal honour, the consulship, were wont in a submissive manner to go about, and beg that highest dignity of the meanest plebeians, naming them man by man; which in their tongue was called petitio consulatus. And the parliament of England petitioned the king, not because all of them were inferior to him, but because he was inferior to any one of them, which they did of civil custom, and for fashion's sake, more than of duty; for by plain law cited before, the parliament is his superior.

But what law in any trial or dispute enjoins a freeman to rest quieted, though not satisfied with the will and reason of his superior? It were a mad law that would subject reason to superiority of place. And if our highest consultations and purposed laws must be terminated by the king's will, then is the will of one man our law, and no subtlety of dispute can redeem the parliament and nation from being slaves: neither can any tyrant require more than that his will or reason, though not satisfying, should yet be rested in, and determine all things. We may conclude therefore, that when the parliament petitioned the king, it was but merely form, let it be as "foolish and absurd" as he pleases. It cannot certainly be so absurd as what he requires, that the parliament should confine their own

and all the kingdom's reason to the will of one man, because it was his hap to succeed his father. For neither God nor the laws have subjected us to his will, nor set his reason to be our sovereign above law, (which must needs be, if he can strangle it in the birth,) but set his person over us in the sovereign execution of such laws as the parliament establish. The parliament therefore, without any usurpation, hath had it always in their power to limit and confine the exorbitancy of kings, whether they call it their will, their reason, or their conscience.

But this above all was never expected, nor is to be endured, that a king, who is bound by law and oath to follow the advice of his parliament, should be permitted to except against them as "young statesmen," and proudly to suspend his following their advice, "until his seven years experience had shewn him how well they could govern themselves." Doubtless the law never supposed so great an arrogance could be in one man; that he whose seventeen years unexperience had almost ruined all, should sit another seven years schoolmaster to tutor those who were sent by the whole realm to be his counsellors and teachers. And with what modesty can he pretend to be a statesman himself, who with his father's king-craft and his own, did never that of his own accord, which was not directly opposite to his professed interest both at home and abroad; discontenting and alienating his subjects at home, weakening and deserting his confederates abroad, and with them the common cause of religion; so that the whole course of his reign, by an example of his own furnishing, hath resembled Phaeton more than Phœbus, and forced the parliament to drive like Jehu; which omen taken from his own mouth, God hath not diverted?

And he on the other side might have remembered, that the parliament sit in that body, not as his subjects, but as his superiors, called, not by him, but by the law; not only twice every year, but as oft as great affairs require, to be his counsellors and dictators, though he stomach it; nor to be dissolved at his pleasure, but when all grievances be first removed, all petitions heard and answered. This is not only reason, but the known law of the land.

"When he heard that propositions would be sent him," he sat conjecturing what they would propound; and because they propounded what he expected not, he takes that to be a warrant for his denying them. But what did he expect? He expected that the parliament would reinforce "some old laws." But if those laws were not a sufficient remedy to all grievances, nay were found to be grievances themselves, when did we lose that other part of our freedom to establish new? He thought "some injuries done by himself and others to the commonwealth were to be repaired." But how could that be, while he the chief offender took upon him to be sole judge both of the injury and the reparation? "He staid till the advantages of his crown considered, might induce him to condescend to the people's good." When as the crown itself with all those advantages were therefore given him, that the people's good should be first considered; not bargained for, and bought by inches with the bribe of more offertures and advantages to his crown. He looked "for moderate desires of due reformation;" as if any such desires could be immoderate. He looked for such a reformation "both in church and state, as might preserve" the roots of every grievance and abuse in both still growing, (which he calls "the foundation and essentials,") and would have only the excrescences of evil pruned away for the present, as was plotted before, that they might grow fast enough between triennial parliaments, to hinder them by work enough besides from ever striking at the root. He alleges, "They should have had regard to the laws in force, to the wisdom and piety of former parliaments, to the ancient and universal practice of christian churches." As if they who come with full authority to redress public grievances, which ofttimes are laws themselves, were to have their hands bound by laws in force, or the supposition of more piety and wisdom in their ancestors, or the practice of churches heretofore; whose fathers, notwithstanding all these pretences, made as vast alterations to free themselves from ancient popery. For all antiquity that adds or varies from the Scripture, is no more warranted to our safe imitation, than what was done the age before at Trent. Nor was there need to have despaired of what could be established in lieu of what was to be annulled, having before his eyes the government of so many churches beyond the seas; whose pregnant and solid reasons wrought so with the parliament, as to desire a uniformity rather with all other protestants, than to be a schism divided from them under a conclave of thirty bishops, and a crew of irreligious priests that gaped for the same preferment.

And whereas he blames those propositions for not containing what they ought, what did they mention, but to vindicate and restore the rights of parliament invaded by cabin councils, the courts of justice obstructed, and the government of the church innovated and corrupted? All these things he might easily have observed in them, which he affirms he could not find; but found "those demanding" in parliament, who were "looked upon before as factious in the state, and schismatical in the church; and demanding not only toleration for themselves in their vanity, novelty, and confusion, but also an extirpation of that government, whose rights they had a mind to invade." Was this man ever likely to be advised, who with such a prejudice and disesteem sets himself against his chosen and appointed counsellors? likely ever to admit of reformation, who censures all the government of other protestant churches, as bad as any papist could have censured them? And what king had ever his whole kingdom in such contempt, so to wrong and dishonour the free elections of his people, as to judge them, whom the nation thought worthiest to sit with him in parliament, few else but such as were "punishable by the laws?" yet knowing that time was, when to be a protestant, to be a Christian, was by law as punishable as to be a traitor; and that our Saviour himself, coming to reform his church, was accused of an intent to invade Cæsar's right, as good a right as the prelate

bishops ever had; the one being got by force, the other by spiritual usurpation; and both by force upheld.

He admires and falls into an extasy, that the parliament should send him such a "horrid proposition," as the removal of episcopacy. But expect from him in an extasy no other reasons of his admiration than the dream and tautology of what he hath so often repeated, law, antiquity, ancestors, prosperity, and the like, which will be therefore not worth a second answer, but may pass with his own comparison into the common sewer of other popish arguments.

"Had the two houses sued out their livery from the wardship of tumults," he could sooner have believed them. It concerned them first to sue out their livery from the unjust wardship of his encroaching prerogative. And had he also redeemed his overdated minority from a pupilage under bishops, he would much less have mistrusted his parliament; and never would have set so base a character upon them, as to count them no better than the vassals of certain nameless men, whom he charges to be such as "hunt after faction with their hounds the tumults." And yet the bishops could have told him, that Nimrod, the first that hunted after faction, is reputed by ancient tradition the first that founded monarchy; whence it appears, that to hunt after faction is more properly the king's game; and those hounds, which he calls the vulgar, have been often hallooed to from court, of whom the mongrel sort have been enticed; the rest have not lost their scent, but understood aright, that the parliament had that part to act, which he had failed in; that trust to discharge, which he had broken; that estate and honour to preserve, which was far beyond his, the estate and honour of the commonwealth, which he had embezzled.

Yet so far doth self-opinion or false principles delude and transport him, as to think "the concurrence of his reason" to the votes of parliament, not only political, but natural, "and as necessary to the begetting," or bringing forth of any one "complete act of public wisdom as the sun's influence is necessary to all nature's productions." So that the parliament, it seems, is but a female, and without his procreative reason, the laws which they can produce are but wind-eggs: wisdom, it seems, to a king is natural, to a parliament not natural, but by conjunction with the king; yet he professes to hold his kingly right by law; and if no law could be made but by the great council of a nation, which we now term a parliament, then certainly it was a parliament that first created kings; and not only made laws before a king was in being, but those laws especially whereby he holds his crown. He ought then to have so thought of a parliament, if he count it not male, as of his mother, which to civil being created both him and the royalty he wore. And if it hath been anciently interpreted the presaging sign of a future tyrant, but to dream of copulation with his mother, what can it be less than actual tyranny to affirm waking, that the parliament, which is his mother, can neither conceive or bring forth "any authoritative act" without his masculine coition? Nay, that his reason is as celestial and life-giving to the parliament, as the sun's influence into the earth: what other notions but these, or such like, could swell up Caligula to think himself a god?

But to be rid of these mortifying propositions, he leaves no tyrannical evasion unessayed; first, "that they are not the joint and free desires of both houses, or the major part;" next, "that the choice of many members was carried on by faction." The former of these is already discovered to be an old device put first in practice by Charles the Fifth, since the reformation: who when the protestants of Germany for their own defence joined themselves in league, in his declarations and remonstrances laid the fault only upon some few, (for it was dangerous to take notice of too many enemies,) and accused them, that under colour of religion they had a purpose to invade his and the church's right; by which policy he deceived many of the German cities, and kept them divided from that league, until they saw themselves brought into a snare. That other cavil against the people's choice puts us in mind rather what the court was wont to do, and how to tamper with elections: neither was there at that time any faction more potent, or more likely to do such a business, than they themselves who complain most.

But "he must chew such morsels as propositions, ere he let them down." So let him; but if the kingdom shall taste nothing but after his chewing, what does he make of the kingdom but a great baby? "The straitness of his conscience will not give him leave to swallow down such camels of sacrilege and injustice as others do." This is the Pharisee up and down, "I am not as other men are." But what camels of injustice he could devour, all his three realms were witness, which was the cause that they almost perished for want of parliaments. And he that will be unjust to man, will be sacrilegious to God; and to bereave a Christian conscious of liberty for no other reason than the narrowness of his own conscience, is the most unjust measure to man, and the worst sacrilege to God. That other, which he calls sacrilege, of taking from the clergy that superfluous wealth, which antiquity as old as Constantine, from the credit of a divine vision, counted "poison in the church," hath been ever most opposed by men, whose righteousness in other matters hath been least observed. He concludes, as his manner is, with high commendation of his own "unbiassed rectitude," and believes nothing to be in them that dissent from him, but faction, innovation, and particular designs. Of these repetitions I find no end, no not in his prayer; which being founded upon deceitful principles, and a fond hope that God will bless him in those errours, which he calls "honest," finds a fit answer of St. James, "Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss." As for the truth and sincerity, which he prays may be always found in those his declarations to the people, the contrariety of his own actions will bear eternal witness, how little careful or solicitous he was, what he promised or what he uttered there

XII. *Upon the Rebellion in Ireland.*

The rebellion and horrid massacre of English protestants in Ireland, to the number of 154,000 in the province of Ulster only, by their own computation; which added to the other three, makes up the total sum of that slaughter in all likelihood four times as great; although so sudden and so violent, as at first to amaze all men that were not accessary; yet from whom and from what counsels it first sprung, neither was nor could be possibly so secret, as the contrivers thereof, blinded with vain hope, or the despair that other plots would succeed, supposed. For it cannot be imaginable, that the Irish, guided by so many subtle and Italian heads of the Romish party, should so far have lost the use of reason, and indeed of common sense, as not supported with other strength than their own, to begin a war so desperate and irreconcilable against both England and Scotland at once. All other nations, from whom they could expect aid, were busied to the utmost in their own most necessary concernments. It remains then that either some authority, or some great assistance promised them from England, was that whereon they chiefly trusted. And as it is not difficult to discern from what inducing cause this insurrection first arose, so neither was it hard at first to have applied some effectual remedy, though not prevention. And yet prevention was not hopeless, when Strafford either believed not, or did not care to believe, the several warnings and discoveries thereof, which more than once by papists and by friars themselves were brought him; besides what was brought by deposition, divers months before that rebellion, to the archbishop of Canterbury and others of the king's council; as the declaration of "no addresses" declares. But the assurance which they had in private, that no remedy should be applied, was, it seems, one of the chief reasons that drew on their undertaking. And long it was before that assurance failed them; until the bishops and popish lords, who, while they sat and voted, still opposed the sending aid to Ireland, were expelled the house.

Seeing then the main excitement and authority for this rebellion must be needs derived from England, it will be next inquired, who was the prime author. The king here denounces a malediction temporal and eternal, not simply to the author, but to the "malicious author" of this bloodshed: and by that limitation may exempt, not himself only, but perhaps the Irish rebels themselves, who never will confess to God or man that any blood was shed by them maliciously; but either in the catholic cause, or common liberty, or some other specious plea, which the conscience from grounds both good and evil usually suggests to itself: thereby thinking to elude the direct force of that imputation, which lies upon them.

Yet he acknowledges, "it fell out as a most unhappy advantage of some men's malice against him:" but indeed of most men's just suspicion, by finding in it no such wide departure or disagreement from the scope of his former counsels and proceedings. And that he himself was the author of that rebellion, he denies both here and elsewhere, with many imprecations, but no solid evidence: What on the other side against his denial hath been affirmed in three kingdoms, being here briefly set in view, the reader may so judge as he finds cause.

This is most certain, that the king was ever friendly to the Irish papists, and in his third year, against the plain advice of parliament, like a kind of pope, sold them many indulgences for money; and upon all occasions advancing the popish party, and negotiating underhand by priests, who were made his agents, engaged the Irish papists in a war against the Scots protestants. To that end he furnished them, and had them trained in arms, and kept them up, either openly or underhand, the only army in his three kingdoms, till the very burst of that rebellion. The summer before that dismal October, a committee of most active papists, all since in the head of that rebellion, were in great favour at Whitehall; and admitted to many private consultations with the king and queen. And to make it evident that no mean matters were the subject of those conferences, at their request he gave away his peculiar right to more than five Irish counties, for the payment of an inconsiderable rent. They departed not home till within two months before the rebellion; and were either from the first breaking out, or soon after, found to be the chief rebels themselves. But what should move the king besides his own inclination to popery, and the prevalence of his queen over him, to hold such frequent and close meetings with a committee of Irish papists in his own house, while the parliament of England sat unadvised with, is declared by a Scots author, and of itself is clear enough. The parliament at the beginning of that summer, having put Strafford to death, imprisoned others his chief favourites, and driven the rest to fly; the king, who had in vain tempted both the Scots and the English army to come up against the parliament and city, finding no compliance answerable to his hope from the protestant armies, betakes himself last to the Irish; who had in readiness an army of eight thousand papists, which he had refused so often to disband, and a committee here of the same religion. With them, who thought the time now come, (which to bring about they had been many years before not wishing only, but with much industry complotting, to do some eminent service for the church of Rome and their own perfidious natures, against a puritan parliament and the hated English their masters,) he agrees and concludes, that so soon as both armies in England were disbanded, the Irish should appear in arms, master all the protestants, and help the king against his parliament. And we need not doubt, that those five counties were given to the Irish for other reason than the four northern counties had been a little before offered to the Scots. The king, in August, takes a journey into Scotland; and overtaking the Scots army then on their way home, attempts the second time to pervert them, but without success. No sooner come into Scotland, but he lays a plot, so saith the Scots author, to remove out of the way such of the nobility there as were most likely to

withstand, or not to further his designs. This being discovered, he sends from his side one Dillon, a papist lord, soon after a chief rebel, with letters into Ireland; and dispatches a commission under the great seal of Scotland, at that time in his own custody, commanding that they should forthwith, as had been formerly agreed, cause all the Irish to rise in arms. Who no sooner had received such command, but obeyed, and began in massacre; for they knew no other way to make sure the protestants, which was commanded them expressly; and the way, it seems, left to their discretion. He who hath a mind to read the commission itself, and sound reason added why it was not likely to be forged, besides the attestation of so many Irish themselves, may have recourse to a book, entitled, "The Mystery of Iniquity." Besides what the parliament itself in the declaration of "no more addresses" hath affirmed, that they have one copy of that commission in their own hands, attested by the oaths of some that were eye-witnesses, and had seen it under the seal: others of the principal rebels have confessed, that this commission was the summer before promised at London to the Irish commissioners; to whom the king then discovered in plain words his great desire to be revenged on the parliament of England.

After the rebellion broke out, which in words only he detested, but underhand favoured and promoted by all the offices of friendship, correspondence, and what possible aid he could afford them, the particulars whereof are too many to be inserted here; I suppose no understanding man could longer doubt who was "author or instigator" of that rebellion. If there be who yet doubt, I refer them especially to that declaration of July 1643, with that of "no addresses" 1647, and another full volume of examinations to be set out speedily concerning this matter. Against all which testimonies, likelihoods, evidences, and apparent actions of his own, being so abundant, his bare denial, though with imprecation, can no way countervail; and least of all in his own cause.

As for the commission granted them, he thinks to evade that by retorting, that "some in England fight against him, and yet pretend his authority." But, though a parliament by the known laws may affirm justly to have the king's authority, inseparable from that court, though divided from his person, it is not credible that the Irish rebels, who so much tendered his person above his authority, and were by him so well received at Oxford, would be so far from all humanity, as to slander him with a particular commission, signed and sent them by his own hand.

And of his good affection to the rebels this chapter itself is not without witness. He holds them less in fault than the Scots, as from whom they might allege to have fetched "their imitation;" making no difference between men that rose necessarily to defend themselves, which no protestant doctrine ever disallowed, against them who threatened war, and those who began a voluntary and causeless rebellion, with the massacre of so many thousands, who never meant them harm.

He falls next to flashes, and a multitude of words, in all which is contained no more than what might be the plea of any guiltiest offender: He was not the author, because "he hath the greatest share of loss and dishonour by what is committed." Who is there that offends God, or his neighbour, on whom the greatest share of loss and dishonour lights not in the end? But in the act of doing evil, men use not to consider the event of these evil doings; or if they do, have then no power to curb the sway of their own wickedness: so that the greatest share of loss and dishonour to happen upon themselves, is no argument that they were not guilty. This other is as weak, that "a king's interest, above that of any other man, lies chiefly in the common welfare of his subjects;" therefore no king will do aught against the common welfare. For by this evasion any tyrant might as well purge himself from the guilt of raising troubles or commotions among the people, because undoubtedly his chief interest lies in their sitting still.

I said but now, that even this chapter, if nothing else, might suffice to discover his good affection to the rebels, which in this that follows too notoriously appears; imputing this insurrection to "the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury, of some men;" (these "some men," by his continual paraphrase, are meant the parliament;) and, lastly, "to the fear of utter extirpation." If the whole Irishry of rebels had feed some advocate to speak partially and sophistically in their defence, he could have hardly dazzled better; yet nevertheless would have proved himself no other than a plausible deceiver. And, perhaps (nay more than perhaps, for it is affirmed and extant under good evidence, that) those feigned terrours and jealousies were either by the king himself, or the popish priests which were sent by him, put into the head of that inquisitive people, on set purpose to engage them. For who had power "to oppress" them, or to relieve them being oppressed, but the king, or his immediate deputy? This rather should have made them rise against the king, than against the parliament. Who threatened or ever thought of their extirpation, till they themselves had begun it to the English? As for "preposterous rigour, covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury," they had more reason to suspect those evils first from his own commands, whom they saw using daily no greater argument to prove the truth of his religion than by enduring no other but his own Prelatical; and, to force it upon others, made episcopal, ceremonial, and common-prayer book wars. But the papists understood him better than by the outside; and knew that those wars were their wars. Although if the commonwealth should be afraid to suppress open idolatry, lest the papists thereupon should grow desperate, this were to let them grow and become our persecutors, while we neglected what we might have done evangelically to be their reformers: or to do as his father James did, who instead of taking heart and putting confidence in God by such a deliverance as from the powder-plot, though it went not off, yet with the mere conceit of it, as some observe, was hit

into such a hectic trembling* between protestant and papist all his life after, that he never durst from that time do otherwise than equivocate or collogue with the pope and his adherents.

He would be thought to commiserate the sad effects of that rebellion, and to lament that "the tears and blood spilt there did not quench the sparks of our civil" discord here. But who began these dissensions? and what can be more openly known than those retardings and delays, which by himself were continually devised, to hinder and put back the relief of those distressed protestants? which undoubtedly, had it not been then put back, might have saved many streams of those tears and that blood, whereof he seems here so sadly to bewail the spilling. His manifold excuses, diversions, and delays, are too well known to be recited here in particular, and too many.

But "he offered to go himself in person upon that expedition," and reckons up many surmises why he thinks they would not suffer him. But mentions not that by his underdealing to debauch armies here at home, and by his secret intercourse with the chief rebels, long ere that time every where known, he had brought the parliament into so just a diffidence of him, as that they durst not leave the public arms to his disposal, much less an army to his conduct.

He concludes, "That next the sin of those who began that rebellion, theirs must needs be who hindered the suppressing, or diverted the aids." But judgment rashly given, ofttimes involves the judge himself. He finds fault with those "who threatened all extremity to the rebels," and pleads much that mercy should be shewn them. It seems he found himself not so much concerned as those who had lost fathers, brothers, wives, and children by their cruelty; whom in justice to retaliate is not, as he supposes, "unevangelical;" so long as magistracy and war are not laid down under the gospel. If this his sermon of affected mercy were not too pharisaical, how could he permit himself to cause the slaughter of so many thousands here in England for mere prerogatives, the toys and gewgaws of his crown, for copes and surplices, the trinkets of his priests; and not perceive his own zeal, while he taxes others, to be most preposterous and unevangelical? Neither is there the same cause to destroy a whole city for the ravishing of a sister, not done out of villainy, and recompense offered by marriage; nor the same cause for those disciples to summon fire from heaven upon the whole city where they were denied lodging; and for a nation by just war and execution to slay whole families of them, who so barbarously had slain whole families before. Did not all Israel do as much against the Benjamites for one rape committed by a few, and defended by the whole tribe? and did they not the same to Jabesh-Gilead for not assisting them in that revenge? I speak not this that such measure should be meted rigorously to all the Irish, or as remembering that the parliament ever so decreed; but to shew that this his homily hath more craft and affectation in it, than of sound doctrine.

* The second edition has shivering.

But it was happy that his going into Ireland was not consented to; for either he had certainly turned his raised forces against the parliament itself, or not gone at all; or had he gone, what work he would have made there, his own following words declare.

"He would have punished some;" no question; for some, perhaps, who were of least use, must of necessity have been sacrificed to his reputation, and the convenience of his affairs. Others he "would have disarmed;" that is to say, in his own time: but "all of them he would have protected from the fury of those that would have drowned them, if they had refused to swim down the popular stream." These expressions are too often met, and too well understood, for any man to doubt his meaning. By the "fury of those," he means no other than the justice of parliament, to whom yet he had committed the whole business. Those who would have refused to swim down the popular stream, our constant key tells us to be papists, prelates, and their faction; these, by his own confession here, he would have protected against his puritan parliament: and by this who sees not that he and the Irish rebels had but one aim, one and the same drift, and would have forthwith joined in one body against us?

He goes on still in his tenderness of the Irish rebels, fearing lest "our zeal should be more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done." This either justifies the rebels to have done no harm at all, or infers his opinion that the parliament is more bloody and rapacious in the prosecution of their justice, than those rebels were in the execution of their barbarous cruelty. Let men doubt now and dispute to whom the king was a friend most—to his English parliament, or to his Irish rebels.

With whom, that we may yet see further how much he was their friend, after that the parliament had brought them every where either to famine or a low condition, he, to give them all the respite and advantages they could desire, without advice of parliament, to whom he himself had committed the managing of that war, makes a cessation; in pretence to relieve the protestants, "overborne there with numbers;" but, as the event proved, to support the papists, by diverting and drawing over the English army there, to his own service here against the parliament. For that the protestants were then on the winning hand, it must needs be plain; who, notwithstanding the miss of those forces, which at their landing here mastered without difficulty great part of Wales and Cheshire, yet made a shift to keep their own in Ireland. But the plot of this Irish truce is in good part discovered in that declaration of September 30, 1643. And if the protestants were but handfuls there, as he calls them, why did he stop and waylay, both by land and sea, to his utmost power, those provisions and supplies which were sent by the parliament? How were so many handfuls called over, as for a while stood him in no small stead, and against our main forces here in England?

Since therefore all the reasons that can be given of this cessation appear so false and frivolous, it may be

justly feared, that the design itself was most wicked and pernicious. What remains then? He "appeals to God," and is cast; likening his punishment to Job's trials, before he saw them to have Job's ending. But how could charity herself believe there was at all in him any religion, so much as but to fear there is a God; whenas, by what is noted in the declaration of "no more addresses," he vowed solemnly to the parliament, with imprecations upon himself and his posterity, if ever he consented to the abolishing of those laws which were in force against papists; and, at the same time, as appeared plainly by the very date of his own letters to the queen and Ormond, consented to the abolishing of all penal laws against them both in Ireland and England? If these were acts of a religious prince, what memory of man, written or unwritten, can tell us news of any prince that ever was irreligious? He cannot stand "to make prolix apologies." Then surely those long pamphlets set out for declarations and protestations in his name were none of his; and how they should be his, indeed, being so repugnant to the whole course of his actions, augments the difficulty.

But he usurps a common saying, "That it is kingly to do well, and hear ill." That may be sometimes true: but far more frequently to do ill and hear well; so great is the multitude of flatterers, and them that deify the name of king!

Yet, not content with these neighbours, we have him still a perpetual preacher of his own virtues, and of that especially, which who knows not to be patience perforce?

He "believes it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil his other kingdoms, are also guilty of the blood of Ireland." And we believe so too; for now the cessation is become a peace by published articles, and commission to bring them over against England, first only ten thousand by the earl of Glamorgan,* next all of them, if possible, under Ormond, which was the last of all his transactions done as a public person. And no wonder; for he looked upon the blood spilt, whether of subjects or of rebels, with an indifferent eye, "as exhausted out of his own veins;" without distinguishing, as he ought, which was good blood and which corrupt; the not letting out whereof, endangers the whole body.

And what the doctrine is, ye may perceive also by the prayer, which, after a short ejaculation for the "poor protestants," prays at large for the Irish rebels, that God would not give them over, or "their children, to the covetousness, cruelty, fierce and cursed anger" of the parliament.

He finishes with a deliberate and solemn curse "upon himself and his father's house." Which how far God hath already brought to pass, is to the end, that men, by so eminent an example, should learn to tremble at his judgments, and not play with imprecations.

XIII. *Upon the calling in of the Scots, and their coming.*

It must needs seem strange, where men accustom themselves to ponder and contemplate things in their first original and institution, that kings, who as all other officers of the public, were at first chosen and installed only by consent and suffrage of the people, to govern them as freemen by laws of their own making, and to be, in consideration of that dignity and riches bestowed upon them, the entrusted servants of the commonwealth, should, notwithstanding, grow up to that dishonest encroachment, as to esteem themselves masters, both of that great trust which they serve, and of the people that betrusted them; counting what they ought to do, both in discharge of their public duty, and for the great reward of honour and revenue which they receive, as done all of mere grace and favour; as if their power over us were by nature, and from themselves, or that God had sold us into their hands. Indeed, if the race of kings were eminently the best of men, as the breed at Tutbury is of horses, it would in reason then be their part only to command, ours always to obey. But kings by generation no way excelling others, and most commonly not being the wisest or the worthiest by far of whom they claim to have the governing; that we should yield them subjection to our own ruin, or hold of them the right of our common safety, and our natural freedom by mere gift, (as when the conduit pisses wine at coronations,) from the superfluity of their royal grace and beneficence, we may be sure was never the intent of God, whose ways are just and equal; never the intent of nature, whose works are also regular; never of any people not wholly barbarous, whom prudence, or no more but human sense, would have better guided when they first created kings, than so to nullify and tread to dirt the rest of mankind, by exalting one person and his lineage without other merit looked after, but the mere contingency of a begetting, into an absolute and unaccountable dominion over them and their posterity. Yet this ignorant or wilful mistake of the whole matter had taken so deep root in the imagination of this king, that whether to the English or to the Scot, mentioning what acts of his regal office (though God knows how unwillingly) he had passed, he calls them, as in other places, acts of grace and bounty; so here "special obligations, favours, to gratify active spirits, and the desires of that party." Words not only sounding pride and lordly usurpation, but injustice, partiality, and corruption. For to the Irish he so far condescended, as first to tolerate in private, then to covenant openly the tolerating of popery: so far to the Scot, as to remove bishops, establish presbytery, and the militia in their own hands; "preferring, as some thought, the desires of Scotland before his own interest and honour." But being once on this side Tweed, his reason, his conscience, and his honour became so frightened with a kind of false virginity, that to the English neither one

* See this fully proved in Dr. Birch's Enquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the transactions of the earl of Glamorgan, 2d edit. 1756.

nor other of the same demands could be granted, wherewith the Scots were gratified; as if our air and climate on a sudden had changed the property and the nature both of conscience, honour, and reason, or that he found none so fit as English to be the subjects of his arbitrary power. Ireland was as Ephraim, the strength of his head; Scotland as Judah, was his lawgiver; but over England, as over Edom, he meant to cast his shoe: and yet so many sober Englishmen, not sufficiently awake to consider this, like men enchanted with the Circæan cup of servitude, will not be held back from running their own heads into the yoke of bondage.

The sum of his discourse is against "settling of religion by violent means;" which, whether it were the Scots' design upon England, they are best able to clear themselves. But this of all may seem strangest, that the king, who, while it was permitted him, never did thing more eagerly than to molest and persecute the consciences of most religious men; he who had made a war, and lost all, rather than not uphold a hierarchy of persecuting bishops, should have the confidence here to profess himself so much an enemy of those that force the conscience. For was it not he, who upon the English obtruded new ceremonies, upon the Scots a new Liturgy, and with his sword went about to engrave * a bloody Rubric on their backs? Did he not forbid and hinder all effectual search of truth; nay, like a besieging enemy, stopped all her passages both by word and writing? Yet here can talk of "fair and equal disputations:" where, notwithstanding, if all submit not to his judgment, as not being "rationally convicted," they must submit (and he conceals it not) to his penalty, as counted obstinate. But what if he himself, and those his learned churchmen, were the convicted or the obstinate part long ago; should reformation suffer them to sit lording over the church in their fat bishoprics and pluralities, like the great whore that sitteth upon many waters, till they would vouchsafe to be disputed out? Or should we sit disputing, while they sat plotting and persecuting? Those clergymen were not "to be driven into the fold like sheep," as his simile runs, but to be driven out of the fold like wolves or thieves, where they sat fleecing those flocks which they never fed.

He believes "that presbytery, though proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, were not by the sword to be set up without his consent;" which is contrary both to the doctrine and the known practice of all protestant churches, if his sword threaten those who of their own accord embrace it.

And although Christ and his apostles, being to civil affairs but private men, contended not with magistrates; yet when magistrates themselves, and especially parliaments, who have greatest right to dispose of the civil sword, come to know religion, they ought in conscience to defend all those who receive it willingly, against the violence of any king or tyrant whatsoever. Neither is it therefore true, "that Christianity is planted or watered with christian blood;" for there is a large difference between forcing men by the sword to turn presbyterians, and defending those who willingly are so, from a furious inroad of bloody bishops, armed with the militia of a king their pupil. And if "covetousness and ambition be an argument that presbytery hath not much of Christ," it argues more strongly against episcopacy; which, from the time of her first mounting to an order above the presbyters, had no other parents than covetousness and ambition. And those sects, schisms, and heresies, which he speaks of, "if they get but strength and numbers," need no other pattern than episcopacy and himself, to "set up their ways by the like method of violence." Nor is there any thing that hath more marks of schism and sectarism than English episcopacy; whether we look at apostolic times, or at reformed churches; for "the universal way of church-government before," may as soon lead us into gross errour, as their universally corrupted doctrine. And government, by reason of ambition, was likeliest to be corrupted much the sooner of the two. However, nothing can be to us catholic or universal in religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatsoever without Scripture pleads to be universal in the church, in being universal is but the more schismatical. Much less can particular laws and constitutions impart to the church of England any power of consistory or tribunal above other churches, to be the sole judge of what is sect or schism, as with much rigour, and without Scripture, they took upon them. Yet these the king resolves here to defend and maintain to his last, pretending, after all those conferences offered, or had with him, "not to see more rational and religious motives than soldiers carry in their knapsacks." With one thus resolved, it was but folly to stand disputing.

He imagines his "own judicious zeal to be most concerned in his tuition of the church." So thought Saul when he presumed to offer sacrifice, for which he lost his kingdom; so thought Uzziah when he went into the temple, but was thrust out with a leprosy for his opinioned zeal, which he thought judicious. It is not the part of a king, because he ought to defend the church, therefore to set himself supreme head over the church, or to meddle with ecclesial government, or to defend the church, otherwise than the church would be defended; for such defence is bondage: nor to defend abuses, and stop all reformation, under the name of "new moulds fancied and fashioned to private designs." The holy things of church are in the power of other keys than were delivered to his keeping. Christian liberty, purchased with the death of our Redeemer, and established by the sending of his free spirit to inhabit in us, is not now to depend upon the doubtful consent of any earthly monarch; nor to be again fettered with a presumptuous negative voice, tyrannical to the parliament, but much more tyrannical to the church of God; which was compelled to implore the aid of parliament, to remove his force and heavy hands from off our consciences, who therefore complains now of that most just defensive force, because only it removed his violence and persecution. If this be a violation to his

* The second edition has score.

conscience, that it was hindered by the parliament from violating the more tender consciences of so many thousand good Christians, let the usurping conscience of all tyrants be ever so violated!

He wonders, fox wonder! how we could so much "distrust God's assistance," as to call in the protestant aid of our brethren in Scotland; why then did he, if his trust were in God and the justice of his cause, not scruple to solicit and invite earnestly the assistance both of papists and of Irish rebels? If the Scots were by us at length sent home, they were not called to stay here always; neither was it for the people's ease to feed so many legions longer than their help was needful.

"The government of their kirk we despised" not, but their imposing of that government upon us; not presbytery, but archpresbytery, classical, provincial, and diocesan presbytery, claiming to itself a lordly power and superintendency both over flocks and pastors, over persons and congregations no way their own. But these debates, in his judgment, would have been ended better "by the best divines in christendom in a full and free synod." A most improbable way, and such as never yet was used, at least with good success, by any protestant kingdom or state since the reformation: every true church having wherewithal from Heaven, and the assisting spirit of Christ implored, to be complete and perfect within itself. And the whole nation is not easily to be thought so raw, and so perpetually a novice, after all this light, as to need the help and direction of other nations, more than what they write in public of their opinion, in a matter so familiar as church-government.

In fine, he accuses piety with the want of loyalty, and religion with the breach of allegiance, as if God and he were one master, whose commands were so often contrary to the commands of God. He would persuade the Scots, that their "chief interest consists in their fidelity to the crown." But true policy will teach them, to find a safer interest in the common friendship of England, than in the ruins of one ejected family.

XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

Upon this theme his discourse is long, his matter little but repetition, and therefore soon answered. First, after an abusive and strange apprehension of covenants, as if men "pawned their souls" to them with whom they covenant, he digresses to plead for bishops; first from the antiquity of their "possession here, since the first plantation of Christianity in this island;" next from "a universal prescription since the apostles, till this last century." But what avails the most primitive antiquity against the plain sense of Scripture? which, if the last century have best followed, it ought in our esteem to be the first. And yet it hath been often proved by learned men, from the writings and epistles of most ancient Christians, that episcopacy crept not up into an order above the presbyters, till many years after that the apostles were deceased.

He next "is unsatisfied with the covenant," not only for "some passages in it referring to himself," as he supposes, "with very dubious and dangerous limitations," but for binding men "by oath and covenant" to the reformation of church-discipline. First, those limitations were not more dangerous to him, than he to our liberty and religion; next, that which was there vowed, to cast out of the church an antichristian hierarchy which God had not planted, but ambition and corruption had brought in, and fostered to the church's great damage and oppression, was no point of controversy to be argued without end, but a thing of clear moral necessity to be forthwith done. Neither was the "covenant superfluous, though former engagements, both religious and legal, bound us before;" but was the practice of all churches heretofore intending reformation. All Israel, though bound enough before by the law of Moses "to all necessary duties;" yet with Asa their king entered into a new covenant at the beginning of a reformation: and the Jews, after captivity, without consent demanded of that king who was their master, took solemn oath to walk in the commandments of God. All protestant churches have done the like, notwithstanding former engagements to their several duties. And although his aim were to sow variance between the protestation and the covenant, to reconcile them is not difficult. The protestation was but one step, extending only to the doctrine of the church of England, as it was distinct from church discipline; the covenant went further, as it pleased God to dispense his light and our encouragement by degrees, and comprehended church-government: Former with latter steps, in the progress of well-doing, need not reconcilement. Nevertheless he breaks through to his conclusion, "that all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of religion;" leaving Asa, Ezra, and the whole church of God, in sundry ages, to shift for honesty and wisdom from some other than his testimony. And although after-contracts absolve not till the former be made void, yet he first having done that, our duty returns back, which to him was neither moral nor eternal, but conditional.

Willing to persuade himself that many "good men" took the covenant, either unwarily or out of fear, he seems to have bestowed some thoughts how these "good men," following his advice, may keep the covenant and not keep it. The first evasion is, presuming "that the chief end of covenanting in such men's intentions was to preserve religion in purity, and the kingdom's peace." But the covenant will more truly inform them, that purity of religion and the kingdom's peace was not then in state to be preserved, but to be restored; and therefore binds them not to a preservation of what was, but to a reformation of what was evil, what was traditional, and dangerous, whether novelty or antiquity, in church or state. To do this, clashes with "no former oath" lawfully sworn either to God or the king, and rightly understood.

In general, he brands all "such confederations by league and covenant, as the common road used in all factious perturbations of state and church." This kind of language reflects, with the same ignominy, upon all the protestant reformations that have been since Luther; and so indeed doth his whole book, replenished throughout with hardly other words or arguments than papists, and especially popish kings, have used heretofore against their protestant subjects, whom he would persuade to be "every man his own pope, and to absolve himself of those ties," by the suggestion of false or equivocal interpretations too oft repeated to be now answered.

The parliament, he saith, "made their covenant, like manna, agreeable to every man's palate." This is another of his glosses upon the covenant; he is content to let it be manna, but his drift is that men should loath it or at least expound it by their own "relish," and "latitude of sense;" wherein, lest any one of the simpler sort should fail to be his craftsmaster, he furnishes him with two or three laxative, he terms them "general clauses, which may serve somewhat to relieve them" against the covenant taken: intimating, as if "what were lawful and according to the word of God," were no otherwise so, than as every man fancied to himself. From such learned explications and resolutions as these upon the covenant, what marvel if no royalist or malignant refuse to take it, as having learnt from these princely instructions his many "salvoes, cautions, and reservations," how to be a covenanter and anticovenanter, how at once to be a Scot, and an Irish rebel.

He returns again to disallow of "that reformation which the covenant" vows, "as being the partial advice of a few divines." But matters of this moment, as they were not to be decided there by those divines, so neither are they to be determined here by essays and curtal aphorisms, but by solid proofs of Scripture.

The rest of his discourse he spends, highly accusing the parliament, "that the main reformation by" them "intended, was to rob the church," and much applauding himself both for "his forwardness" to all due reformation, and his averseness from all such kind of sacrilege. All which, with his glorious title of the "Church's Defender," we leave him to make good by "Pharaoh's divinity," if he please, for to Joseph's piety it will be a task unsuitable. As for "the parity and poverty of ministers," which he takes to be so sad of "consequence," the Scripture reckons them for two special legacies left by our Saviour to his disciples; under which two primitive nurses, for such they were indeed, the church of God more truly flourished than ever after, since the time that imparity and church revenue rushing in, corrupted and belepered all the clergy with a worse infection than Gehazi's; some one of whose tribe, rather than a king, I should take to be compiler of that unsalted and Simonical prayer annexed: although the prayer itself strongly prays against them. For never such holy things as he means were given more to swine, nor the church's bread more to dogs, than when it fed ambitious, irreligious, and dumb prelates.

XV. *Upon the many Jealousies, &c.*

To wipe off jealousies and scandals, the best way had been by clear actions, or till actions could be cleared, by evident reasons; but mere words we are too well acquainted with. Had "his honour and reputation been dearer to him" than the lust of reigning, how could the parliament of either nation have laid so often at his door the breach of words, promises, acts, oaths, and execrations, as they do avowedly in many of their petitions and addresses to him? Thither I remit the reader. And who can believe that whole parliaments, elected by the people from all parts of the land, should meet in one mind and resolution not to advise him, but to conspire against him, in a worse powder-plot than Catesbie's, "to blow up," as he terms it, "the people's affection towards him, and batter down their loyalty by the engines of foul aspersions:" Water-works rather than engines to batter with, yet those aspersions were raised from the foulness of his own actions: whereof to purge himself, he uses no other argument than a general and so often iterated commendation of himself; and thinks that court holy-water hath the virtue of expiation, at least with the silly people; to whom he familiarly imputes sin where none is, to seem liberal of his forgiveness where none is asked or needed.

What ways he hath taken toward the prosperity of his people, which he would seem "so earnestly to desire," if we do but once call to mind, it will be enough to teach us, looking on the smooth insinuations here, that tyrants are not more flattered by their slaves, than forced to flatter others whom they fear.

For the people's "tranquillity he would willingly be the Jonah;" but lest he should be taken at his word, pretends to foresee within ken two imaginary "winds" never heard of in the compass, which threaten, if he be cast overboard, "to increase the storm;" but that controversy divine lot hath ended.

"He had rather not rule, than that his people should be ruined:" and yet, above these twenty years, hath been ruining the people about the niceties of his ruling. He is accurate "to put a difference between the plague of malice and the ague of mistakes; the itch of novelty, and the leprosy of disloyalty." But had he as well known how to distinguish between the venerable gray hairs of ancient religion and the old scurf of superstition, between the wholesome heat of well governing and the feverous rage of tyrannizing, his judgment in state physic had been of more authority.

Much he prophesies, "that the credit of those men, who have cast black scandals on him, shall ere long be quite blasted by the same furnace of popular obloquy, wherein they sought to cast his name and honour." I believe not that a Romish gilded portraiture gives better oracle than a Babylonish golden image could do, to tell us truly who heated that furnace of obloquy, or who deserves to be thrown in, Nebuchadnezzar or the three kingdoms. It "gave him great cause to suspect his own innocence," that he was opposed by

"so many who professed singular piety." But this qualm was soon over, and he concluded rather to suspect their religion than his own innocence, affirming that "many with him were both learned and religious above the ordinary size." But if his great seal, without the parliament, were not sufficient to create lords, his parole must needs be far more unable to create learned and religious men; and who shall authorize his unlearned judgment to point them out?

He guesses that "many well-minded men were by popular preachers urged to oppose him." But the opposition undoubtedly proceeded and continues from heads far wiser, and spirits of a nobler strain; those priest-led Herodians, with their blind guides, are in the ditch already; travelling, as they thought, to Sion, but moored in the Isle of Wight.

He thanks God "for his constancy to the protestant religion both abroad and at home." Abroad, his letter to the pope; at home, his innovations in the church, will speak his constancy in religion what it was, without further credit to this vain boast.

His "using the assistance of some papists," as the cause might be, could not hurt his religion; but, in the settling of protestanism, their aid was both unseemly and suspicious, and inferred that the greatest part of protestants were against him and his obtruded settlement.

But this is strange indeed, that he should appear now teaching the parliament what no man, till this was read, thought ever he had learned, "that difference of persuasion in religious matters may fall out where there is the sameness of allegiance and subjection." If he thought so from the beginning, wherefore was there such compulsion used to the puritans of England, and the whole realm of Scotland, about conforming to a liturgy? Wherefore no bishop, no king? Wherefore episcopacy more agreeable to monarchy, if different persuasions in religion may agree in one duty and allegiance? Thus do court maxims, like court minions, rise or fall as the king pleases.

Not to tax him for want of elegance as a courtier, in writing Oglio for Olla the Spanish word, it might be well affirmed, that there was a greater medley and disproportioning of religions, to mix papists with protestants in a religious cause, than to entertain all those diversified sects, who yet were all protestants, one religion though many opinions.

Neither was it any "shame to protestants," that he, a declared papist, if his own letter to the pope, not yet renounced, belie him not, found so few protestants of his religion, as enforced him to call in both the counsel and the aid of papists to help establish protestancy, who were led on, not "by the sense of their allegiance," but by the hope of his apostacy to Rome, from disputing to warring; his own voluntary and first appeal.

His hearkening to evil counsellors, charged upon him so often by the parliament, he puts off as "a device of those men, who were so eager to give him better counsel." That "those men" were the parliament, and that he ought to have used the counsel of none but those, as a king, is already known. What their civility laid upon evil counsellors, he himself most commonly owned; but the event of those evil counsels, "the enormities, the confusions, the miseries," he transfers from the guilt of his own civil broils to the just resistance made by parliament; and imputes what miscarriages of his they could not yet remove for his opposing, as if they were some new misdemeanours of their bringing in, and not the inveterate diseases of his own bad government; which, with a disease as bad, he falls again to magnify and commend: and may all those who would be governed by his "retractions and concessions," rather than by laws of parliament, admire his self-encomiums, and be flattered with that "crown of patience," to which he cunningly exhorted them, that his monarchical foot might have the setting it upon their heads!

That trust which the parliament faithfully discharged in the asserting of our liberties, he calls "another artifice to withdraw the people from him to their designs." What piece of justice could they have demanded for the people, which the jealousy of a king might not have miscalled a design to disparage his government, and to ingratiate themselves? To be more just, religious, wise, or magnanimous than the common sort, stirs up in a tyrant both fear and envy; and straight he cries out popularity, which, in his account, is little less than treason. The sum is, they thought to limit or take away the remora of his negative voice, which, like to that little pest at sea, took upon it to arrest and stop the commonwealth steering under full sail to a reformation: they thought to share with him in the militia, both or either of which he could not possibly hold without consent of the people, and not be absolutely a tyrant. He professes "to desire no other liberty than what he envies not his subjects according to law;" yet fought with might and main against his subjects, to have a sole power over them in his hand, both against and beyond law. As for the philosophical liberty which in vain he talks of, we may conclude him very ill trained up in those free notions, who to civil liberty was so injurious.

He calls the conscience "God's sovereignty;" why, then, doth he contest with God about that supreme title? why did he lay restraints, and force enlargements, upon our consciences in things for which we were to answer God only and the church? God bids us "be subject for conscience sake;" that is, as to a magistrate, and in the laws; not usurping over spiritual things, as Lucifer beyond his sphere. And the same precept bids him likewise, for conscience sake, be subject to the parliament, both his natural and his legal superiour.

Finally, having laid the fault of these commotions not upon his own misgovernment, but upon the "ambition of others, the necessity of some men's fortune, and thirst after novelty," he bodes himself "much honour and reputation, that, like the sun, shall rise and recover himself to such a splendour, as owls, bats, and such fatal birds shall be unable to bear." Poets, indeed, used to vapour much after this manner. But

to bad kings, who, without cause, expect future glory from their actions, it happens, as to bad poets, who sit and starve themselves with a delusive hope to win immortality by their bad lines. For though men ought not to "speak evil of dignities" which are just, yet nothing hinders us to speak evil, as often as it is the truth, of those who in their dignities do evil. Thus did our Saviour himself, John the Baptist, and Stephen the Martyr. And those black veils of his own misdeeds he might be sure would ever keep "his face from shining," till he could "refute evil speaking with well doing," which grace he seems here to pray for; and his prayer doubtless as it was prayed, so it was heard. But even his prayer is so ambitious of prerogative, that it dares ask away the prerogative of Christ himself, "To become the headstone of the corner."

XVI. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer Book.*

What to think of liturgies, both the sense of Scripture, and apostolical practice, would have taught him better, than his human reasonings and conjectures: nevertheless, what weight they have, let us consider. If it "be no news to have all innovations ushered in with the name of reformation," sure it is less news to have all reformation censured and opposed under the name of innovation, by those who, being exalted in high place above their merit, fear all change, though of things never so ill or so unwisely settled. So hardly can the dotage of those that dwell upon antiquity allow present times any share of godliness or wisdom.

The removing of liturgy he traduces to be done only as a "thing plausible to the people;" whose rejection of it he likens, with small reverence, to the crucifying of our Saviour; next, that it was done "to please those men who gloried in their extemporary vein," meaning the ministers. For whom it will be best to answer, as was answered for the man born blind, "They are of age, let them speak for themselves;" not how they came blind, but whether it were liturgy that held them tongue-tied.

"For the matter contained in that book," we need no better witness than King Edward the Sixth, who to the Cornish rebels confesses it was no other than the old mass-book done into English, all but some few words that were expunged. And by this argument, which King Edward so promptly had to use against that irreligious rabble, we may be assured it was the carnal fear of those divines and politicians that modelled the liturgy no farther off from the old mass, lest by too great an alteration they should incense the people, and be destitute of the same shifts to fly to, which they had taught the young king.

"For the manner of using set forms, there is no doubt but that, wholesome" matter and good desires rightly conceived in the heart, wholesome words will follow of themselves. Neither can any true Christian find a reason why liturgy should be at all admitted, a prescription not imposed or practised by those first founders of the church, who alone had that authority: without whose precept or example, how constantly the priest puts on his gown and surplice, so constantly doth his prayer put on a servile yoke of liturgy. This is evident, that they "who use no set forms of prayer," have words from their affections; while others are to seek affections fit and proportionable to a certain dose of prepared words; which as they are not rigorously forbid to any man's private infirmity, so to imprison and confine by force, into a pinfold of set words, those two most unimprisonable things, our prayers, and that divine spirit of utterance that moves them, is a tyranny that would have longer hands than those giants who threatened bondage to heaven. What we may do in the same form of words is not so much the question, as whether liturgy may be forced as he forced it. It is true that we "pray to the same God;" must we, therefore, always use the same words? Let us then use but one word, because we pray to one God. "We profess the same truths," but the liturgy comprehends not all truths: "we read the same Scriptures," but never read that all those sacred expressions, all benefit and use of Scripture, as to public prayer, should be denied us, except what was barrelled up in a common-prayer book with many mixtures of their own, and, which is worse, without salt. But suppose them savory words and unmixed, suppose them manna itself, yet, if they shall be hoarded up and enjoined us, while God every morning rains down new expressions into our hearts; instead of being fit to use, they will be found, like reserved manna, rather to breed worms and stink. "We have the same duties upon us, and feel the same wants;" yet not always the same, nor at all times alike; but with variety of circumstances, which ask variety of words: whereof God hath given us plenty; not to use so copiously upon all other occasions, and so niggardly to him alone in our devotions. As if Christians were now in a worse famine of words fit for prayer, than was of food at the siege of Jerusalem, when perhaps the priests being to remove the shewbread, as was accustomed, were compelled every sabbath day, for want of other loaves, to bring again still the same. If the "Lord's Prayer" had been the "warrant or the pattern of set liturgies," as is here affirmed, why was neither that prayer, nor any other set form, ever after used, or so much as mentioned by the apostles, much less commended to our use? Why was their care wanting in a thing so useful to the church? so full of danger and contention to be left undone by them to other men's penning, of whose authority we could not be so certain? Why was this forgotten by them, who declare that they have revealed to us the whole counsel of God? who, as he left our affections to be guided by his sanctifying spirit, so did he likewise our words to be put into us without our premeditation;* not only those cautious words to be used before gentiles and ty-

* The promise of the Spirit's assistance, here alluded to, was extraordinary, and belonged only to the first age; so that the author's argument is in this part inconclusive.

rants, but much more those filial words, of which we have so frequent use in our access with freedom of speech to the throne of grace. Which to lay aside for other outward dictates of men, were to injure him and his perfect gift, who is the spirit, and the giver of our ability to pray; as if his ministration were incomplete, and that to whom he gave affections, he did not also afford utterance to make his gift of prayer a perfect gift; to them especially, whose office in the church is to pray publicly.

And although the gift were only natural, yet voluntary prayers are less subject to formal and superficial tempers than set forms: for in those, at least for words and matter, he who prays must consult first with his heart, which in likelihood may stir up his affections; in these, having both words and matter ready made to his lips, which is enough to make up the outward act of prayer, his affections grow lazy, and come not up easily at the call of words not their own; the prayer also having less intercourse and sympathy with a heart wherein it was not conceived, saves itself the labour of so long a journey downward, and flying up in haste on the specious wings of formality, if it fall not back again headlong, instead of a prayer which was expected, presents God with a set of stale and empty words.

No doubt but "ostentation and formality" may taint the best duties; we are not therefore to leave duties for no duties, and to turn prayer into a kind of lurry. Cannot unpremeditated babblings be rebuked and restrained in whom we find they are, but the Spirit of God must be forbidden in all men? But it is the custom of bad men and hypocrites, to take advantage at the least abuse of good things, that under that covert they may remove the goodness of those things, rather than the abuse. And how unknowingly, how weakly is the using of set forms attributed here to "constancy," as if it were constancy in the cuckoo to be always in the same liturgy.

Much less can it be lawful that an Englished mass-book, composed, for ought we know, by men neither learned, nor godly, should justle out, or at any time deprive us the exercise of that heavenly gift, which God by special promise pours out daily upon his church, that is to say, the spirit of prayer. Whereof to help those many infirmities, which he reckons up, "rudeness, impertinency, flatness," and the like, we have a remedy of God's finding out, which is not liturgy, but his own free Spirit. Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with sighs unutterable by any words, much less by a stinted liturgy, dwelling in us makes intercession for us, according to the mind and will of God, both in private and in the performance of all ecclesiastical duties. For it is his promise also, that where two or three gathered together in his name shall agree to ask him any thing, it shall be granted; for he is there in the midst of them. If then ancient churches, to remedy the infirmities of prayer, or rather the infections of Arian and Pelagian heresies, neglecting that ordained and promised help of the Spirit, betook them almost four hundred years after Christ to liturgy, (their own invention,) we are not to imitate them; nor to distrust God in the removal of that truant help to our devotion, which by him never was appointed. And what is said of liturgy, is said also of directory, if it be imposed: although to forbid the service-book there be much more reason, as being of itself superstitious, offensive, and indeed, though Englished, yet still the mass-book; and public places ought to be provided of such as need not the help of liturgies or directories continually, but are supported with ministerial gifts answerable to their calling.

Lastly, that the common-prayer book was rejected because it "prayed so oft for him," he had no reason to object: for what large and laborious prayers were made for him in the pulpits, if he never heard, it is doubtful they were never heard in heaven. We might now have expected, that his own following prayer should add much credit to set forms; but on the contrary we find the same imperfections in it, as in most before, which he lays here upon extemporal. Nor doth he ask of God to be directed whether liturgies be lawful, but presumes, and in a manner would persuade him, that they be so; praying, "that the church and he may never want them." What could be prayed worse extempore? unless he mean by wanting, that they may never need them.

XVII. *Of the differences in point of Church-Government.*

The government of church by bishops hath been so fully proved from the Scriptures to be vicious and usurped, that whether out of piety or policy maintained, it is not much material; for piety grounded upon errour can no more justify King Charles, than it did Queen Mary, in the sight of God or man. This however must not be let pass without a serious observation; God having so disposed the author in this chapter as to confess and discover more of mystery and combination between tyranny and false religion, than from any other hand would have been credible. Here we may see the very dark roots of them both turned up, and how they twine and interweave one another in the earth, though above ground shooting up in two several branches. We may have learnt both from sacred history and times of reformation, that the kings of this world have both ever hated and instinctively feared the church of God. Whether it be for that their doctrine seems much to favour two things to them so dreadful, liberty and equality; or because they are the children of that kingdom, which, as ancient prophecies have foretold, shall in the end break to pieces and dissolve all their great power and dominion. And those kings and potentates who have strove most to rid themselves of this fear, by cutting off or suppressing the true church, have drawn upon themselves the occasion of their own ruin, while they thought with most policy to prevent it. Thus Pharaoh, when once he began to fear and wax jealous of the Israelites, lest they should multiply and fight against him, and that his fear stirred

him up to afflict and keep them under, as the only remedy of what he feared, soon found that the evil which before slept, came suddenly upon him, by the preposterous way he took to prevent* it. Passing by examples between, and not shutting wilfully our eyes, we may see the like story brought to pass in our own land. This king, more than any before him, except perhaps his father, from his first entrance to the crown, harbouring in his mind a strange fear and suspicion of men most religious, and their doctrine, which in his own language he here acknowledges, terming it "the seditious exorbitancy" of ministers' tongues, and doubting "lest they," as he not christianly expresses it, "should with the keys of heaven let out peace and loyalty from the people's hearts;" though they never preached or attempted aught that might justly raise in him such thoughts,† he could not rest, or think himself secure, so long as they remained in any of his three kingdoms unrooted out. But outwardly professing the same religion with them, he could not presently use violence as Pharaoh did, and that course had with others before but ill succeeded. He chooses therefore a more mystical way, a newer method of antichristian fraud, to the church more dangerous; and like to Balak the son of Zippor, against a nation of prophets thinks it best to hire other esteemed prophets, and to undermine and wear out the true church by a false ecclesiastical policy. To this drift he found the government of bishops most serviceable; an order in the church, as by men first corrupted, so mutually corrupting them who receive it, both in judgment and manners. He, by conferring bishoprics and great livings on whom he thought most pliant to his will, against the known canons and universal practice of the ancient church, whereby those elections were the people's right, sought, as he confesses, to have "greatest influence upon churchmen." They on the other side finding themselves in a high dignity, neither founded by Scripture, nor allowed by reformation, nor supported by any spiritual gift or grace of their own, knew it their best course to have dependence only upon him: and wrought his fancy by degrees to that degenerate and unkingly persuasion of "No bishop, no king." When as on the contrary all prelates in their own subtle sense are of another mind; according to that of Pius the fourth remembered in the history of Trent,‡ that bishops then grow to be most vigorous and potent, when princes happen to be most weak and impotent. Thus when both interest of tyranny and episcopacy were incorporate into each other, the king, whose principal safety and establishment consisted in the righteous execution of his civil power, and not in bishops and their wicked counsels, fatally driven on, set himself to the extirpating of those men whose doctrine and desire of church-discipline he so feared would be the undoing of his monarchy. And because no temporal law could touch the innocence of their lives, he begins with the persecution of their consciences, laying scandals before them; and makes that the argument to inflict his unjust penalties both on their bodies and estates. In this war against the church, if he hath sped so, as other haughty monarchs whom God heretofore hath hardened to the like enterprise, we ought to look up with praises and thanksgiving to the author of our deliverance, to whom victory and power, majesty, honour, and dominion belongs for ever.

In the mean while, from his own words we may perceive easily, that the special motives which he had to endear and deprave his judgment to the favouring and utmost defending of episcopacy, are such as here we represent them: and how unwillingly, and with what mental reservation, he condescended against his interest to remove it out of the peers' house, hath been shewn already. The reasons, which he affirms wrought so much upon his judgment, shall be so far answered as they be urged.

Scripture he reports, but distinctly produces none; and next the "constant practice of all christian churches, till of late years tumult, faction, pride, and covetousness, invented new models under the title of Christ's government." Could any papist have spoken more scandalously against all reformation? Well may the parliament and best-affected people not now be troubled at his calumnies and reproaches, since he binds them in the same bundle with all other the reformed churches; who also may now further see, besides their own bitter experience, what a cordial and well-meaning helper they had of him abroad, and how true to the protestant cause.

As for histories to prove bishops, the Bible, if we mean not to run into errours, vanities, and uncertainties, must be our only history. Which informs us that the apostles were not properly bishops; next, that bishops were not successors of apostles, in the function of apostleship: and that if they were apostles, they could not be precisely bishops; if bishops, they could not be apostles; this being universal, extraordinary, and immediate from God; that being an ordinary, fixed, and particular charge, the continual inspection over a certain flock. And although an ignorance and deviation of the ancient churches afterward, may with as much reason and charity be supposed as sudden in point of prelaty, as in other manifest corruptions, yet that "no example since the first age for 1500 years can be produced of any settled church, wherein were many ministers and congregations, which had not some bishops above them;" the ecclesiastical story, to which he appeals for want of Scripture, proves clearly to be a false and overconfident assertion. Sozomenus, who above twelve hundred years ago, in his seventh book, relates from his own knowledge, that in the churches of Cyprus and Arabia (places near to Jerusalem, and with the first frequented by apostles) they had bishops in every village; and what could those be more than presbyters? The like he tells of other nations; and that episcopal churches in those days did not condemn them. I add, that many western churches, eminent for their faith and good works, and settled above four hundred

* The second edition has to shun it.
† The second edition has apprehensions.
‡ The second edition has in the Trentine story.

years ago in France, in Piemont and Bohemia, have both taught and practised the same doctrine, and not admitted of episcopacy among them. And if we may believe what the papists themselves have written of these churches, which they call Waldenses, I find it in a book written almost four hundred years since, and set forth in the Bohemian history, that those churches in Piemont * have held the same doctrine and government, since the time that Constantine with his mischievous donations poisoned Sylvester and the whole church. Others affirm they have so continued there since the apostles; and Theodorus Belvederensis in his relation of them confesseth, that those heresies, as he names them, were from the first times of Christianity in that place. For the rest I refer me to that famous testimony of Jerome, who upon that very place which he cites here, † the epistle to Titus, declares openly that bishop and presbyter were one and the same thing, till by the instigation of Satan, partialities grew up in the church, and that bishops rather by custom than any ordainment of Christ, were exalted above presbyters; whose interpretation we trust shall be received before this intricate stuff tattled here of Timothy and Titus, and I know not whom their successors, far beyond court-element, and as far beneath true edification. These are his "fair grounds both from scripture-canons and ecclesiastical examples;" how undivine-like written, and how like a worldly gospeller that understands nothing of these matters, posterity no doubt will be able to judge; and will but little regard what he calls apostolical, who in his letter to the pope calls apostolical the Roman religion.

Nor let him think to plead, that therefore, "it was not policy of state," or obstinacy in him which upheld episcopacy, because the injuries and losses which he sustained by so doing were to him "more considerable than episcopacy itself;" for all this might Pharaoh have had to say in his excuse of detaining the Israelites, that his own and his kingdom's safety, so much endangered by his denial, was to him more dear than all their building labours could be worth to Egypt. But whom God hardens, them also he blinds.

He endeavours to make good episcopacy not only in "religion, but from the nature of all civil government, where parity breeds confusion and faction." But of faction and confusion, to take no other than his own testimony, where hath more been ever bred than under the imparity of his own monarchical government? of which to make at this time longer dispute, and from civil constitutions and human conceits to debate and question the convenience of divine ordinations, is neither wisdom nor sobriety: and to confound Mosaic priesthood with evangelic presbytery against express institution, is as far from warrantable. As little to purpose is it, that we should stand polling the reformed churches, whether they equalize in number "those of his three kingdoms;" of whom so lately the far greater part, what they have long desired to do, have now quite thrown off episcopacy.

Neither may we count it the language or religion of a protestant, so to vilify the best reformed churches (for none of them but Lutherans retain bishops) as to fear more the scandalizing of papists, because more numerous, than of our protestant brethren, because a handful. It will not be worth the while to say what "schismatics or heretics" have had no bishops: yet, lest he should be taken for a great reader, he who prompted him, if he were a doctor, might have remembered the forementioned place in Sozomenus; which affirms, that besides the Cyprians and Arabians, who were counted orthodoxal, the Novations also, and Montanists in Phrygia, had no other bishops than such as were in every village: and what presbyter hath a narrower diocese? As for the Aërians we know of no heretical opinion justly fathered upon them, but that they held bishops and presbyters to be the same. Which he in this place not obscurely seems to hold a heresy in all the reformed churches; with whom why the church of England desired conformity, he can find no reason, with all his "charity, but the coming in of the Scots' army;" such a high esteem he had of the English!

He tempts the clergy to return back again to bishops, from the fear of "tenuity and contempt," and the assurance of better "thriving under the favour of princes;" against which temptations if the clergy cannot arm themselves with their own spiritual armour, they are indeed as "poor a carcass" as he terms them.

Of secular honours and great revenues added to the dignity of prelates, since the subject of that question is now removed, we need not spend time: but this perhaps will never be unseasonable to bear in mind out of Chrysostom, that when ministers came to have lands, houses, farms, coaches, horses, and the like lumber, then religion brought forth riches in the church, and the daughter devoured the mother.

But if his judgment in episcopacy may be judged by the goodly choice he made of bishops, we need not much amuse ourselves with the consideration of those evils, which by his foretelling, will "necessarily follow" their pulling down, until he prove that the apostles, having no certain diocese or appointed place of residence, were properly "bishops over those presbyters whom they ordained, or churches they planted:" wherein ofttimes their labours were both joint and promiscuous: or that the apostolic power must "necessarily descend to bishops, the use and end" of either function being so different. And how the church hath flourished under episcopacy, let the multitude of their ancient and gross errours testify, and the words of some learnedest and most zealous bishops among them; Nazianzen in a devout passion, wishing prelaty had never been; Bazil terming them the slaves of slaves; Saint Martin, the enemies of saints, and confessing that after he was made a bishop, he found much of that grace decay in him which he had before.

Concerning his "Coronation oath," what it was, and

* We have a very curious history of these churches, written by Samuel Morland, esq. who went commissioner extraordinary from O. Cromwell, for relief of the protestants in the valleys of Piemont. It was published in folio, 1658.

† The second edition has it thus, "who upon this very place which he only roves at here."

how far it bound him, already hath been spoken. This we may take for certain, that he was never sworn to his own particular conscience and reason, but to our conditions as a free people, which required him to give us such laws as ourselves should* choose. This the Scots could bring him to, and would not be baffled with the pretence of a coronation-oath, after that episcopacy had for many years been settled there. Which concession of his to them, and not to us, he seeks here to put off with evasions that are ridiculous. And to omit no shifts, he alleges that the presbyterian manners gave him no encouragement to like their modes of government. If that were so, yet certainly those men are in most likelihood nearer to amendment, who seek a stricter church-discipline than that of episcopacy, under which the most of them learned their manners. If estimation were to be made of God's law by their manners, who, leaving Egypt, received it in the wilderness, it could reap from such an inference as this nothing but rejection and disesteem.

For the prayer wherewith he closes, it had been good some safe liturgy, which he so commends, had rather been in his way; it would perhaps in some measure have performed the end for which they say liturgy was first invented; and have hindered him both here, and at other times, from turning his notorious errours into his prayers.

* The second edition has shall choose.

XVIII. *Upon the Uxbridge Treaty, &c.*

"If the way of treaties be looked upon" in general, "as retiring" from bestial force to human reason, his first aphorism here is in part deceived. For men may treat like beasts as well as fight. If some fighting were not manlike, then either fortitude were no virtue, or no fortitude in fighting: And as politicians ofttimes through dilatory purposes and emulations handle the matter, there hath been no where found more bestiality than in treating; which hath no more commendations in it, than from fighting to come to undermining, from violence to craft; and when they can no longer do as lions, to do as foxes.

The sincerest end of treating after war once proclaimed is, either to part with more, or to demand less, than was at first fought for, rather than to hazard more lives, or worse mischiefs. What the parliament in that point were willing to have done, when first after the war begun, they petitioned him at Colebrook to vouchsafe a treaty, is not unknown. For after he had taken God to witness of his continual readiness to treat, or to offer treaties to the avoiding of bloodshed, had named Windsor the place of treaty, and passed his royal word not to advance further, till commissioners by such a time were speeded towards him; taking the advantage of a thick mist, which fell that evening, weather that soon invited him to a design no less treacherous and obscure; he follows at the heels of those messengers of peace with a train of covert war; and with a bloody surprise falls on our secure forces, which lay quartering at Brentford in the thoughts and expectation of a treaty. And although in them who make a trade of war, and against a natural enemy, such an onset might in the rigour of martial† law have been excused, while arms were not yet by agreement suspended; yet by a king, who seemed so heartily to accept of treating with his subjects, and professes here, "he never wanted either desire or disposition to it, professes to have greater confidence in his reason than in his sword, and as a Christian to seek peace and ensue it," such bloody and deceitful advantages would have been forborne one day at least, if not much longer; in whom there had not been a thirst rather than a detestation of civil war and blood, and a desire to subdue rather than to treat.

In the midst of a second treaty not long after, sought by the parliament, and after much ado obtained with him at Oxford, what subtle and unpeaceable designs he then had in chace, his own letters discovered: What attempts of treacherous hostility successful and unsuccessful he made against Bristol, Scarborough, and other places, the proceedings of that treaty will soon put us in mind; and how he was so far from granting more of reason after so much of blood, that he denied then to grant what before he had offered; making no other use of treaties pretending peace, than to gain advantages that might enable him to continue war: What marvel then if "he thought it no diminution of himself," as oft as he saw his time, "to be importunate for treaties," when he sought them only as by the upshot appeared, "to get opportunities?" And once to a most cruel purpose, if we remember May 1643. And that messenger of peace from Oxford, whose secret message and commission, had it been effected, would have drowned the innocence of our treating, in the blood of a designed massacre. Nay, when treaties from the parliament sought out him, no less than seven times, (oft enough to testify the willingness of their obedience, and too oft for the majesty of a parliament to court their subjection,) he, in the confidence of his own strength, or of our divisions, returned us nothing back but denials, or delays, to their most necessary demands; and being at lowest, kept up still and sustained his almost famished hopes with the hourly expectation of raising up himself the higher, by the greater heap which he sat promising himself of our sudden ruin through dissension.

But he infers, as if the parliament would have compelled him to part with something of "his honour as a king." What honour could he have, or call his, joined not only with the offence or disturbance, but with the bondage and destruction of three nations? whereof, though he be careless and improvident, yet the parliament, by our laws and freedom, ought to judge, and use prevention; our laws else were but cobweb laws. And what were all his most rightful honours, but the people's gift, and the investment of that lustre, majesty, and honour, which for the public good, and no otherwise, redounds from a whole nation into one per-

† The second edition has military.

son? So far is any honour from being his to a common mischief and calamity. Yet still he talks on equal terms with the grand representative of that people, for whose sake he was a king; as if the general welfare and his subservient rights were of equal moment or consideration. His aim indeed hath ever been to magnify and exalt his borrowed rights and prerogatives above the parliament and kingdom, of whom he holds them. But when a king sets himself to bandy against the highest court and residence of all his regal power, he then, in the single person of a man, fights against his own majesty and kingship, and then indeed sets the first hand to his own deposing.

"The treaty at Uxbridge," he saith, "gave the fairest hopes of a happy composure;" fairest indeed, if his instructions to bribe our commissioners with the promise of security, rewards, and places, were fair: what other hopes it gave, no man can tell. There being but three main heads whereon to be treated; Ireland, episcopacy, and the militia; the first was anticipated and forestalled by a peace at any rate to be hastened with the Irish rebels, ere the treaty could begin, that he might pretend his word and honour passed against "the specious and popular arguments" (he calls them no better) which the parliament would urge upon him for the continuance of that just war. Episcopacy he bids the queen be confident he will never quit: which informs us by what patronage it stood: and the sword he resolves to clutch as fast, as if God with his own hand had put it into his. This was the "moderation which he brought;" this was "as far as reason, honour, conscience," and the queen, who was his regent in all these, "would give him leave." Lastly, "for composure," instead of happy, how miserable it was more likely to have been, wise men could then judge; when the English, during treaty, were called rebels; the Irish, good and catholic subjects; and the parliament beforehand, though for fashion's sake called a parliament, yet by a jesuitical sleight not acknowledged, though called so; but privately in the council books enrolled no parliament: that if accommodation had succeeded, upon what terms soever, such a devilish fraud was prepared, that the king in his own esteem had been absolved from all performance, as having treated with rebels and no parliament; and they, on the other side, instead of an expected happiness, had been brought under the hatchet. Then no doubt "war had ended," that massacre and tyranny might begin. These jealousies, however raised, let all men see whether they be diminished or allayed, by the letters of his own cabinet opened. And yet the breach of this treaty is laid all upon the parliament and their commissioners, with odious names of "pertinacy, hatred of peace, faction, and covetousness," nay, his own brat "superstition" is laid to their charge; notwithstanding his here professed resolution to continue both the order, maintenance, and authority of prelates, as a truth of God.

And who "were most to blame in the unsuccessfulness of that treaty," his appeal is to God's decision; believing to be very excusable at that tribunal. But if ever man gloried in an unflexible stiffness, he came not behind any; and that grand maxim, always to put something into his treaties, which might give colour to refuse all that was in other things granted, and to make them signify nothing, was his own principal maxim and particular instructions to his commissioners. Yet all, by his own verdict, must be construed reason in the king, and depraved temper in the parliament.

That the "highest tide of success," with these principles and designs, "set him not above a treaty," no great wonder. And yet if that be spoken to his praise, the parliament therein surpassed him; who, when he was their vanquished and their captive, his forces utterly broken and disbanded, yet offered him three several times no worse proposals or demands, than when he stood fair to be their conqueror. But that imprudent surmise that his lowest ebb could not set him "below a fight," was a presumption that ruined him.

He presaged the future "unsuccessfulness of treaties, by the unwillingness of some men to treat;" and could not see what was present, that their unwillingness had good cause to proceed from the continual experience of his own obstinacy and breach of word.

His prayer therefore of forgiveness to the guilty of "that treaty's breaking," he had good reason to say heartily over, as including no man in that guilt sooner than himself.

As for that protestation following in his prayer, "how oft have I entreated for peace, but when I speak thereof they make them ready to war;" unless he thought himself still in that perfidious mist between Colebrook and Hounslow, and thought that mist could hide him from the eye of Heaven as well as of man, after such a bloody recompence given to our first offers of peace, how could this in the sight of Heaven without horrours of conscience be uttered?

XIX. *Upon the various events of the War.*

It is no new or unwonted thing, for bad men to claim as much part in God as his best servants; to usurp and imitate their words, and appropriate to themselves those properties, which belong only to the good and righteous. This not only in Scripture is familiarly to be found, but here also in this chapter of Apocrypha. He tells us much, why "it pleased God" to send him victory or loss, (although what in so doing was the intent of God, he might be much mistaken as to his own particular,) but we are yet to learn what real good use he made thereof in his practice.

Those numbers, which he grew to "from small beginnings," were not such as out of love came to protect him, for none approved his actions as a king, except courtiers and prelates, but were such as fled to be protected by him from the fear of that reformation which the pravity of their lives would not bear. Such a snowball he might easily gather by rolling through

those cold and dark provinces of ignorance and lewdness, where on a sudden he became so numerous. He imputes that to God's "protection," which, to them who persist in a bad cause, is either his long-suffering or his hardening; and that to wholesome "chastisement," which were the gradual beginnings of a severe punishment. For if neither God nor nature put civil power in the hands of any whomsoever, but to a lawful end, and commands our obedience to the authority of law only, not to the tyrannical force of any person; and if the laws of our land have placed the sword in no man's single hand, so much as to unsheath against a foreign enemy, much less upon the native people; but have placed it in that elective body of the parliament, to whom the making, repealing, judging, and interpreting of law itself was also committed, as was fittest, so long as we intended to be a free nation, and not the slaves of one man's will; then was the king himself disobedient and rebellious to that law by which he reigned: and by authority of parliament to raise arms against him in defence of law and liberty, we do not only think, but believe and know, was justifiable both "by the word of God, the laws of the land, and all lawful oaths;" and they who sided with him, fought against all these.

The same allegations, which he uses for himself and his party, may as well fit any tyrant in the world: for let the parliament be called a faction when the king pleases, and that no law must be made or changed, either civil or religious, because no law will content all sides, then must be made or changed no law at all, but what a tyrant, be he protestant or papist, thinks fit. Which tyrannous assertion forced upon us by the sword, he who fights against, and dies fighting, if his other sins outweigh not, dies a martyr undoubtedly both of the faith and of the commonwealth; and I hold it not as the opinion, but as the full belief and persuasion, of far holier and wiser men than parasitic preachers: who, without their dinner-doctrine, know that neither king, law, civil oaths, or religion, was ever established without the parliament: and their power is the same to abrogate as to establish: neither is any thing to be thought established, which that house declares to be abolished. Where the parliament sits, there inseparably sits the king, there the laws, there our oaths, and whatsoever can be civil in religion. They who fought for the parliament, in the truest sense, fought for all these; who fought for the king divided from his parliament, fought for the shadow of a king against all these; and for things that were not, as if they were established. It were a thing monstrously absurd and contradictory, to give the parliament a legislative power, and then to upbraid them for transgressing old establishments.

But the king and his party having lost in this quarrel their heaven upon earth, begin to make great reckoning of eternal life, and at an easy rate in *forma pauperis* canonize one another into heaven; he them in his book, they him in the portraiture before his book: but as was said before, stage-work will not do it, much less that justness of their cause," wherein most frequently they died in a brutish fierceness, with oaths and other damning words in their mouths; as if such had been all "the only oaths" they fought for; which undoubtedly sent them full sail on another voyage than to heaven. In the mean while they to whom God gave victory, never brought to the king at Oxford the state of their consciences, that he should presume without confession, more than a pope presumes, to tell abroad what "conflicts and accusations," men whom he never spoke with, have "in their own thoughts." We never read of any English king but one that was a confessor, and his name was Edward; yet sure it passed his skill to know thoughts, as this king takes upon him. But they who will not stick to slander men's inward consciences, which they can neither see nor know, much less will care to slander outward actions, which they pretend to see, though with senses never so vitiated.

To judge of "his condition conquered," and the manner of "dying" on that side, by the sober men that chose it, would be his small advantage: it being most notorious, that they who were hottest in his cause, the most of them were men oftener drunk, than by their good will sober, and very many of them so fought and so died.*

And that the conscience of any man should grow suspicious, or be now convicted by any pretensions in the parliament, which are now proved false and unintended, there can be no just cause. For neither did they ever pretend to establish his throne without our liberty and religion, nor religion without the word of God, nor to judge of laws by their being established, but to establish them by their being good and necessary.

He tells the world "he often prayed, that all on his side might be as faithful to God and their own souls, as to him." But kings, above all other men, have in their hands not to pray only, but to do. To make that prayer effectual, he should have governed as well as prayed. To pray and not to govern, is for a monk, and not a king. Till then he might be well assured, they were more faithful to their lust and rapine than to him.

In the wonted predication of his own virtues he goes on to tell us, that to "conquer he never desired, but only to restore the laws and liberties of his people." It had been happy then he had known at last, that by force to restore laws abrogated by the legislative parliament, is to conquer absolutely both them and law itself. And for our liberties none ever oppressed them more, both in peace and war; first like a master by his arbitrary power, next as an enemy by hostile invasion.

And if his best friends feared him, and "he himself, in the temptation of an absolute conquest," it was not only pious but friendly in the parliament, both to fear him and resist him; since their not yielding was the only means to keep him out of that temptation, wherein he doubted his own strength.

* Hear what description an historian of that party gives of those on the royal side: "Never had any good undertaking so many unworthy attendants, such horrid blasphemers and wicked wretches, as ours hath had; I quake to think, much more to speak, what mine ears have heard from some of their lips; but to discover them is not my present business."
Symmon's Defence of King Charles I. p. 165.

He takes himself to be "guilty in this war of nothing else, but of confirming the power of some men;" Thus all along he signifies the parliament, whom to have settled by an act he counts to be his only guiltiness. So well he knew, that to continue a parliament, was to raise a war against himself; what were his actions then, and his government the while? For never was it heard in all our story, that parliaments made war on their kings, but on their tyrants; whose modesty and gratitude was more wanting to the parliament, than theirs to any of such kings.

What he yielded was his fear; what he denied was his obstinacy. Had he yielded more, fear might perchance have saved him; had he granted less, his obstinacy had perhaps the sooner delivered us.

"To review the occasions of this war," will be to them never too late, who would be warned by his example from the like evils: but to wish only a happy conclusion, will never expiate the fault of his unhappy beginnings. It is true, on our side the sins of our lives not seldom fought against us: but on their side, besides those, the grand sin of their cause.

How can it be otherwise, when he desires here most unreasonably, and indeed sacrilegiously, that we should be subject to him, though not further, yet as far as all of us may be subject to God; to whom this expression leaves no precedency? He who desires from men as much obedience and subjection, as we may all pay to God, desires not less than to be a God: a sacrilege far worse than meddling with the bishops' lands, as he esteems it.

His prayer is a good prayer and a glorious; but glorying is not good, if it know not that a little leaven leavens the whole lump. It should have purged out the leaven of untruth, in telling God that the blood of his subjects by him shed, was in his just and necessary defence. Yet this is remarkable; God hath here so ordered his prayer, that as his own lips acquitted the parliament, not long before his death, of all the blood spilt in this war, so now his prayer unwittingly draws it upon himself. For God imputes not to any man the blood he spills in a just cause; and no man ever begged his not imputing of that, which he in his justice could not impute: so that now, whether purposely or unaware, he hath confessed both to God and man the blood-guiltiness of all this war to lie upon his own head.

XX. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

This chapter cannot punctually be answered without more repetitions than now can be excusable: which perhaps have already been more humoured than was needful. As it presents us with nothing new, so with his exceptions against reformation pitifully old, and tattered with continual using; not only in his book, but in the words and writings of every papist and popish king. On the scene he thrusts out first an antimasque of bugbears, novelty and perturbation; that the ill looks and noise of those two may as long as possible drive off all endeavours of a reformation. Thus sought pope Adrian, by representing the like vain terrours, to divert and dissipate the zeal of those reforming princes of the age before in Germany. And if we credit Latimer's sermons, our papists here in England pleaded the same dangers and inconveniencies against that which was reformed by Edward the Sixth. Whereas if those fears had been available, Christianity itself had never been received. Which Christ foretold us would not be admitted, without the censure of novelty, and many great commotions. These therefore are not to deter us.

He grants reformation to be "a good work," and confesses "what the indulgence of times and corruption of manners might have depraved." So did the forementioned pope, and our grandsire papists in this realm. Yet all of them agree in one song with this here, that "they are sorry to see so little regard had to laws established, and the religion settled."

"Popular compliance, dissolution of all order and government in the church, schisms, opinions, undecencies, confusions, sacrilegious invasions, contempt of the clergy and their liturgy, diminution of princes;" all these complaints are to be read in the messages and speeches almost of every legate from the pope to those states and cities which began reformation. From whence he either learned the same pretences, or had them naturally in him from the same spirit. Neither was there ever so sincere a reformation that hath escaped these clamours.

He offered a "synod or convocation rightly chosen." So offered all those popish kings heretofore; a course the most unsatisfactory, as matters have been long carried, and found by experience in the church liable to the greatest fraud and packing; no solution, or redress of evil, but an increase rather; detested therefore by Nazianzen, and some other of the fathers. And let it be produced, what good hath been done by synods from the first times of reformation.

Not to justify what enormities the vulgar may commit in the rudeness of their zeal, we need but only instance how he bemoans "the pulling down of crosses" and other superstitious monuments, as the effect "of a pupular and deceitful reformation." How little this savours of a protestant, is too easily perceived.

What he charges in defect of "piety, charity, and morality," hath been also charged by papists upon the best reformed churches; not as if they the accusers were not tenfold more to be accused, but out of their malignity to all endeavour of amendment; as we know who accused to God the sincerity of Job; an accusation of all others the most easy, when as there lives not any mortal man so excellent, who in these things is not always deficient. But the infirmities of the best men, and the scandals of mixed hypocrites in all times of reforming, whose bold intrusion covets to be ever seen in things most sacred, as they are most specious, can lay no just blemish upon the integrity of others, much less upon the purpose of reformation itself. Neither can the evil doings of some be the excuse of our delaying or deserting that duty to the church, which for

no respect of times or carnal policies can be at any time unseasonable.

He tells with great shew of piety what kind of persons public reformers ought to be, and what they ought to do. It is strange that in above twenty years, the church growing still worse and worse under him, he could neither be as he bids others be, nor do as he pretends here so well to know; nay, which is worst of all, after the greatest part of his reign spent in neither knowing nor doing aught toward a reformation either in church or state, should spend the residue in hindering those by a seven years war, whom it concerned, with his consent or without it, to do their parts in that great performance.

It is true, that the "method of reforming" may well subsist without "perturbation of the state;" but that it falls out otherwise for the most part, is the plain text of Scripture. And if by his own rule he had allowed us to "fear God first," and the king in due order, our allegiance might have still followed our religion in a fit subordination. But if Christ's kingdom be taken for the true discipline of the church, and by "his kingdom" be meant the violence he used against it, and to uphold an antichristian hierarchy, then sure enough it is, that Christ's kingdom could not be set up without pulling down his: and they were best Christians who were least subject to him. "Christ's government," out of question meaning it prelatical, he thought would confirm his: and this was that which overthrew it.

He professes "to own his kingdom from Christ, and to desire to rule for his glory, and the church's good." The pope and the king of Spain profess every where as much; and both by his practice and all his reasonings, all his enmity against the true church we see hath been the same with theirs, since the time that in his letter to the pope he assured them both of his full compliance. "But evil beginnings never bring forth good conclusions:" they are his own words, and he ratified them by his own ending. To the pope he engaged himself to hazard life and estate for the Roman religion, whether in compliment he did it, or in earnest; and God, who stood nearer than he for complimenting minded, writ down those words; that according to his resolution, so it should come to pass. He prays against "his hypocrisy and pharisaical washings," a prayer to him most pertinent, but chokes it straight with other words, which pray him deeper into his old errours and delusions.

XXI. *Upon his Letters taken and divulged.*

The king's letters taken at the battle of Naseby, being of greatest importance to let the people see what faith there was in all his promises and solemn protestations, were transmitted to public view by special order of the parliament. They discovered his good affection to papists and Irish rebels, the strict* intelligence he held, the pernicious and dishonourable peace he made with them, not solicited, but rather soliciting, which by all invocations that were holy he had in public abjured. They revealed his endeavours to bring in foreign forces, Irish, French, Dutch, Lorrainers, and our old invaders the Danes upon us, besides his subtleties and mysterious arts in treating; to sum up all, they shewed him governed by a woman. All which, though suspected vehemently before, and from good grounds believed, yet by him and his adherents peremptorily denied, were by the opening of that cabinet visible to all men under his own hand.

* The second edition has the old word straight.

The parliament therefore, to clear themselves of aspersing him without cause, and that the people might no longer be abused and cajoled, as they call it, by falsities and court impudence, in matters of so high concernment; to let them know on what terms their duty stood, and the kingdom's peace, conceived it most expedient and necessary, that those letters should be made public. This the king affirms was by them done without "honour and civility;" words, which if they contain not in them, as in the language of a courtier most commonly they do not, more of substance and reality, than compliment, ceremony, court-fawning, and dissembling, enter not I suppose further than the ear into any wise man's consideration. Matters were not then between the parliament, and a king their enemy, in that state of trifling, as to observe those superficial vanities. But if honour and civility mean, as they did of old, discretion, honesty, prudence, and plain truth, it will be then maintained against any sect of those Cabalists, that the parliament, in doing what they did with those letters, could suffer in their honour and civility no diminution. The reasons are already heard.

And that it is with none more familiar than with kings, to transgress the bounds of all honour and civility, there should not want examples good store, if brevity would permit: in point of letters, this one shall suffice.

The duchess of Burgundy, and heir of duke Charles, had promised to her subjects, that she intended no otherwise to govern, than by advice of the three estates; but to Lewis the French king had written letters, that she had resolved to commit wholly the managing of her affairs to four persons, whom she named. The three estates, not doubting the sincerity of her princely word, send ambassadors to Lewis, who then besieged Arras belonging to the duke of Burgundy. The king, taking hold of this occasion to set them at division among themselves, questioned their credence: which when they offered to produce with their instructions, he not only shews them the private letter of their duchess, but gives it them to carry home, wherewith to affront her; which they did, she denying it stoutly; till they, spreading it before her face in a full assembly, convicted her of an open lie. Which, although Comines the historian much blames, as a deed too harsh and dishonourable in them who were subjects, and not at war with their princess, yet to his master Lewis, who first divulged those letters, to the open shaming of that young governess, he imputes no incivility or dishonour

at all, although betraying a certain confidence reposed by that letter in his royal secrecy.

With much more reason then may letters not intercepted only, but won in battle from an enemy, be made public to the best advantages of them that win them, to the discovery of such important truth or falsehood. Was it not more dishonourable in himself to feign suspicions and jealousies, which we first found among those letters, touching the chastity of his mother, thereby to gain assistance from the king of Denmark, as in vindication of his sister? The damsel of Burgundy at sight of her own letter was soon blank, and more ingenuous than to stand outfacing; but this man, whom nothing will convince, thinks by talking world without end, to make good his integrity and fair dealing, contradicted by his own hand and seal. They who can pick nothing out of them but phrases, shall be counted bees: they that discern further both there and here, that constancy to his wife is set in place before laws and religion, are in his naturalities no better than spiders.

He would work the people to a persuasion, that "if he be miserable, they cannot be happy." What should hinder them? Were they all born twins of Hippocrates with him and his fortune, one birth, one burial? It were a nation miserable indeed, not worth the name of a nation, but a race of idiots, whose happiness and welfare depended upon one man. The happiness of a nation consists in true religion, piety, justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude, and the contempt of avarice and ambition. They in whomsoever these virtues dwell eminently, need not kings to make them happy, but are the architects of their own happiness; and whether to themselves or others are not less than kings. But in him which of these virtues were to be found, that might extend to the making happy, or the well-governing of so much as his own household, which was the most licentious and ill-governed in the whole land?

But the opening of his letters was designed by the parliament "to make all reconciliation desperate." Are the lives of so many good and faithful men, that died for the freedom of their country, to be so slighted, as to be forgotten in a stupid reconcilement without justice done them? What he fears not by war and slaughter, should we fear to make desperate by opening his letters? Which fact he would parallel with Cham's revealing of his father's nakedness: when he at that time could be no way esteemed the Father of his Country, but the destroyer; nor had he ever before merited that former title.

"He thanks God he cannot only bear this with patience, but with charity forgive the doers." Is not this meer mockery, to thank God for what he can do, but will not? For is it patience to impute barbarism and inhumanity to the opening of an enemy's letter, or is it charity to clothe them with curses in his prayer, whom he hath forgiven in his discourse? In which prayer, to shew how readily he can return good for evil to the parliament, and that if they take away his coat he can let them have his cloak also; for the dismantling of his letters he wishes "they may be covered with the cloak of confusion." Which I suppose they do resign with much willingness, both livery, badge, and cognizance, to them who chose rather to be the slaves and vassals of his will, than to stand against him, as men by nature free, born and created with a better title to their freedom, than any king hath to his crown.

XXII. *Upon his going to the Scots.*

The king's coming in, whether to the Scots or English, deserved no thanks: for necessity was his counsellor; and that he hated them both alike, his expressions everywhere manifest. Some say his purpose was to have come to London, till hearing how strictly it was proclaimed, that no man should conceal him, he diverted his course. But that had been a frivolous excuse: and besides, he himself rehearsing the consultations had, before he took his journey, shews us clearly that he was determined to adventure "upon their loyalty who first began his troubles." And that the Scots had notice of it before, hath been long since brought to light. What prudence there could be in it, no man can imagine; malice there might be, by raising new jealousies to divide friends. For besides his diffidence of the English, it was no small dishonour that he put upon them, when rather than yield himself to the parliament of England, he yielded to a hireling army of Scots in England, paid for their service here, not in Scotch coin, but in English silver; nay, who from the first beginning of these troubles, what with brotherly assistance, and what with monthly pay, have defended their own liberty and consciences at our charge. However, it was a hazardous and rash journey taken, "to resolve riddles in men's loyalty," who had more reason to mistrust the riddle of such a disguised yielding; and to put himself in their hands whose loyalty was a riddle to him, was not the course to be resolved of it, but to tempt it. What Providence denied to force, he thought it might grant to fraud, which he styles Prudence; but Providence was not cozened with disguises, neither outward nor inward.

To have known "his greatest danger in his supposed safety, and his greatest safety in his supposed danger," was to him a fatal riddle never yet resolved; wherein rather to have employed his main skill, had been much more to his preservation.

Had he "known when the game was lost," it might have saved much contest; but the way to give over fairly, was not to slip out of open war into a new disguise. He lays down his arms, but not his wiles; nor all his arms; for in obstinacy he comes no less armed than ever cap à pé. And what were they but wiles, continually to move for treaties, and yet to persist the same man, and to fortify his mind before-hand, still purposing to grant no more than what seemed good to that violent and lawless triumvirate within him, under the falsified names of his reason, honour, and conscience, the old circulating dance of his shifts and evasions?

The words of a king, as they are full of power, in the authority and strength of law, so like Samson, without the strength of that Nazarite's lock, they have no more power in them than the words of another man.

He adores reason as Domitian did Minerva, and calls her the "Divinest power," thereby to intimate as if at reasoning, as at his own weapon, no man were so able as himself. Might we be so happy as to know where these monuments of his reason may be seen; for in his actions and his writing they appear as thinly as could be expected from the meanest parts, bred up in the midst of so many ways extraordinary to know something. He who reads his talk, would think he had left Oxford not without mature deliberation: yet his prayer confesses, that "he knew not what to do." Thus is verified that Psalm; "he poureth contempt upon princes, and causeth them to wander in the wilderness where there is no way." Psal. cvii.

XXIII. *Upon the Scots delivering the king to the English.*

That the Scots in England should "sell their king," as he himself here affirms, and for a "price so much above that," which the covetousness of Judas was contented with to sell our Saviour, is so foul an infamy and dishonour cast upon them, as befits none to vindicate but themselves. And it were but friendly counsel to wish them beware the son, who comes among them with a firm belief, that they sold his father. The rest of this chapter he sacrifices to the echo of his conscience, out-babling creeds and aves: glorying in his resolute obstinacy, and as it were triumphing how "evident it is now, not that evil counsellors," but he himself, hath been the author of all our troubles. Herein only we shall disagree to the world's end, while he, who sought so manifestly to have annihilated all our laws and liberties, hath the confidence to persuade us, that he hath fought and suffered all this while in their defence.

But he who neither by his own letters and commissions under hand and seal, nor by his own actions held as in a mirror before his face, will be convinced to see his faults, can much less be won upon by any force of words, neither he, nor any that take after him; who in that respect are no more to be disputed with, than they who deny principles. No question then but the parliament did wisely in their decree at last, to make no more addresses. For how unalterable his will was, that would have been our lord, how utterly averse from the parliament and reformation during his confinement, we may behold in this chapter. But to be ever answering fruitless repetitions, I should become liable to answer for the same myself. He borrows David's psalms, as he charges the assembly of divines in his twentieth discourse, "To have set forth old catechisms and confessions of faith new dressed:" had he borrowed David's heart, it had been much the holier theft. For such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not bettered by the borrower, among good authors is accounted plagiary. However, this was more tolerable than Pamela's prayer stolen out of Sir Philip.

XXIV. *Upon the denying him the attendance of his Chaplains.*

A chaplain is a thing so diminutive and inconsiderable, that how he should come here among matters of so great concernment, to take such room up in the discourses of a prince, if it be not wondered, is to be smiled at. Certainly by me, so mean an argument shall not be written; but I shall huddle him, as he does prayers. The Scripture owns no such order, no such function in the church; and the church not owning them, they are left, for aught I know, to such a further examining as the sons of Sceva the Jew met with. Bishops or presbyters we know, and deacons we know, but what are chaplains? In state perhaps they may be listed among the upper serving-men of some great household, and be admitted to some such place, as may style them the sewers, or the yeomen-ushers of devotion, where the master is too resty or too rich to say his own prayers, or to bless his own table. Wherefore should the parliament then take such implements of the court cupboard into their consideration? They knew them to have been the main corrupters at the king's elbow; they knew the king to have been always their most attentive scholar and imitator, and of a child to have sucked from them and their closet-work all his impotent principles of tyranny and superstition. While therefore they had any hope left of his reclaiming, these sowers of malignant tares they kept asunder from him, and sent to him such of the ministers and other zealous persons, as they thought were best able to instruct him, and to convert him. What could religion herself have done more, to the saving of a soul? But when they found him past cure, and that he to himself was grown the most evil counsellor of all, they denied him not his chaplains, as many as were fitting, and some of them attended him, or else were at his call, to the very last. Yet here he makes more lamentation for the want of his chaplains, than superstitious Micah did to the Danites, who had taken away his household priest: "Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and what have I more?" And perhaps the whole story of Micah might square not unfitly to this argument: "Now know I," saith he, "that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest." Micah had as great a care that his priest should be Mosaical, as the king had, that his should be apostolical; yet both in an errour touching their priests. Household and private orisons were not to be officiated by priests; for neither did public prayer appertain only to their office. Kings heretofore, David, Solomon, and Jehosaphat, who might not touch the priesthood, yet might pray in public, yea in the temple, while the priests themselves stood and heard. What ailed this king then, that he could not

chew his own matins without the priest's Ore tenus? Yet is it like he could not pray at home, who can here publish a whole prayerbook of his own, and signifies in some part of this chapter, almost as good a mind to be a priest himself, as Micah had to let his son be! There was doubtless therefore some other matter in it, which made him so desirous to have his chaplains about him, who were not only the contrivers, but very oft the instruments also of his designs.

The ministers which were sent him, no marvel he endured not; for they preached repentance to him: the others gave him easy confession, easy absolution, nay strengthened his hands, and hardened his heart, by applauding him in his wilful ways. To them he was an Ahab, to these a Constantine; it must follow then, that they to him were as unwelcome as Elijah was to Ahab, these as dear and pleasing as Amaziah the priest of Bethel was to Jeroboam. These had learned well the lesson that would please; "Prophesy not against Bethel, for it is the king's chapel, the king's court;" and had taught the king to say of those ministers, which the parliament had sent, "Amos hath conspired against me, the land is not able to bear all his words."

Returning to our first parallel, this king looked upon his prelates, "as orphans under the sacrilegious eyes of many rapacious reformers:" and there was as great fear of sacrilege between Micah and his mother, till with their holy treasure, about the loss whereof there was such cursing, they made a graven and a molten image, and got a priest of their own. To let go his criticizing about the "sound of prayers, imperious, rude, or passionate," modes of his own devising, we are in danger to fall again upon the flats and shallows of liturgy. Which if I should repeat again, would turn my answers into Responsories, and beget another liturgy, having too much of one already.

This only I shall add, that if the heart, as he alleges, cannot safely "join with another man's extemporal sufficiency," because we know not so exactly what they mean to say; then those public prayers made in the temple by those forenamed kings, and by the apostles in the congregation, and by the ancient Christians for above three hundred years before liturgies came in, were with the people made in vain.

After he hath acknowledged, that kings heretofore prayed without chaplains, even publickly in the temple itself, and that every "private believer is invested with a royal priesthood;" yet like one that relished not what he "tasted of the heavenly gift, and the good word of God," whose name he so confidently takes into his mouth, he frames to himself impertinent and vain reasons, why he should rather pray by the officiating mouth of a closet chaplain. "Their prayers," saith he, "are more prevalent, they flow from minds more enlightened, from affections less distracted." Admit this true, which is not, this might be something said as to their prayers for him, but what avails it to their praying with him? If his own mind "be encumbered with secular affairs," what helps it his particular prayer, though the mind of his chaplain be not wandering, either after new preferment, or his dinner? The fervency of one man in prayer cannot supererogate for the coldness of another; neither can his spiritual defects in that duty be made out, in the acceptance of God, by another man's abilities. Let him endeavour to have more light in himself, and not to walk by another man's lamp, but to get oil into his own. Let him cast from him, as in a christian warfare, that secular encumbrance, which either distracts or overloads him; his load else will never be the less heavy, because another man's is light. Thus these pious flourishes and colours, examined thoroughly, are like the apples of Asphaltis, appearing goodly to the sudden eye, but look well upon them, or at least but touch them, and they turn into cinders.

In his prayer he remembers what "voices of joy and gladness" there were in his chapel, "God's house," in his opinion, between the singing men and the organs; and this was "unity of spirit in the bond of peace;" the vanity, superstition, and misdevotion of which place, was a scandal far and near: Wherein so many things were sung and prayed in those songs, which were not understood; and yet he who makes a difficulty how the people can join their hearts to extemporal prayers, though distinctly heard and understood, makes no question how they should join their hearts in unity to songs not understood.

I believe that God is no more moved with a prayer elaborately penned, than men truly charitable are moved with the penned speech of a beggar.

Finally, O ye ministers, ye pluralists, whose lips preserve not knowledge, but the way ever open to your bellies, read here what work he makes among your wares, your gallipots, your balms and cordials, in print; and not only your sweet sippets in widows' houses, but the huge gobbets wherewith he charges you to have devoured houses and all; the "houses of your brethren, your king, and your God." Cry him up for a saint in your pulpits, while he cries you down for atheists into hell.

XXV. *Upon his penitential Meditations and Vows at Holmby.*

It is not hard for any man, who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good words and holy sayings in abundance; but to make them his own, is a work of grace, only from above. He borrows here many penitential verses out of David's psalms. So did many among those Israelites, who had revolted from the true worship of God, "invent to themselves instruments of music like David," and probably psalms also like his; and yet the prophet Amos complains heavily against them. But to prove how short this is of true repentance, I will recite the penitence of others, who have repented in words not borrowed, but their own, and yet by the doom of Scripture itself, are judged reprobates.

"Cain said unto the Lord, My iniquity is greater than I can bear: behold thou hast driven me this day

from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid.

"And when Esau heard the words of his father, he cried with an exceeding bitter cry, and said, Bless me, even me also, O my father; yet found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. Heb. xii.

"And Pharaoh said to Moses, The Lord is righteous, I and my people are wicked; I have sinned against the Lord your God, and against you.

"And Balaam said, Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.

"And Saul said to Samuel, I have sinned, for I have transgressed the commandment of the Lord; yet honour me now, I pray thee, before the elders of my people.

"And when Ahab heard the words of Elijah, he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly.

"Jehoram also rent his clothes, and the people looked, and behold he had sackcloth upon his flesh;" yet in the very act of his humiliation he could say, "God do so, and more also to me, if the head of Elisha shall stand on him this day.

"Therefore saith the Lord, They have not cried unto me with their heart, when they howled upon their beds. They return, but not to the Most High. Hosea vii.

"And Judas said, I have sinned, in that I have betrayed innocent blood.

"And Simon Magus said, Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things come upon me."

All these took the pains both to confess and to repent in their own words, and many of them in their own tears, not in David's. But transported with the vain ostentation of imitating David's language, not his life, observe how he brings a curse upon himself and his father's house (God so disposing it) by his usurped and ill-imitated prayer, "Let thy anger I beseech thee be against me and my father's house; as for these sheep, what have they done?" For if David indeed sinned in numbering the people, of which fault he in earnest made that confession, and acquitted the whole people from the guilt of that sin; then doth this king, using the same words, bear witness against himself to be the guilty person; and either in his soul and conscience here acquits the parliament and the people, or else abuses the words of David, and dissembles grossly to the very face of God; which is apparent in the next line; wherein he accuses even the church itself to God, as if she were the church's enemy, for having overcome his tyranny by the powerful and miraculous might of God's manifest arm: For to other strength, in the midst of our divisions and disorders, who can attribute our victories? Thus had this miserable man no worse enemies to solicit and mature his own destruction, from the hastened sentence of divine justice, than the obdurate curses which proceeded against himself out of his own mouth.

Hitherto his meditations, now his vows; which, as the vows of hypocrites use to be, are most commonly absurd, and some wicked. Jacob vowed, that God should be his God, if he granted him but what was necessary to perform that vow, life and subsistence; but the obedience proffered here is nothing so cheap. He, who took so heinously to be offered nineteen propositions from the parliament, capitulates here with God almost in as many articles.

"If he will continue that light," or rather that darkness of the gospel, which is among his prelates, settle their luxuries, and make them gorgeous bishops;

If he will "restore" the grievances and mischiefs of those obsolete and popish laws, which the parliament without his consent had abrogated, and will suffer justice to be executed according to his sense;

"If he will suppress the many schisms in church," to contradict himself in that which he hath foretold must and shall come to pass, and will remove reformation as the greatest schism of all, and factions in state, by which he means in every leaf the parliament;

If he will "restore him" to his negative voice and the militia, as much as to say, to arbitrary power, which he wrongfully avers to be the "right of his predecessors;"

"If he will turn the hearts of his people" to their old cathedral and parochial service in the liturgy, and their passive obedience to the king;

"If he will quench" the army, and withdraw our forces from withstanding the piracy of Rupert, and the plotted Irish invasion;

"If he will bless him with the freedom" of bishops again in the house of peers, and of fugitive delinquents in the house of commons, and deliver the honour of parliament into his hands, from the most natural and due protection of the people, that entrusted them with the dangerous enterprise of being faithful to their country against the rage and malice of his tyrannous opposition;

"If he will keep him from that great offence" of following the counsel of his parliament, and enacting what they advise him to; which in all reason, and by the known law, and oath of his coronation, he ought to do, and not to call that sacrilege, which necessity through the continuance of his own civil war hath compelled him to; necessity, which made David eat the shewbread, made Ezekiah take all the silver which was found in God's house, and cut off the gold which overlaid those doors and pillars, and gave it to Senacherib; necessity, which ofttimes made the primitive church to sell her sacred utensils, even to the communion-chalice;

"If he will restore him to a capacity of glorifying him by doing" that both in church and state, which must needs dishonour and pollute his name;

"If he will bring him again with peace, honour, and safety, to his chief city," without repenting, without satisfying for the blood spilt, only for a few politic concessions, which are as good as nothing;

"If he will put again the sword into his hand, to punish" those that have delivered us, and to protect delinquents against the justice of parliament;

Then, if it be possible to reconcile contradictions, he will praise him by displeasing him, and serve him by disserving him.

"His glory," in the gaudy copes and painted windows, mitres, rochets, altars, and the chaunted service-book, "shall be dearer to him," than the establishing his crown in righteousness, and the spiritual power of religion.

"He will pardon those that have offended him in particular," but there shall want no subtle ways to be even with them upon another score of their supposed offences against the commonwealth; whereby he may at once affect the glory of a seeming justice, and destroy them pleasantly, while he feigns to forgive them as to his own particular, and outwardly bewails them.

These are the conditions of his treating with God, to whom he bates nothing of what he stood upon with the parliament: as if commissions of array could deal with him also.

But of all these conditions, as it is now evident in our eyes, God accepted none, but that final petition, which he so oft, no doubt but by the secret judgment of God, importunes against his own head; praying God, "That his mercies might be so toward him, as his resolutions of truth and peace were toward his people." It follows then, God having cut him off, without granting any of these mercies, that his resolutions were as feigned, as his vows were frustrate.

XXVI. *Upon the Army's surprisal of the King at Holmby.*

To give account to royalists what was done with their vanquished king, yielded up into our hands, is not to be expected from them, whom God hath made his conquerors. And for brethren to debate and rip up their falling out in the ear of a common enemy, thereby making him the judge, or at least the well-pleased auditor of their disagreement, is neither wise nor comely. To the king therefore, were he living, or to his party yet remaining, as to this action, there belongs no answer. Emulations, all men know, are incident among military men, and are, if they exceed not, pardonable. But some of the former army, eminent enough for their own martial deeds, and prevalent in the house of commons, touched with envy to be so far outdone by a new model which they contemned, took advantage of presbyterian and independent names, and the virulence of some ministers, to raise disturbance. And the war being then ended, thought slightly to have discarded them who had faithfully done the work, without their due pay, and the reward of their invincible valour. But they who had the sword yet in their hands, disdaining to be made the first objects of ingratitude and oppression, after all that expense of their blood for justice, and the common liberty, seized upon the king their prisoner, whom nothing but their matchless deeds had brought so low as to surrender up his person: though he, to stir up new discord, chose rather to give up himself a captive to his own countrymen, who less had won him. This in likelihood might have grown to some height of mischief, partly through the strife which was kindling between our elder and our younger warriors, but chiefly through the seditious tongues of some false ministers, more zealous against schisms, than against their own simony and pluralities, or watchful of the common enemy, whose subtile insinuations had got so far in among them, as with all diligence to blow the coals. But it pleased God, not to embroil and put to confusion his whole people for the perverseness of a few. The growth of our dissension was either prevented, or soon quieted: the enemy soon deceived of his rejoicing, and the king especially disappointed of not the meanest morsel that his hope presented him, to ruin us by our division. And being now so nigh the end, we may the better be at leisure to stay a while, and hear him commenting upon his own captivity.

He saith of his surprisal, that it was a "motion eccentric and irregular." What then? his own allusion from the celestial bodies puts us in mind, that irregular motions may be necessary on earth sometimes, as well as constantly in heaven. This is not always best, which is most regular to written law. Great worthies heretofore by disobeying law, ofttimes have saved the commonwealth; and the law afterward by firm decree hath approved that planetary motion, that unblamable exorbitancy in them.

He means no good to either independent or presbyterian, and yet his parable, like that of Balaam, is overruled to portend them good, far beside his intention. Those twins, that strove enclosed in the womb of Rebecca, were the seed of Abraham; the younger undoubtedly gained the heavenly birthright; the elder, though supplanted in his simile, shall yet no question find a better portion than Esau found, and far above his uncircumcised prelates.

He censures, and in censuring seems to hope it will be an ill omen, that they who build Jerusalem divided their tongues and hands. But his hope failed him with his example; for that there were divisions both of tongues and hands at the building of Jerusalem, the story would have certified him; and yet the work prospered; and if God will, so may this, notwithstanding all the craft and malignant wiles of Sanballat and Tobiah, adding what fuel they can to our dissensions; or the indignity of his comparison, that likens us to those seditious zealots, whose intestine fury brought destruction to the last Jerusalem.

It being now no more in his hand to be revenged on his opposers, he seeks to satiate his fancy with the imagination of some revenge upon them from above; and like one who in a drowth observes the sky, he sits and watches when any thing will drop, that might solace him with the likeness of a punishment from Heaven upon us; which he straight expounds how he pleases. No evil can befal the parliament or city, but he positively interprets it a judgment upon them for his sake: as if the very manuscript of God's judgments had been delivered to his custody and exposition. But his reading declares it well to be a false copy which he uses; dispensing often to his own bad deeds and successes the testimony of divine favour, and to

the good deeds and successes of other men divine wrath and vengeance. But to counterfeit the hand of God, is the boldest of all forgery: And he who without warrant, but his own fantastic surmise, takes upon him perpetually to unfold the secret and unsearchable mysteries of high providence, is likely for the most part to mistake and slander them; and approaches to the madness of those reprobate thoughts, that would wrest the sword of justice out of God's hand, and employ it more justly in their own conceit. It was a small thing, to contend with the parliament about the sole power of the militia, when we see him doing little less than laying hands on the weapons of God himself, which are his judgments, to wield and manage them by the sway and bent of his own frail cogitations. Therefore "they that by tumults first occasioned the raising of armies" in his doom must needs "be chastened by their own army for new tumults."

First, note here his confession, that those tumults were the first occasion of raising armies, and by consequence that he himself raised them first, against those supposed tumults. But who occasioned those tumults, or who made them so, being at first nothing more than the unarmed and peaceable concourse of people, hath been discussed already. And that those pretended tumults were chastised by their own army for new tumults, is not proved by a game at tic-tac with words; "tumults and armies, armies and tumults," but seems more like the method of a justice irrational than divine.

If the city were chastened by the army for new tumults, the reason is by himself set down evident and immediate, "their new tumults." With what sense can it be referred then to another far-fetched and imaginary cause, that happened so many years before, and in his supposition only as a cause? Manlius defended the Capitol and the Romans from their enemies the Gauls: Manlius for sedition afterward was by the Romans thrown headlong from the Capitol; therefore Manlius was punished by divine justice for defending the Capitol, because in that place punished for sedition, and by those whom he defended. This is his logic upon divine justice; and was the same before upon the death of Sir John Hotham. And here again, "such as were content to see him driven away by unsuppressed tumults, are now forced to fly to an army." Was this a judgment? Was it not a mercy rather, that they had a noble and victorious army so near at hand to fly to?

From God's justice he comes down to man's justice. Those few of both houses, who at first withdrew with him for the vain pretence of tumults, were counted deserters; therefore those many must be also deserters, who withdrew afterwards from real tumults: as if it were the place that made a parliament, and not the end and cause. Because it is denied that those were tumults, from which the king made shew of being driven, is it therefore of necessity implied, that there could be never any tumults for the future? If some men fly in craft, may not other men have cause to fly in earnest? But mark the difference between their flight and his; they soon returned in safety to their places, he not till after many years, and then a captive to receive his punishment. So that their flying, whether the cause be considered, or the event, or both, neither justified him, nor condemned themselves.

But he will needs have vengeance to pursue and overtake them; though to bring it in, it cost him an inconvenient and obnoxious comparison, "As the mice and rats overtook a German bishop." I would our mice and rats had been as orthodoxal here, and had so pursued all his bishops out of England; then vermin had rid away vermin, which now hath lost the lives of too many thousand honest men to do.

"He cannot but observe this divine justice, yet with sorrow and pity." But sorrow and pity in a weak and overmastered enemy is looked upon no otherwise than as the ashes of his revenge burnt out upon himself: or as the damp of a cooled fury, when we say, it gives. But in this manner to sit spelling and observing divine justice upon every accident and slight disturbance, that may happen humanly to the affairs of men, is but another fragment of his broken revenge; and yet the shrewdest and the cunningest obloquy, that can be thrown upon their actions. For if he can persuade men, that the parliament and their cause is pursued with divine vengeance, he hath attained his end, to make all men forsake them, and think the worst that can be thought of them.

Nor is he only content to suborn divine justice in his censure of what is past, but he assumes the person of Christ himself, to prognosticate over us what he wishes would come. So little is any thing or person sacred from him, no not in heaven, which he will not use, and put on, if it may serve him plausibly to wreak his spleen, or ease his mind upon the parliament. Although, if ever fatal blindness did both attend and punish wilfulness, if ever any enjoyed not comforts for neglecting counsel belonging to their peace, it was in none more conspicuously brought to pass than in himself: and his predictions against the parliament and their adherents have for the most part been verified upon his own head, and upon his chief counsellors.

He concludes with high praises of the army. But praises in an enemy are superfluous, or smell of craft; and the army shall not need his praises, nor the parliament fare worse for his accusing prayers that follow. Wherein, as his charity can be no way comparable to that of Christ, so neither can his assurance, that they whom he seems to pray for, in doing what they did against him, "knew not what they did." It was but arrogance therefore, and not charity, to lay such ignorance to others in the sight of God, till he himself had been infallible, like him whose peculiar words he overweeningly assumes.

XXVII. *Entitled, To the Prince of Wales.*

What the king wrote to his son, as a father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him as a king of England, concerns not him; God and the parliament having

now otherwise disposed of England. But because I see it done with some artifice and labour, to possess the people, that they might amend their present condition, by his, or by his son's restorement, I shall shew point by point, that although the king had been reinstalled to his desire, or that his son admitted should observe exactly all his father's precepts, yet that this would be so far from conducing to our happiness, either as a remedy to the present distempers, or a prevention of the like to come, that it would inevitably throw us back again into all our past and fulfilled miseries; would force us to fight over again all our tedious wars, and put us to another fatal struggling for liberty and life, more dubious than the former. In which, as our success hath been no other than our cause; so it will be evident to all posterity, that his misfortunes were the mere consequence of his perverse judgment.

First, he argues from the experience of those troubles, which both he and his son have had, to the improvement of their piety and patience; and by the way bears witness in his own words, that the corrupt education of his youth, which was but glanced at only in some former passages of this answer, was a thing neither of mean consideration, nor untruly charged upon him or his son: himself confessing here, that "court-delights are prone either to root up all true virtue and honour, or to be contented only with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits tending to the public good." Which presents him still in his own words another Rehoboam, softened by a far worse court than Solomon's, and so corrupted by flatteries, which he affirms to be unseparable, to the overturning of all peace, and the loss of his own honour and kingdoms. That he came therefore thus bred up and nurtured to the throne far worse than Rehoboam, unless he be of those who equalized his father to King Solomon, we have here his own confession. And how voluptuously, how idly reigning in the hands of other men, he either tyrannized or trifled away those seventeen years of peace, without care or thought, as if to be a king had been nothing else in his apprehension, but to eat and drink, and have his will, and take his pleasure; though there be who can relate his domestic life to the exactness of a diary, there shall be here no mention made. This yet we might have then foreseen, that he who spent his leisure so remissly and so corruptly to his own pleasing, would one day or other be worse busied and employed to our sorrow. And that he acted in good earnest what Rehoboam did but threaten, to make his little finger heavier than his father's loins, and to whip us up with two-twisted scorpions, both temporal and spiritual tyranny, all his kingdoms have felt. What good use he made afterwards of his adversity, both his impenitence and obstinacy to the end, (for he was no Manasseh,) and the sequel of these his meditated resolutions, abundantly express: retaining, commending, teaching, to his son all those putrid and pernicious documents both of state and of religion, instilled by wicked doctors, and received by him as in a vessel nothing better seasoned, which were the first occasion both of his own and all our miseries. And if he, in the best maturity of his years and understanding, made no better use to himself or others of his so long and manifold afflictions, either looking up to God, or looking down upon the reason of his own affairs; there can be no probability, that his son, bred up, not in the soft effeminacies of a court only, but in the rugged and more boisterous licence of undisciplined camps and garrisons, for years unable to reflect with judgment upon his own condition, and thus ill instructed by his father, should give his mind to walk by any other rules than these, bequeathed him as on his father's death-bed, and as the choicest of all that experience, which his most serious observation and retirement in good or evil days had taught him. David indeed, by suffering without just cause, learned that meekness and that wisdom by adversity, which made him much the fitter man to reign. But they who suffer as oppressors, tyrants, violaters of law, and persecutors of reformation, without appearance of repenting; if they once get hold again of that dignity and power, which they had lost, are but whetted and enraged by what they suffered, against those whom they look upon as them that caused their sufferings.

How he hath been "subject to the sceptre of God's word and spirit," though acknowledged to be the best government; and what his dispensation of civil power hath been, with what justice, and what honour to the public peace; it is but looking back upon the whole catalogue of his deeds, and that will be sufficient to remember us. "The cup of God's physic," as he calls it, what alteration it wrought in him to a firm healthfulness from any surfeit, or excess whereof the people generally thought him sick, if any man would go about to prove, we have his own testimony following here, that it wrought none at all.

First, he hath the same fixed opinion and esteem of his old Ephesian goddess, called the Church of England, as he had ever; and charges strictly his son after him to persevere in that antipapal schism, (for it is not much better,) as that which will be necessary both for his soul's and the kingdom's peace. But if this can be any foundation of the kingdom's peace, which was the first cause of our distractions, let common sense be judge. It is a rule and principle worthy to be known by Christians, that no scripture, no nor so much as any ancient creed, binds our faith, or our obedience to any church whatsoever, denominated by a particular name; far less, if it be distinguished by a several government from that which is indeed catholic. No man was ever bid be subject to the church of Corinth, Rome, or Asia, but to the church without addition, as it held faithful to the rules of Scripture, and the government established in all places by the apostles; which at first was universally the same in all churches and congregations; not differing or distinguished by the diversity of countries, territories, or civil bounds. That church, that from the name of a distinct place takes authority to set up a distinct faith or government, is a schism and faction, not a church. It were an injury to condemn the papist of absurdity and contradiction, for adhering to his catholic Romish religion, if we, for the pleasure of

a king and his politic considerations, shall adhere to a catholic English.

But suppose the church of England were as it ought to be, how is it to us the safer by being so named and established, whenas that very name and establishment, by this contriving, or approbation, served for nothing else but to delude us and amuse us, while the church of England insensibly was almost changed and translated into the church of Rome. Which as every man knows in general to be true, so the particular treaties and transactions tending to that conclusion are at large discovered in a book entitled the "English Pope." But when the people, discerning these abuses, began to call for reformation, in order to which the parliament demanded of the king to unestablish that prelatical government, which without Scripture had usurped over us; straight as Pharaoh accused of idleness the Israelites that sought leave to go and sacrifice to God, he lays faction to their charge. And that we may not hope to have ever any thing reformed in the church either by him or his son, he forewarns him, "that the devil of rebellion doth most commonly turn himself into an angel of reformation:" and says enough to make him hate it, as the worst of evils, and the bane of his crown: nay he counsels him to "let nothing seem little or despicable to him, so as not speedily and effectually to suppress errours and schisms." Whereby we may perceive plainly, that our consciences were destined to the same servitude and persecution, if not worse than before, whether under him, or if it should so happen, under his son; who count all protestant churches erroneous and schismatical, which are not episcopal. His next precept is concerning our civil liberties; which by his sole voice and predominant will must be circumscribed, and not permitted to extend a hand's breadth further than his interpretation of the laws already settled. And although all human laws are but the offspring of that frailty, that fallibility and imperfection, which was in their authors, whereby many laws in the change of ignorant and obscure ages, may be found both scandalous, and full of grievance to their posterity that made them, and no law is further good than mutable upon just occasion; yet if the removing of an old law, or the making of a new, would save the kingdom, we shall not have it, unless his arbitrary voice will so far slacken the stiff curb of his prerogative, as to grant it us; who are as freeborn to make our own laws, as our fathers were, who made these we have. Where are then the English liberties, which we boast to have been left us by our progenitors? To that he answers, that "our liberties consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of our industry, and the benefit of those laws, to which we ourselves have consented." First, for the enjoyment of those fruits, which our industry and labours have made our own upon our own, what privilege is that above what the Turks, Jews, and Moors enjoy under the Turkish monarchy? For without that kind of justice, which is also in Algiers, among thieves and pirates between themselves, no kind of government, no society, just or unjust, could stand; no combination or conspiracy could stick together. Which he also acknowledges in these words: "that if the crown upon his head be so heavy as to oppress the whole body, the weakness of inferiour members cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the head; but that a necessary debilitation must follow." So that this liberty of this subject concerns himself and the subsistence of his own regal power in the first place, and before the consideration of any right belonging to the subject. We expect therefore something more, that must distinguish free government from slavish. But instead of that, this king, though ever talking and protesting as smooth as now, suffered it in his own hearing to be preached and pleaded without control or check, by them whom he most favoured and upheld, that the subject had no property of his own goods, but that all was the king's right.

Next, for the "benefit of those laws, to which we ourselves have consented," we never had it under him; for not to speak of laws ill executed, when the parliament, and in them the people, have consented to divers laws, and, according to our ancient rights, demanded them, he took upon him to have a negative will, as the transcendent and ultimate law above all our laws; and to rule us forcibly by laws, to which we ourselves did not consent, but complained of. Thus these two heads, wherein the utmost of his allowance here will give our liberties leave to consist, the one of them shall be so far only made good to us, as may support his own interest and crown from ruin or debilitation; and so far Turkish vassals enjoy as much liberty under Mahomet and the Grand Signior: the other we neither yet have enjoyed under him, nor were ever like to do under the tyranny of a negative voice, which he claims above the unanimous consent and power of a whole nation, virtually in the parliament.

In which negative voice to have been cast by the doom of war, and put to death by those who vanquished him in their own defence, he reckons to himself more than a negative martyrdom. But martyrs bear witness to the truth, not to themselves. If I bear witness of myself, saith Christ, my witness is not true. He who writes himself martyr by his own inscription, is like an ill painter, who, by writing on a shapeless picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tell passengers what shape it is: which else no man could imagine: no more than how a martyrdom can belong to him, who therefore dies for his religion, because it is established. Certainly if Agrippa had turned Christian, as he was once turning, and had put to death scribes and Pharisees for observing the law of Moses, and refusing Christianity, they had died a truer martyrdom. For those laws were established by God and Moses, these by no warrantable authors of religion, whose laws in all other best reformed churches are rejected. And if to die for an establishment of religion be martyrdom, then Romish priests executed for that, which had so many hundred years been established in this land, are no worse martyrs than he. Lastly, if to die for the testimony of his own conscience, be enough to make him a martyr, what heretic dying for direct blasphemy,

as some have done constantly, may not boast a martyrdom? As for the constitution or repeal of civil laws, that power lying only in the parliament, which he by the very law of his coronation was to grant them, not to debar them, not to preserve a lesser law with the contempt and violation of a greater; it will conclude him not so much as in a civil and metaphorical sense to have died a martyr of our laws, but a plain transgressor of them. And should the parliament, endued with legislative power, make our laws, and be after to dispute them piece-meal with the reason, conscience, humour, passion, fancy, folly, obstinacy, or other ends of one man, whose sole word and will shall baffle and unmake what all the wisdom of a parliament hath been deliberately framing; what a ridiculous and contemptible thing a parliament would soon be, and what a base unworthy nation we, who boast our freedom, and send them with the manifest peril of their lives to preserve it, they who are not marked by destiny for slaves may apprehend! In this servile condition to have kept us still under hatches, he both resolves here to the last, and so instructs his son.

As to those offered condescensions of a "charitable connivance, or toleration," if we consider what went before, and what follows, they moulder into nothing. For, what with not suffering ever so little to seem a despicable schism, without effectual suppression, as he warned him before, and what with no opposition of law, government, or established religion to be permitted, which is his following proviso, and wholly within his own construction; what a miserable and suspected toleration, under spies and haunting promooters, we should enjoy, is apparent. Besides that it is so far beneath the honour of a parliament and free nation, to beg and supplicate the godship of one frail man, for the bare and simple toleration of what they all consent to be both just, pious, and best pleasing to God, while that which is erroneous, unjust, and mischievous in the church or state, shall by him alone against them all be kept up and established, and they censured the while for a covetous, ambitious, and sacrilegious faction.

Another bait to allure the people is the charge he lays upon his son to be tender of them. Which if we should believe in part, because they are his herd, his cattle, the stock upon his ground, as he accounts them, whom to waste and destroy would undo himself, yet the inducement, which he brings to move him, renders the motion itself something suspicious. For if princes need no palliations, as he tells his son, wherefore is it that he himself hath so often used them? Princes, of all other men, have not more change of raiment in their wardrobes, than variety of shifts and palliations in their solemn actings and pretences to the people.

To try next if he can ensnare the prime men of those who have opposed him, whom, more truly than his meaning was, he calls the "patrons and vindicators of the people," he gives out indemnity, and offers acts of oblivion. But they who with a good conscience and upright heart did their civil duties in the sight of God, and in their several places, to resist tyranny and the violence of superstition banded both against them, he may be sure will never seek to be forgiven that, which may be justly attributed to their immortal praise; nor will assent ever to the guilty blotting out of those actions before men, by which their faith assures them they chiefly stand approved, and are had in remembrance before the throne of God.

He exhorts his son "not to study revenge." But how far he, or at least they about him, intend to follow that exhortation, was seen lately at the Hague, and now lateliest at Madrid; where to execute in the basest manner, though but the smallest part of that savage and barbarous revenge, which they do nothing else but study and contemplate, they cared not to let the world know them for professed traitors and assassinators of all law both divine and human, even of that last and most extensive law kept inviolable to public persons among all fair enemies in the midst of uttermost defiance and hostility. How implacable therefore they would be, after any terms of closure or admittance for the future, or any like opportunity given them hereafter, it will be wisdom and our safety to believe rather, and prevent, than to make trial. And it will concern the multitude, though courted here, to take heed how they seek to hide or colour their own fickleness and instability with a bad repentance of their well-doing, and their fidelity to the better cause; to which at first so cheerfully and conscientiously they joined themselves.

He returns again to extol the church of England, and again requires his son by the joint authority of "a father and a king, not to let his heart receive the least check or disaffection against it." And not without cause, for by that means, "having sole influence upon the clergy, and they upon the people, after long search and many disputes," he could not possibly find a more compendious and politic way to uphold and settle tyranny, than by subduing first the consciences of vulgar men, with the insensible poison of their slavish doctrine: for then the body and besotted mind without much reluctancy was likeliest to admit the yoke.

He commends also "parliaments held with freedom and with honour." But I would ask how that can be, while he only must be the sole free person in that number; and would have the power with his unaccountable denial, to dishonour them by rejecting all their counsels, to confine their lawgiving power, which is the foundation of our freedom, and to change at his pleasure the very name of a parliament into the name of a faction.

The conclusion therefore must needs be quite contrary to what he concludes; that nothing can be more unhappy, more dishonourable, more unsafe for all, than when a wise, grave, and honourable parliament shall have laboured, debated, argued, consulted, and, as he himself speaks, "contributed" for the public good all their counsels in common, to be then frustrated, disappointed, denied and repulsed by the single whiff of a negative, from the mouth of one wilful man; nay, to be blasted, to be struck as mute and motionless as a parliament of tapestry in the hangings; or else after all their pains and travel to be dissolved, and cast away

like so many noughts in arithmetic, unless it be to turn the O of their insignificance into a lamentation with the people, who had so vainly sent them. For this is not to "enact all things by public consent," as he would have us be persuaded, this is to enact nothing but by the private consent and leave of one not negative tyrant; this is mischief without remedy, a stifling and obstructing evil that hath no vent, no outlet, no passage through: grant him this, and the parliament hath no more freedom than if it sate in his noose, which when he pleases to draw together with one twitch of his negative, shall throttle a whole nation, to the wish of Caligula, in one neck. This with the power of the militia in his own hands over our bodies and estates, and the prelates to enthral our consciences either by fraud or force, is the sum of that happiness and liberty we were to look for, whether in his own restitution, or in these precepts given to his son. Which unavoidably would have set us in the same state of misery, wherein we were before; and have either compelled us to submit like bondslaves, or put us back to a second wandering over that horrid wilderness of distraction and civil slaughter, which, not without the strong and miraculous hand of God assisting us, we have measured out, and survived. And who knows, if we make so slight of this incomparable deliverance, which God hath bestowed upon us, but that we shall, like those foolish Israelites, who deposed God and Samuel to set up a king, "cry out" one day, "because of our king," which we have been mad upon; and then God, as he foretold them, will no more deliver us.

There remains now but little more of his discourse, whereof to take a short view will not be amiss. His words make semblance as if he were magnanimously exercising himself, and so teaching his son, "to want as well as to wear a crown;" and would seem to account it "not worth taking up or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms;" and yet to his very last did nothing more industriously, than strive to take up and enjoy again his sequestered crown, upon the most sordid, disloyal, dishonourable, and irreligious terms, not of making peace only, but of joining and incorporating with the murderous Irish, formerly by himself declared against, for "wicked and detestable rebels, odious to God and all good men." And who but those rebels now are the chief strength and confidence of his son? While the presbyter Scot that woos and solicits him, is neglected and put off, as if no terms were to him sordid, irreligious, and dishonourable, but the Scottish and presbyterian, never to be complied with, till the fear of instant perishing starve him out at length to some unsound and hypocritical agreement.

He bids his son "keep to the true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, and he shall never want a kingdom." And I say, people of England! keep ye to those principles, and ye shall never want a king. Nay, after such a fair deliverance as this, with so much fortitude and valour shewn against a tyrant, that people that should seek a king, claiming what this man claims, would shew themselves to be by nature slaves, and arrant beasts; not fit for that liberty, which they cried out and bellowed for, but fitter to be led back again into their old servitude, like a sort of clamouring and fighting brutes, broke loose from their copy-holds, that know not how to use or possess the liberty which they fought for; but with the fair words and promises of an old exasperated foe, are ready to be stroked and tamed again, into the wonted and well-pleasing state of their true Norman villanage, to them best agreeable.

The last sentence, whereon he seems to venture the whole weight of all his former reasons and argumentations, "That religion to their God, and loyalty to their king, cannot be parted, without the sin and infelicity of a people," is contrary to the plain teaching of Christ, that "No man can serve two masters; but, if he hold to the one, he must reject and forsake the other." If God, then, and earthly kings be for the most part not several only, but opposite masters, it will as oft happen, that they who will serve their king must forsake their God; and they who will serve God must forsake their king; which then will neither be their sin, nor their infelicity; but their wisdom, their piety, and their true happiness; as to be deluded by these unsound and subtle ostentations here, would be their misery; and in all likelihood much greater than what they hitherto have undergone: if now again intoxicated and moped with these royal, and therefore so delicious because royal, rudiments of bondage, the cup of deception, spiced and tempered to their bane, they should deliver up themselves to these glozing words and illusions of him, whose rage and utmost violence they have sustained, and overcome so nobly.

XXVIII. *Entitled Meditations upon Death.*

It might be well thought by him, who reads no further than the title of this last essay, that it required no answer. For all other human things are disputed, and will be variously thought of to the world's end. But this business of death is a plain case, and admits no controversy: in that centre all opinions meet. Nevertheless, since out of those few mortifying hours, that should have been intirest to themselves, and most at peace from all passion and disquiet, he can afford spare time to inveigh bitterly against that justice which was done upon him; it will be needful to say something in defence of those proceedings, though briefly, in regard so much on this subject hath been written lately.

It happened once, as we find in Esdras and Josephus, authors not less believed than any under sacred, to be a great and solemn debate in the court of Darius, what thing was to be counted strongest of all other. He that could resolve this, in reward of his excellent wisdom, should be clad in purple, drink in gold, sleep on a bed of gold, and sit next Darius. None but they doubtless who were reputed wise, had the question propounded to them: who after some respite given them by the king to consider, in full assembly of all his lords and gravest counsellors, returned severally what they thought. The first held, that wine was

strongest, another that the king was strongest. But Zorobabel prince of the captive Jews, and heir to the crown of Judah, being one of them, proved women to be stronger than the king, for that he himself had seen a concubine take his crown from off his head to set it upon her own: and others besides him have likewise seen the like feat done, and not in jest. Yet he proved on, and it was so yielded by the king himself, and all his sages, that neither wine, nor women, nor the king, but truth of all other things was the strongest. For me, though neither asked, nor in a nation that gives such rewards to wisdom, I shall pronounce my sentence somewhat different from Zorobabel; and shall defend that either truth and justice are all one, (for truth is but justice in our knowledge, and justice is but truth in our practice; and he indeed so explains himself, in saying that with truth is no accepting of persons, which is the property of justice,) or else if there be any odds, that justice, though not stronger than truth, yet by her office is to put forth and exhibit more strength in the affairs of mankind. For truth is properly no more than contemplation; and her utmost efficiency is but teaching: but justice in her very essence is all strength and activity; and hath a sword put into her hand, to use against all violence and oppression on the earth. She it is most truly, who accepts no person, and exempts none from the severity of her stroke. She never suffers injury to prevail, but when falsehood first prevails over truth; and that also is a kind of justice done on them who are so deluded. Though wicked kings and tyrants counterfeit her sword, as some did that buckler, fabled to fall from heaven into the capitol, yet she communicates her power to none but such as like herself are just, or at least will do justice. For it were extreme partiality and injustice, the flat denial and overthrow of herself, to put her own authentic sword into the hand of an unjust and wicked man, or so far to accept and exalt one mortal person above his equals, that he alone shall have the punishing of all other men transgressing, and not receive like punishment from men, when he himself shall be found the highest transgressor.

We may conclude therefore, that justice, above all other things, is and ought to be the strongest: she is the strength, the kingdom, the power, and majesty of all ages. Truth herself would subscribe to this, though Darius and all the monarchs of the world should deny. And if by sentence thus written, it were my happiness to set free the minds of Englishmen from longing to return poorly under that captivity of kings, from which the strength and supreme sword of justice hath delivered them, I shall have done a work not much inferiour to that of Zorobabel: who by well praising and extolling the force of truth, in that contemplative strength conquered Darius; and freed his country and the people of God, from the captivity of Babylon. Which I shall yet not despair to do, if they in this land, whose minds are yet captive, be but as ingenuous to acknowledge the strength and supremacy of justice, as that heathen king was to confess the strength of truth: or let them but, as he did, grant that, and they will soon perceive, that truth resigns all her outward strength to justice: justice therefore must needs be strongest, both in her own, and in the strength of truth. But if a king may do among men whatsoever is his will and pleasure, and notwithstanding be unaccountable to men, then contrary to his magnified wisdom of Zorobabel, neither truth nor justice, but the king, is strongest of all other things, which that Persian monarch himself, in the midst of all his pride and glory, durst not assume.

Let us see therefore what this king hath to affirm, why the sentence of justice, and the weight of that sword, which she delivers into the hands of men, should be more partial to him offending, than to all others of human race. First, he pleads, that "no law of God or man gives to subjects any power of judicature without or against him." Which assertion shall be proved in every part to be most untrue. The first express law of God given to mankind was that to Noah, as a law, in general, to all the sons of men. And by that most ancient and universal law, "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" we find here no exception. If a king therefore do this, to a king, and that by men also, the same shall be done. This in the law of Moses, which came next, several times is repeated, and in one place remarkably, Numb. xxxv. "Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he shall surely be put to death: the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." This is so spoken as that which concerned all Israel, not one man alone, to see performed; and if no satisfaction were to be taken, then certainly no exception. Nay the king, when they should set up any, was to observe the whole law, and not only to see it done, but to "do it; that his heart might not be lifted up above his brethren;" to dream of vain and useless prerogatives or exemptions, whereby the law itself must needs be founded in unrighteousness.

And were that true, which is most false, that all kings are the Lord's anointed, it were yet absurd to think that the anointment of God should be, as it were, a charm against law, and give them privilege, who punish others, to sin themselves unpunishably. The high priest was the Lord's anointed as well as any king, and with the same consecrated oil: yet Solomon had put to death Abiathar, had it not been for other respects than that anointment. If God himself say to kings, "touch not mine anointed," meaning his chosen people, as is evident in that psalm, yet no man will argue thence, that he protects them from civil laws if they offend; then certainly, though David as a private man, and in his own cause, feared to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed, much less can this forbid the law, or disarm justice from having legal power against any king. No other supreme magistrate, in what kind of government soever, lays claim to any such enormous privilege; wherefore then should any king, who is but one kind of magistrate, and set over the people for no other end than they?

Next in order of time to the laws of Moses are those

of Christ, who declares professedly his judicature to be spiritual, abstract from civil managements, and therefore leaves all nations to their own particular laws, and way of government. Yet because the church hath a kind of jurisdiction within her own bounds, and that also, though in process of time much corrupted and plainly turned into a corporal judicature, yet much approved by this king; it will be firm enough and valid against him, if subjects, by the laws of church also, be "invested with a power of judicature" both without and against their king, though pretending, and by them acknowledged, "next and immediately under Christ supreme head and governor." Theodosius, one of the best christian emperors, having made a slaughter of the Thessalonians for sedition, but too cruelly, was excommunicated to his face by St. Ambrose, who was his subject; and excommunion is the utmost of ecclesiastical judicature, a spiritual putting to death. But this, ye will say, was only an example. Read then the story; and it will appear, both that Ambrose avouched it for the law of God, and Theodosius confessed it of his own accord to be so; "and that the law of God was not to be made void in him, for any reverence to his imperial power." From hence, not to be tedious, I shall pass into our own land of Britain; and shew that subjects here have exercised the utmost of spiritual judicature, and more than spiritual, against their kings, his predecessors. Vortiger, for committing incest with his daughter, was by St. German, at that time his subject, cursed and condemned in a British counsel about the year 448; and thereupon soon after was deposed. Mauricus, a king in Wales, for breach of oath and the murder of Cynetus, was excommunicated and cursed, with all his offspring, by Oudoceus bishop of Llandaff in full synod, about the year 560; and not restored, till he had repented. Morcant, another king in Wales, having slain Frioc his uncle, was fain to come in person, and receive judgment from the same bishop and his clergy; who upon his penitence acquitted him, for no other cause than lest the kingdom should be destitute of a successor in the royal line. These examples are of the primitive, British, and episcopal church; long ere they had any commerce or communion with the church of Rome. What power afterwards of deposing kings, and so consequently of putting them to death, was assumed and practised by the canon law, I omit, as a thing generally known. Certainly, if whole councils of the Romish church have in the midst of their dimness discerned so much of truth, as to decree at Constance, and at Basil, and many of them to avouch at Trent also, that a council is above the pope, and may judge him, though by them not denied to be the vicar of Christ; we in our clearer light may be ashamed not to discern further, that a parliament is by all equity and right above a king, and may judge him, whose reasons and pretensions to hold of God only, as his immediate vicegerent, we know how far fetched they are, and insufficient.

As for the laws of man, it would ask a volume to repeat all that might be cited in this point against him from all antiquity. In Greece, Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, and by succession king of Argos, was in that country judged and condemned to death for killing his mother: whence escaping, he was judged again, though a stranger, before the great council of Areopagus in Athens. And this memorable act of judicature was the first, that brought the justice of that grave senate into fame and high estimation over all Greece for many ages after. And in the same city, tyrants were to undergo legal sentence by the laws of Solon. The kings of Sparta, though descended lineally from Hercules, esteemed a god among them, were often judged, and sometimes put to death, by the most just and renowned laws of Lycurgus; who, though a king, thought it most unequal to bind his subjects by any law, to which he bound not himself. In Rome, the laws made by Valerius Publicola, soon after the expelling of Tarquin and his race, expelled without a written law, the law being afterward written; and what the senate decreed against Nero, that he should be judged and punished according to the laws of their ancestors, and what in like manner was decreed against other emperors, is vulgarly known; as it was known to those heathen, and found just by nature ere any law mentioned it. And that the christian civil law warrants like power of judicature to subjects against tyrants, is written clearly by the best and famousest civilians. For if it was decreed by Theodosius, and stands yet firm in the code of Justinian, that the law is above the emperor, then certainly the emperor being under law, the law may judge him; and if judge him, may punish him, proving tyrannous: how else is the law above him, or to what purpose? These are necessary deductions; and thereafter hath been done in all ages and kingdoms, oftener than to be here recited.

But what need we any further search after the law of other lands, for that which is so fully and so plainly set down lawful in our own? Where ancient books tell us, Bracton, Fleta, and others, that the king is under law, and inferiour to his court of parliament; that although his place "to do justice" be highest, yet that he stands as liable "to receive justice" as the meanest of his kingdom. Nay, Alfred the most worthy king, and by some accounted first absolute monarch of the Saxons here, so ordained; as is cited out of an ancient law-book called "the Mirror;" in "rights of the kingdom," p. 31, where it is complained on, "as the sovereign abuse of all," that "the king should be deemed above the law, whereas he ought to be the subject to it by his oath." Of which oath anciently it was the last clause, that the king "should be as liable, and obedient to suffer right, as others of his people." And indeed it were but fond and senseless, that the king should be accountable to every petty suit in lesser courts, as we all know he was, and not be subject to the judicature of parliament in the main matters of our common safety or destruction; that he should be answerable in the ordinary course of law for any wrong done to a private person, and not answerable in court of parliament for destroying the whole kingdom. By all this, and much more that might be added, as in an argument over-copious rather than barren, we see it

manifest that all laws, both of God and man, are made without exemption of any person whomsoever; and that if kings presume to overtop the law by which they reign for the public good, they are by law to be reduced into order; and that can no way be more justly, than by those who exalt them to that high place. For who should better understand their own laws, and when they are transgrest, than they who are governed by them, and whose consent first made them? And who can have more right to take knowledge of things done within a free nation, than they within themselves?

Those objected oaths of allegiance and supremacy we swore, not to his person, but as it was invested with his authority; and his authority was by the people first given him conditionally, in law, and under law, and under oath also for the kingdom's good, and not otherwise; the oaths then were interchanged, and mutual; stood and fell together; he swore fidelity to his trust; (not as a deluding ceremony, but as a real condition of their admitting him for king; and the conqueror himself swore it oftener than at his crowning;) they swore homage and fealty to his person in that trust. There was no reason why the kingdom should be further bound by oaths to him, than he by his coronation oath to us, which he hath every way broken: and having broken, the ancient crown oath of Alfred above mentioned conceals not his penalty.

As for the covenant, if that be meant, certainly no discreet person can imagine it should bind us to him in any stricter sense than those oaths formerly. The acts of hostility, which we received from him, were no such dear obligements, that we should owe him more fealty and defence for being our enemy, than we could before when we took him only for a king. They were accused by him and his party, to pretend liberty and reformation, but to have no other end than to make themselves great, and to destroy the king's person and authority. For which reason they added that third article, testifying to the world, that as they were resolved to endeavour first a reformation in the church, to extirpate prelacy, to preserve the rights of parliament, and the liberties of the kingdom, so they intended, so far as it might consist with the preservation and defence of these, to preserve the king's person and authority; but not otherwise. As far as this comes to, they covenant and swear in the sixth article, to preserve and defend the persons and authority of one another, and all those that enter into that league; so that this covenant gives no unlimitable exemption to the king's person, but gives to all as much defence and preservation as to him, and to him as much as to their own persons, and no more; that is to say, in order and subordination to those main ends, for which we live and are a nation of men joined in society either christian, or at least human. But if the covenant were made absolute, to preserve and defend any one whomsoever, without respect had, either to the true religion, or those other superiour things to be defended and preserved however, it cannot then be doubted, but that the covenant was rather a most foolish, hasty, and unlawful vow, than a deliberate and well-weighed covenant; swearing us into labyrinths and repugnances, no way to be solved or reconciled, and therefore no way to be kept; as first offending against the law of God, to vow the absolute preservation, defence, and maintaining of one man, though in his sins and offences never so great and heinous against God or his neighbour; and to except a person from justice, whereas his law excepts none. Secondly, it offends against the law of this nation, wherein, as hath been proved, kings in receiving justice, and undergoing due trial, are not differenced from the meanest subject. Lastly, it contradicts and offends against the covenant itself, which vows in the fourth article to bring to open trial and condign punishment all those that shall be found guilty of such crimes and delinquencies, whereof the king, by his own letters and other undeniable testimonies not brought to light till afterward, was found and convicted to be chief actor in what they thought him, at the time of taking that covenant, to be overruled only by evil counsellors; and those, or whomsoever they should discover to be principal, they vowed to try, either by their own "supreme judicatories," (for so even then they called them,) "or by others having power from them to that effect." So that to have brought the king to condign punishment hath not broke the covenant, but it would have broke the covenant to have saved him from those judicatories, which both nations declared in that covenant to be supreme against any person whatsoever. And besides all this, to swear in covenant the bringing of his evil counsellors and accomplices to condign punishment, and not only to leave unpunished and untouched the grand offender, but to receive him back again from the accomplishment of so many violences and mischiefs, dipped from head to foot, and stained over with the blood of thousands that were his faithful subjects, forced to their own defence against a civil war by him first raised upon them; and to receive him thus, in this gory pickle, to all his dignities and honours, covering the ignominious and horrid purple robe of innocent blood, that sat so close about him, with the glorious purple of royalty and supreme rule, the reward of highest excellence and virtue here on earth; were not only to swear and covenant the performance of an unjust vow, the strangest and most impious to the face of God, but were the most unwise and unprudential act as to civil government. For so long as a king shall find by experience, that, do the worst he can, his subjects, overawed by the religion of their own covenant, will only prosecute his evil instruments, not dare to touch his person; and that whatever hath been on his part offended or transgressed, he shall come off at last with the same reverence to his person, and the same honour as for well doing, he will not fail to find them work; seeking far and near, and inviting to his court all the concourse of evil counsellors, or agents, that may be found: who, tempted with preferments and his promise to uphold them, will hazard easily their own heads, and the chance of ten to one but they shall prevail at last, over men so quelled and fitted to be slaves by the false conceit of a religious covenant. And they in that

superstition neither wholly yielding, nor to the utmost resisting, at the upshot of all their foolish war and expense, will find to have done no more but fetched a compass only of their miseries, ending at the same point of slavery, and in the same distractions wherein they first begun. But when kings themselves are made as liable to punishment as their evil counsellors, it will be both as dangerous from the king himself as from his parliament, to those that evil counsel him: and they, who else would be his readiest agents in evil, will then not fear to dissuade or to disobey him, not only in respect of themselves and their own lives, which for his sake they would not seem to value, but in respect of that danger which the king himself may incur, whom they would seem to love and serve with greatest fidelity. On all these grounds therefore of the covenant itself, whether religious or political, it appears likeliest, that both the English parliament and the Scotch commissioners, thus interpreting the covenant, (as indeed at that time they were the best and most authentical interpreters joined together,) answered the king unanimously, in their letter dated January the 13th, 1645, that till security and satisfaction first given to both kingdoms for the blood spilled, for the Irish rebels brought over, and for the war in Ireland by him fomented, they could in nowise yield their consent to his return. Here was satisfaction, full two years and upward after the covenant taken, demanded of the king by both nations in parliament for crimes at least capital, wherewith they charged him. And what satisfaction could be given for so much blood, but justice upon him that spilled it? till which done, they neither took themselves bound to grant him the exercise of his regal office by any meaning of the covenant which they then declared, (though other meanings have been since contrived,) nor so much regarded the safety of his person, as to admit of his return among them from the midst of those whom they declared to be his greatest enemies; nay from himself as from an actual enemy, not as from a king, they demanded security. But if the covenant, all this notwithstanding, swore otherwise to preserve him that in the preservation of true religion and our liberties, against which he fought, if not in arms, yet in resolution, to his dying day, and now after death still fights again in this his book, the covenant was better broken, than he saved. And God hath testified by all propitious and the most evident sign, whereby in these latter times he is wont to testify what pleases him, that such a solemn and for many ages unexampled act of due punishment was no mockery of justice, but a most grateful and well-pleasing sacrifice. Neither was it to cover their perjury, as he accuses, but to uncover his perjury to the oath of his coronation.

The rest of his discourse quite forgets the title; and turns his meditations upon death into obloquy and bitter vehemence against his "judges and accusers;" imitating therein, not our Saviour, but his grandmother Mary queen of Scots, as also in the most of his other scruples, exceptions, and evasions; and from whom he seems to have learnt, as it were by heart, or else by kind, that which is thought by his admirers to be the most virtuous, most manly, most christian, and most martyr-like, both of his words and speeches here, and of his answers and behaviour at his trial.

"It is a sad fate," he saith, "to have his enemies both accusers, parties, and judges." Sad indeed, but no sufficient plea to acquit him from being so judged. For what malefactor might not sometimes plead the like? If his own crimes have made all men his enemies, who else can judge him? They of the powder-plot against his father might as well have pleaded the same. Nay, at the resurrection it may as well be pleaded, that the saints, who then shall judge the world, are "both enemies, judges, parties, and accusers."

So much he thinks to abound in his own defence, that he undertakes an unmeasurable task, to bespeak "the singular care and protection of God over all kings," as being the greatest patrons of law, justice, order, and religion on earth. But what patrons they be, God in the Scripture oft enough hath expressed; and the earth itself hath too long groaned under the burden of their injustice, disorder, and irreligion. Therefore "to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron," is an honour belonging to his saints; not to build Babel, (which was Nimrod's work, the first king, and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel,) but to destroy it, especially that spiritual Babel: and first to overcome those European kings, which receive their power, not from God, but from the beast; and are counted no better than his ten horns. "These shall hate the great whore," and yet "shall give their kingdoms to the beast that carries her; they shall commit fornication with her," and yet "shall burn her with fire," and yet "shall lament the fall of Babylon," where they fornicated with her. Revelations chap. xvii. and xviii.

Thus shall they be to and fro, doubtful and ambiguous in all their doings, until at last, "joining their armies with the beast," whose power first raised them, they shall perish with him by the "King of kings," against whom they have rebelled; and "the fowls shall eat their flesh." This is their doom written, Rev. xix. and the utmost that we find concerning them in these latter days; which we have much more cause to believe, than his unwarranted revelation here, prophesying what shall follow after his death, with the spirit of enmity, not of St. John.

He would fain bring us out of conceit with the good success, which God hath vouchsafed us. We measure not our cause by our success, but our success by our cause. Yet certainly in a good cause success is a good confirmation; for God hath promised it to good men almost in every leaf of Scripture. If it argue not for us, we are sure it argues not against us; but as much or more for us, than ill success argues for them; for to the wicked God hath denounced ill success in all they take in hand.

He hopes much of those "softer tempers," as he calls them, and "less advantaged by his ruin, that their consciences do already" gripe them. It is true, there be a sort of moody, hotbrained, and always unedified consciences; apt to engage their leaders into great and

dangerous affairs past retirement, and then upon a sudden qualm and swimming of their conscience, to betray them basely in the midst of what was chiefly undertaken for their sakes.* Let such men never meet with any faithful parliament to hazard for them; never with any noble spirit to conduct and lead them out; but let them live and die in servile condition and their scrupulous queasiness, if no instruction will confirm them! Others there be, in whose consciences the loss of gain, and those advantages they hoped for, hath sprung a sudden leak. These are they that cry out, the covenant broken! and to keep it better slide back into neutrality, or join actually with incendiaries and malignants. But God hath eminently begun to punish those, first in Scotland, then in Ulster, who have provoked him with the most hateful kind of mockery, to break his covenant under pretence of strictest keeping it; and hath subjected them to those malignants, with whom they scrupled not to be associates. In God therefore we shall not fear what their false fraternity can do against us.

He seeks again with cunning words to turn our success into our sin. But might call to mind, that the Scripture speaks of those also, who "when God slew them, then sought him;" yet did but "flatter him with their mouth, and lyed to him with their tongues; for their heart was not right with him." And there was one, who in the time of his affliction trespassed more against God. This was that king Ahaz.

He glories much in the forgiveness of his enemies; so did his grandmother at her death. Wise men would sooner have believed him, had he not so often told us so. But he hopes to erect "the trophies of his charity over us." And trophies of charity no doubt will be as glorious as trumpets before the alms of hypocrites; and more especially the trophies of such an aspiring charity, as offers in his prayer to share victory with God's compassion, which is over all his works. Such prayers as these may haply catch the people, as was intended: but how they please God is to be much doubted, though prayed in secret, much less written to be divulged. Which perhaps may gain him after death a short, contemptible, and soon fading reward; not what he aims at, to stir the constancy and solid firmness of any wise man, or to unsettle the conscience of any knowing Christian, (if he could ever aim at a thing so hopeless, and above the genius of his cleric elocution,) but to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and image-doting rabble; that like a credulous and hapless herd, begotten to servility, and enchanted with these popular institutes of tyranny, subscribed with a new device of the king's picture at his prayers, hold out both their ears with such delight and ravishment to be stigmatized and bored through, in witness of their own voluntary and beloved baseness. The rest, whom perhaps ignorance without malice, or some errour, less than fatal, hath for the time misled, on this side sorcery or obduration, may find the grace and good guidance, to bethink themselves and recover.

* A severe rebuke this to the Presbyterians.

DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

IN ANSWER TO

SALMASIUS'S DEFENCE OF THE KING.*

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1692.]

THE PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH I fear, lest, if in defending the people of England, I should be as copious in words, and empty of matter, as most men think Salmasius has been in his defence of the king, I might seem to deserve justly to be accounted a verbose and silly defender; yet since no man thinks himself obliged to make so much haste, though in the handling but of any ordinary subject, as not to premise some introduction at least, according as the weight of the subject requires; if I take the same course in handling almost the greatest subject that ever was (without being too tedious in it) I am in hopes of attaining two things, which indeed I earnestly desire: the one, not to be at all wanting, as far as in me lies, to this most noble cause, and most worthy to be recorded to all future ages: the other, that I may appear to have avoided myself that frivolousness of matter, and redundancy of words, which I blame in my antagonist. For I am about to discourse of matters, neither inconsiderable nor common, but how a most potent king, after he had trampled upon the laws of the nation, and given a shock to its religion, and begun to rule at his own will and pleasure; was at last subdued in the field by his own subjects, who had undergone a long slavery under him; how afterwards he was cast into prison, and when he gave no ground, either by words or actions, to hope better things of him, he was finally by the supreme council of the kingdom condemned to die, and beheaded before the very gates of the royal palace. I shall likewise relate (which will much conduce to the easing men's minds of a great superstition) by what right, especially according to our law, this judgment was given, and all these matters transacted; and shall easily defend my valiant and worthy countrymen (who have extremely well deserved of all subjects and nations in the world) from the most wicked calumnies both of domestic and foreign railers, and especially from the reproaches of this most vain and empty sophister, who sets up for a captain and ringleader to all the rest. For what king's majesty sitting upon an exalted throne, ever shone so brightly, as that of the people of England then did, when shaking off that old superstition, which had prevailed a long time, they gave judgment upon the king himself, or rather upon an enemy who had been their king, caught as it were in a net by his own laws, (who alone of all mortals challenged to himself impunity by a divine right,) and scrupled not to inflict the same punishment upon him, being guilty, which he would have inflicted upon any other? But why do I mention these things as performed by the people, which almost open their voice themselves, and testify the presence of God throughout? who, as often as it seems good to his infinite wisdom, uses to throw down proud and unruly kings, exalting themselves above the condition of human nature, and utterly to extirpate them and all their family. By his manifest impulse being set on work to recover our almost lost liberty, following him as our guide, and adoring the impresses of his divine power manifested upon all occasions, we went on in no obscure, but an illustrious passage, pointed out and made plain to us by God himself. Which things, if I should so much as hope by any diligence or ability of mine, such as it is, to discourse of as I ought to do, and to commit them so to writing, as that perhaps all nations and all ages may read them, it would be a very vain thing in me. For what style can be august and magnificent enough, what man has parts sufficient to undertake so great a task? Since we find by experience, that in so many ages as are gone over the world, there has been but here and there a man found, who has been able worthily to recount the actions of great heroes, and potent states; can any man have so good an opinion of his own talents, as to think himself capable to reach these glorious and wonderful works of Almighty God, by any language, by any style of his? Which enterprise, though some of

* This translation of the author's "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano" Mr. Toland ascribes to Mr. Washington, a gentleman of the Temple.

the most eminent persons in our commonwealth have prevailed upon me by their authority to undertake, and would have it be my business to vindicate with my pen against envy and calumny (which are proof against arms) those glorious performances of theirs, (whose opinion of me I take as a very great honour, that they should pitch upon me before others to be serviceable in this kind of those most valiant deliverers of my native country; and true it is, that from my very youth, I have been bent extremely upon such sort of studies, as inclined me, if not to do great things myself, at least to celebrate those that did,) yet as having no confidence in any such advantages, I have recourse to the divine assistance; and invoke the great and holy God, the giver of all good gifts, that I may as substantially, and as truly, discourse and refute the sauciness and lies of this foreign declamator, as our noble generals piously and successfully by force of arms broke the king's pride, and his unruly domineering, and afterwards put an end to both by inflicting a memorable punishment upon himself, and as thoroughly as a single person did with ease but of late confute and confound the king himself rising as it were from the grave, and recommending himself to the people in a book published after his death, with new artifices and allurements of words and expressions. Which antagonist of mine, though he be a foreigner, and, though he deny it a thousand times over, but a poor grammarian; yet not contented with a salary due to him in that capacity, chose to turn a pragmatical coxcomb, and not only to intrude in state-affairs, but into the affairs of a foreign state: though he brings along with him neither modesty, nor understanding, nor any other qualification requisite in so great an arbitrator, but sauciness, and a little grammar only. Indeed if he had published here, and in English, the same things as he has now wrote in Latin, such as it is, I think no man would have thought it worth while to return an answer to them, but would partly despise them as common, and exploded over and over already, and partly abhor them as sordid and tyrannical maxims, not to be endured even by the most abject of slaves: nay, men that have sided with the king, would have had these thoughts of his book. But since he has swoln it to a considerable bulk, and dispersed it amongst foreigners, who are altogether ignorant of our affairs and constitution; it is fit that they who mistake them, should be better informed; and that he, who is so very forward to speak ill of others, should be treated in his own kind. If it be asked, why we did not then attack him sooner, why we suffered him to triumph so long, and pride himself in our silence? For others I am not to answer; for myself I can boldly say, that I had neither words nor arguments long to seek for the defence of so good a cause, if I had enjoyed such a measure of health, as would have endured the fatigue of writing. And being but weak in body, I am forced to write by piecemeal, and break off almost every hour, though the subject be such as requires an unintermitted study and intenseness of mind. But though this bodily indisposition may be a hindrance to me in setting forth the just praises of my most worthy countrymen, who have been the saviours of their native country, and whose exploits, worthy of immortality, are already famous all the world over; yet I hope it will be no difficult matter for me to defend them from the insolence of this silly little scholar, and from that saucy tongue of his, at least. Nature and laws would be in an ill case, if slavery should find what to say for itself, and liberty be mute. and if tyrants should find men to plead for them, and they that can master and vanquish tyrants, should not be able to find advocates. And it were a deplorable thing indeed, if the reason mankind is endued withal, and which is the gift of God, should not furnish more arguments for men's preservation, for their deliverance, and, as much as the nature of the thing will bear, for making them equal to one another, than for their oppression, and for their utter ruin under the domineering power of one single person. Let me therefore enter upon this noble cause with a cheerfulness, grounded upon this assurance, that my adversary's cause is maintained by nothing but fraud, fallacy, ignorance, and barbarity; whereas mine has light, truth, reason, the practice and the learning of the best ages of the world, of its side.

But now, having said enough for an introduction, since we have to do with critics; let us in the first place consider the title of this choice piece: "Defensio Regia pro Car. Primo, ad Car. Secundum: a Royal Defence, (or the king's defence) for Charles the First, to Charles the Second." You undertake a wonderful piece of work, whoever you are; to plead the father's cause before his own son: a hundred to one but you carry it. But I summon you, Salmasius, who heretofore sculked under a wrong name, and now go by no name at all, to appear before another tribunal, and before other judges, where perhaps you may not hear those little applauses, which you used to be so fond of in your school. But why this royal defence dedicated to the king's own son? We need not put him to the torture; he confesses why. "At the king's charge," says he. O mercenary and chargeable advocate! could you not afford to write a defence for Charles the father, whom you pretend to have been the best of kings, to Charles the son, the most indigent of all kings, but it must be at the poor king's own charge? But though you are a knave, you would not make yourself ridiculous, in calling it the king's defence; for you having sold it, it is no longer yours, but the king's indeed: who bought it at the price of a hundred jacobusses, a great sum for a poor king to disburse. I know very well what I say: and it is well enough known who brought the gold, and the purse wrought with beads: we know who saw you reach out greedy fists, under pretence of embracing the king's chaplain, who brought the present, but indeed to embrace the present itself, and by accepting it to exhaust almost all the king's treasury.

But now the man comes himself, the door creaks; the actor comes upon the stage.

In silence now, and with attention wait,
That ye may learn what th' Eunuch has to prate.
Terent.

For whatever the matter is with him, he blusters more than ordinary. "A horrible message had lately struck our ears, but our minds more, with a heinous wound concerning a parricide committed in England in the person of a king, by a wicked conspiracy of sacrilegious men." Indeed that horrible message must either have had a much longer sword than that which Peter drew, or those ears must have been of a wonderful length, that it could wound at such a distance; for it could not so much as in the least offend any ears but those of an ass. For what harm is it to you, that are foreigners? are any of you hurt by it, if we amongst ourselves put our own enemies, our own traitors to death, be they commoners, noblemen, or kings? Do you, Salmasius, let alone what does not concern you: for I have a horrible message to bring of you too; which I am mistaken if it strike not a more heinous wound into the ears of all grammarians and critics, provided they have any learning and delicacy in them, to wit, your crowding so many barbarous expressions together in one period in the person of (Aristarchus) a grammarian; and that so great a critic as you, hired at the king's charge to write a defence of the king his father, should not only set so fulsome a preface before it, much like those lamentable ditties that used to be sung at funerals, and which can move compassion in none but a coxcomb; but in the very first sentence should provoke your readers to laughter with so many barbarisms all at once. "Persona regis," you cry. Where do you find any such Latin? or are you telling us some tale or other of a Perkin Warbec, who taking upon him the person of a king, has, forsooth, committed some horrible parricide in England? which expression, though dropping carelessly from your pen, has more truth in it than you are aware of. For a tyrant is but like a king upon a stage, a man in a vizor, and acting the part of a king in a play; he is not really a king. But as for these gallicisms, that are so frequent in your book, I won't lash you for them myself, for I am not at leisure; but shall deliver you over to your fellow-grammarians, to be laughed to scorn and whipped by them. What follows is much more heinous, that what was decreed by our supreme magistracy to be done to the king, should be said by you to have been done "by a wicked conspiracy of sacrilegious persons." Have you the impudence, you rogue, to talk at this rate of the acts and decrees of the chief magistrates of a nation, that lately was a most potent kingdom, and is now a more potent commonwealth? Whose proceedings no king ever took upon him by word of mouth, or otherwise, to vilify and set at nought. The illustrious states of Holland therefore, the genuine offspring of those deliverers of their country, have deservedly by their edict condemned to utter darkness this defence of tyrants, so pernicious to the liberty of all nations; the author of which every free state ought to forbid their country, or to banish out of it; and that state particularly that feeds with a stipend so ungrateful and so savage an enemy to their commonwealth, whose very fundamentals, and the causes of their becoming a free state, this fellow endeavours to undermine as well as ours, and at one and the same time to subvert both; loading with calumnies the most worthy asserters of liberty there, under our names. Consider with yourselves, ye most illustrious states of the United Netherlands, who it was that put this asserter of kingly power upon setting pen to paper? who it was, that but lately began to play Rex in your country? what counsels were taken, what endeavours used, and what disturbances ensued thereupon in Holland? and to what pass things might have been brought by this time? How slavery and a new master were ready prepared for you; and how near expiring that liberty of yours, asserted and vindicated by so many years war and toil, would have been ere now, if it had not taken breath again by the timely death of a certain rash young gentleman. But our author begins to strut again, and to feign wonderful tragedies; "whomsoever this dreadful news reached, (to wit, the news of Salmasius's parricidial barbarisms,) all of a sudden, as if they had been struck with lightning, their hair stood an end, and their tongues clove to the roof of their mouth." Which let natural philosophers take notice of, (for this secret in nature was never discovered before,) that lightning makes men's hair stand on end. But who knows not that little effeminate minds are apt to be amazed at the news of any extraordinary great action; and that then they shew themselves to be, what they really were before, no better than so many stocks? "Some could not refrain from tears;" some little women at court, I suppose, or if there be any more effeminate than they, of whose number Salmasius himself being one. is by a new metamorphosis become a fountain near akin to his name, (Salmacis,) and with his counterfeit flood of tears prepared over night, endeavours to emasculate generous minds: I advise therefore, and wish them to have a care,

——Infamis ne quem malè fortibus undis
Salmacis enervet.——
——Ne, si vir cum venerit, exeat indè
Semivir, et tactis subitò mollescat in undis.

Abstain, as manhood you esteem,
From Salmacis' pernicious stream:
If but one moment there you stay,
Too dear you'll for your bathing pay.—
Depart nor man nor woman, but a sight
Disgracing both, a loath'd hermaphrodite.

"They that had more courage" (which yet he expresses in miserable bald Latin, as if he could not so much as speak of men of courage and magnanimity in proper words) "were set on fire with indignation to that degree, that they could hardly contain themselves." Those furious Hectors we value not of a rush. We have

been accustomed to rout such bullies in the field with a true-sober courage; a courage becoming men that can contain themselves, and are in their right wits. "There were none that did not curse the authors of so horrible a villany." But yet, you say, their tongues clove to the roof of their mouths; and if you mean this of our fugitives only, I wish they had clove there to this day; for we know very well, that there is nothing more common with them, than to have their mouths full of curses and imprecations, which indeed all good men abominate, but withal despise. As for others, it is hardly credible, that when they heard the news of our having inflicted a capital punishment upon the king, there should any be found, especially in a free state, so naturally adapted to slavery as either to speak ill of us, or so much as to censure what we had done. Nay, it is highly probable, that all good men applauded us, and gave God thanks for so illustrious, so exalted a piece of justice; and for a caution so very useful to other princes. In the mean time, as for those fierce, those steel-hearted men, that, you say, take on for, and bewail so pitifully, the lamentable and wonderful death I know not who; them I say, together with their tinkling advocate, the dullest that ever appeared since the name of a king was born and known in the world, we shall even let whine on, till they cry their eyes out. But in the mean time, what schoolboy, what little insignificant monk, could not have made a more elegant speech for the king, and in better Latin, than this royal advocate has done? But it would be folly in me to make such particular animadversions upon his childishness and frenzies throughout his book, as I do here upon a few in the beginning of it; which yet I would be willing enough to do, (for we hear that he is swelled with pride and conceit to the utmost degree imaginable,) if the undigested and immethodical bulk of his book did not protect him. He was resolved to take a course like the soldier in Terence, to save his bacon; and it was very cunning in him, to stuff his book with so much puerility, and so many silly whimsies, that it might nauseate the smartest man in the world to death to take notice of them all. Only I thought it might not be amiss to give a specimen of him in the preface; and to let the serious reader have a taste of him at first, that he might guess by the first dish that is served up, how noble an entertainment the rest are like to make; and that he may imagine with himself what an infinite number of fooleries and impertinencies must needs be heaped up together in the body of the book, when they stand so thick in the very entrance into it, where, of all other places, they ought to have been shunned. His tittle-tattle that follows, and his sermons fit for nothing but to be wormeaten, I can easily pass by, as for any thing in them relating to us, we doubt not in the least, but that what has been written and published by authority of parliament, will have far greater weight with all wise and sober men, than the calumnies and lies of one single impudent little fellow; who being hired by our fugitives, their country's enemies, has scraped together, and not scrupled to publish in print, whatever little story any one of them that employed him put into his head. And that all men may plainly see how little conscience he makes of setting down any thing right or wrong, good or bad, I desire no other witness than Salmasius himself. In his book, entitled, "Apparatus contra Primatum Papæ," he says, 'there are most weighty reasons why the church ought to lay aside episcopacy, and return to the apostolical institution of presbyters: that a far greater mischief has been introduced into the church by episcopacy, than the schisms themselves were, which were before apprehended: that the plague which episcopacy introduced, depressed the whole body of the church under a miserable tyranny; nay, had put a yoke even upon the necks of kings and princes: that it would be more beneficial to the church, if the whole hierarchy itself were extirpated, than if the pope only, who is the head of it, were laid aside,' page 160. 'That it would be very much for the good of the church, if episcopacy were taken away, together with the papacy: that if episcopacy were once taken down, the papacy would fall of itself, as being founded upon it,' page 171. He says, 'he can shew very good reasons why episcopacy ought to be put down in those kingdoms, that have renounced the pope's supremacy; but that he can see no reason for retaining it there: that a reformation is not entire, that is defective in this point: that no reason can be alleged, no probable cause assigned, why the supremacy of the pope being once disowned, episcopacy should notwithstanding be retained,' page 197.—Though he had wrote all this, and a great deal more to this effect, but four years ago, he is now become so vain and so impudent withal, as to accuse the parliament of England, 'for not only turning the bishops out of the house of lords, but for abolishing episcopacy itself.' Nay, he persuades us to receive episcopacy, and defends it by the very same reasons and arguments, which with a great deal of earnestness he had confuted himself in that former book; to wit, 'that bishops were necessary and ought to have been retained, to prevent the springing up of a thousand pernicious sects and heresies.' Crafty turncoat! are you not ashamed to shift hands thus in things that are sacred, and (I had almost said) to betray the church; whose most solemn institutions you seem to have asserted and vindicated with so much noise, that when it should seem for your interest to change sides, you might undo and subvert all again with the more disgrace and infamy to yourself? It is notoriously known, that when both houses of parliament, being extremely desirous to reform the church of England by the pattern of our reformed churches, had resolved to abolish episcopacy, the king first interposed, and afterwards waged war against them chiefly for that very cause; which proved fatal to him. Go now and boast of your having defended the king; who, that you might the better defend him, do now openly betray and impugn the cause of the church, whose defence you yourself had formerly undertaken; and whose severest censures ought to be inflicted upon you. As for the present form of our government, since such a foreign insignificant professor as you, having laid aside your boxes and desks stuffed with nothing but trifles, which you might have spent your time better in putting into order, will needs turn

busybody, and be troublesome in other men's matters, I shall return you this answer, or rather not to you, but to them that are wiser than yourself, viz. That the form of it is such as our present distractions will admit of; not such as were to be wished, but such as the obstinate divisions, that are amongst us, will bear. What state soever is pestered with factions, and defends itself by force of arms, is very just in having regard to those only that are sound and untainted, and in overlooking or secluding the rest, be they of the nobility or the common people; nay, though profiting by experience, they should refuse to be governed any longer either by a king or a house of lords. But in railing at that supreme council, as you call it, and at the chairman there, you make yourself very ridiculous; for that council is not the supreme council, as you dream it is, but appointed by authority of parliament, for a certain time only; and consisting of forty persons, for the most part members of parliament, any one of whom may be president if the rest vote him into the chair. And there is nothing more common, than for our parliaments to appoint committees of their own members; who, when so appointed, have power to meet where they please, and hold a kind of a little parliament amongst themselves. And the most weighty affairs are often referred to them, for expedition and secrecy; the care of the navy, the army, the treasury; in short, all things whatsoever relating either to war or peace. Whether this be called a council, or any thing else, the thing is ancient, though the name may be new; and it is such an institution, as no government can be duly administered without it. As for our putting the king to death, and changing the government, forbear your bawling, don't spit your venom, till, going along with you through every chapter, I shew, whether you will or no, "by what law, by what right and justice," all that was done. But if you insist to know, "by what right, by what law;" by that law, I tell you, which God and nature have enacted, viz. that whatever things are for the universal good of the whole state, are for that reason lawful and just. So wise men of old used to answer such as you. You find fault with us for "repealing laws, that had obtained for so many years;" but you do not tell us whether those laws were good or bad, nor, if you did, should we heed what you said; for you, busy puppy, what have you to do with our laws? I wish our magistrates had repealed more than they have, both laws and lawyers; if they had, they would have consulted the interest of the christian religion, and that of the people better than they have done. It frets you, that "hobgoblins, sons of the earth, scarce gentlemen at home, scarce known to their own countrymen, should presume to do such things." But you ought to have remembered, what not only the Scriptures, but Horace would have taught you, viz.

—Valet ima summis
Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens, &c.

The power that did create, can change the scene
Of things; make mean of great, and great of mean;
The brightest glory can eclipse with night;
And place the most obscure in dazzling light.

But take this into the bargain. Some of those who, you say, be scarce gentlemen, are not at all inferiour in birth to any of your party. Others, whose ancestors were not noble, have taken a course to attain to true nobility by their own industry and virtue, and are not inferiour to men of the noblest descent. They had rather be called "sons of the earth," provided it be their own earth, (their own native country,) and act like men at home, than, being destitute of house or land, to relieve the necessities of nature in a foreign country by selling of smoke, as thou dost, an inconsiderable fellow and a jack-straw, and who dependest upon the good-will of thy masters for a poor stipend; for whom it were better to dispense with thy labours, and return to thy own kindred and countrymen, if thou hadst not this one piece of cunning, to babble out some silly prelections and fooleries at so good a rate amongst foreigners. You find fault with our magistrates for admitting such "a common sewer of all sorts of sects." Why should they not? It belongs to the church to cast them out of the communion of the faithful; not to the magistrate to banish them the country, provided they do not offend against the civil laws of the state. Men at first united into civil societies, that they might live safely, and enjoy their liberty, without being wronged or oppressed; and that they might live religiously, and according to the doctrine of Christianity, they united themselves into churches. Civil societies have laws, and churches have a discipline peculiar to themselves, and far differing from each other. And this has been the occasion of so many wars in christendom; to wit, because the civil magistrate and the church confounded their jurisdictions. Therefore we do not admit of the popish sect, so as to tolerate papists at all; for we do not look upon that as a religion, but rather as a hierarchical tyranny, under a cloak of religion, clothed with the spoils of the civil power, which it has usurped to itself, contrary to our Saviour's own doctrine. As for the independents, we never had any such amongst us, as you describe; they that we call independents, are only such as hold, that no classis or synods have a superiority over any particular church, and that therefore they ought all to be plucked up by the roots, as branches, or rather as the very trunk, of hierarchy itself; which is your own opinion too. And from hence it was that the name of independents prevailed amongst the vulgar. The rest of your preface is spent in endeavouring not only to stir up the hatred of all kings and monarchs against us, but to persuade them to make a general war upon us. Mithridates of old, though in a different cause, endeavoured to stir up all princes to make war upon the Romans, by laying to their charge almost just the same things that you do to ours: viz. that the

Romans aimed at nothing but the subversion of all kingdoms, that they had no regard to any thing, whether sacred or civil, that from their very first rise, they never enjoyed any thing but what they had acquired by force, that they were robbers, and the greatest enemies in the world to monarchy. Thus Mithridates expressed himself in a letter to Arsaces, king of the Parthians. But how came you, whose business it is to make silly speeches from your desk, to have the confidence to imagine, that by your persuasions to take up arms, and sounding an alarm as it were, you should be able so much as to influence a king amongst boys at play; especially, with so shrill a voice, and unsavoury breath, that I believe, if you were to have been the trumpeter, not so much as Homer's mice would have waged war against the frogs? So little do we fear, you slug you, any war or danger from foreign princes through your silly rhetoric, who accusest us to them, just as if you were at play, "that we toss kings' heads like balls; play at bowls with crowns; and regard sceptres no more than if they were fools' staves with heads on:" but you in the mean time, you silly loggerhead, deserve to have your bones well thrashed with a fool's staff, for thinking to stir up kings and princes to war by such childish arguments. Then you cry aloud to all nations, who, I know full well, will never heed what you say. You call upon that wretched and barbarous crew of Irish rebels too, to assert the king's party. Which one thing is sufficient evidence how much you are both a fool and a knave, and how you outdo almost all mankind in villany, impudence, and madness; who scruple not to implore the loyalty and aid of an execrable people devoted to the slaughter, whom the king himself always abhorred, or so pretended, to have any thing to do with, by reason of the guilt of so much innocent blood, which they had contracted. And that very perfidiousness and cruelty, which he endeavoured as much as he could to conceal, and to clear himself from any suspicion of, you, the most villanous of mortals, as fearing neither God nor man, voluntarily and openly take upon yourself. Go on then, undertake the king's defence at the encouragement and by the assistance of the Irish. You take care, and so you might well, lest any should imagine, that you were about to bereave Cicero or Demosthenes of the praise due to their eloquence, by telling us beforehand, that "you conceive you ought not to speak like an orator." It is wisely said of a fool; you conceive you ought not to do what is not in your power to do: and who, that knows you never so little, ever expects any thing like an orator from you? Who neither uses, nor is able to publish, any thing that is elaborate, distinct, or has so much as sense in it; but like a second Crispin, or that little Grecian Tzetzes, you do but write a great deal, take no pains to write well; nor could write any thing well, though you took never so much pains. "This cause shall be argued (say you) in the hearing, and as it were before the tribunal, of all mankind." That is what we like so well, that we could now wish we had a discreet and intelligent adversary, and not such a hairbrained blunderbuss as you, to deal with. You conclude very tragically, like Ajax in his raving; "I will proclaim to heaven and earth the injustice, the villany, the perfidiousness and cruelty of these men, and will deliver them over convicted to all posterity." O flowers! that such a witless, senseless bawler, one that was born but to spoil or transcribe good authors, should think himself able to write any thing of his own, that will reach posterity, whom, together with his frivolous scribbles, the very next age will bury in oblivion; unless this defence of the king perhaps may be beholden to the answer I give to it, for being looked into now and then. And I would entreat the illustrious states of Holland, to take off their prohibition, and suffer the book to be publicly sold. For when I have detected the vanity, ignorance, and falsehood, that it is full of, the farther it spreads, the more effectually it will be suppressed. Now let us hear how he convicts us.

A DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

CHAP I.

I PERSUADE myself, Salmasius, that you being a vain flashy man, are not a little proud of being the king of Great Britain's defender, who himself was styled the "Defender of the Faith." For my part, I think you deserve your titles both alike; for the king defended the faith, and you have defended him, so, that betwixt you, you have spoiled both your causes: which I shall make appear throughout the whole ensuing discourse, and particularly in this very chapter. You told us in the 12th page of your preface, that "so good and so just a cause ought not to be embellished with any flourishes of rhetoric; that the king needed no other defence, than by a bare narrative of his story:" and yet in your first chapter, in which you had promised us that bare narrative, you neither tell the story right, nor do you abstain from making use of all the skill you have in rhetoric to set it off. So that, if we must take your own judgment, we must believe the king's cause to be neither good nor just. But by the way, I would advise you not to have so good an opinion of yourself (for nobody else has so of you) as to imagine that you are able to speak well upon any subject, who can

neither play the part of an orator, nor an historian, nor express yourself in a style that would not be ridiculous even in a lawyer; but like a mountebank's juggler, with big swelling words in your preface, you raised our expectation, as if some mighty matter were to ensue; in which your design was not so much to introduce a true narrative of the king's story, as to make your own empty intended flourishes go off the better. For "being now about to give us an account of the matter of fact, you find yourself encompassed and affrighted with so many monsters of novelty, that you are at a loss what to say first, what next, and what last of all." I will tell you what the matter is with you. In the first place, you find yourself affrighted and astonished at your own monstrous lies, and then you find that empty head of yours not encompassed, but carried round, with so many trifles and fooleries, that you not only now do not, but never did, know what was fit to be spoken, and in what method. "Among the many difficulties, that you find in expressing the heinousness of so incredible a piece of impiety, this one offers itself, you say, which is easily said, and must often be repeated; to wit, that the sun itself never beheld a more outrageous action." But by your good leave, Sir, the sun has beheld many things, that blind Bernard never saw. But we are content you should mention the sun over and over. And it will be a piece of prudence in you so to do. For though our wickedness does not require it, the coldness of the defence that you are making does. "The original of kings, you say, is as ancient as that of the sun." May the gods and goddesses, Damasippus, bless thee with an everlasting solstice; that thou mayest always be warm, thou that canst not stir a foot without the sun. Perhaps you would avoid the imputation of being called a doctor Umbraticus. But alas! you are in perfect darkness, that make no difference betwixt a paternal power, and a regal: and that when you had called kings fathers of their country, could fancy that with that metaphor you had persuaded us, that whatever is applicable to a father, is so to a king. Alas! there is a great difference betwixt them. Our fathers begot us. Our king made not us, but we him. Nature has given fathers to us all, but we ourselves appointed our own king. So that the people is not for the king, but the king for them. "We bear with a father, though he be harsh and severe;" and so we do with a king. But we do not bear with a father, if he be a tyrant. If a father murder his son, he himself must die for it; and why should not a king be subject to the same law, which certainly is a most just one? Especially considering that a father cannot by any possibility divest himself of that relation, but a king may easily make himself neither king nor father of his people. If this action of ours be considered according to its quality, as you call it, I, who am both an Englishman born, and was an eyewitness of the transactions of these times, tell you, who are both a foreigner and an utter stranger to our affairs; that we have put to death neither a good, nor a just, nor a merciful, nor a devout, nor a godly, nor a peaceable king, as you style him; but an enemy, that has been so to us almost ten years to an end; nor one that was a father, but a destroyer of his country. You confess, that such things have been practised; for yourself have not the impudence to deny it: but not by protestants upon a protestant king. As if he deserved the name of a protestant, that, in a letter to the pope, could give him the title of most holy father; that was always more favourable to the papists than to those of his own profession. And being such, he is not the first of his own family, that has been put to death by protestants. Was not his grandmother deposed and banished, and at last beheaded by protestants? And were not her own countrymen, that were protestants too, well enough pleased with it? Nay, if I should say they were parties to it, I should not lie. But there being so few protestant kings, it is no great wonder, if it never happened that one of them has been put to death. But that it is lawful to depose a tyrant, and to punish him according to his deserts; nay, that this is the opinion of very eminent divines, and of such as have been most instrumental in the late reformation, do you deny it if you dare. You confess, that many kings have come to an unnatural death; some by the sword, some poisoned, some strangled, and some in a dungeon; but for a king to be arraigned in a court of judicature, to be put to plead for his life, to have sentence of death pronounced against him, and that sentence executed; this you think a more lamentable instance than all the rest, and make it a prodigious piece of impiety. Tell me, thou superlative fool, whether it be not more just, more agreeable to the rules of humanity, and the laws of all human societies, to bring a criminal, be his offence what it will, before a court of justice, to give him leave to speak for himself; and, if the law condemn him, then to put him to death as he has deserved, so as he may have time to repent or to recollect himself; than presently, as soon as ever he is taken, to butcher him without more ado? Do you think there is a malefactor in the world, that if he might have his choice, would not choose to be thus dealt withal? And if this sort of proceeding against a private person be accounted the fairer of the two, why should it not be counted so against a prince? Nay, why should we not think, that himself liked it better? You would have had him killed privately, and none to have seen it, either that future ages might have lost the advantage of so good an example; or that they that did this glorious action, might seem to have avoided the light, and to have acted contrary to law and justice. You aggravate the matter by telling us, that it was not done in an uproar, or brought about by any faction amongst great men, or in the heat of a rebellion, either of the people, or the soldiers: that there was no hatred, no fear, no ambition, no blind precipitate rashness in the case; but that it was long consulted on, and done with deliberation. You did well in leaving off being an * Advocate, and turn grammarian, who from the accidents and circumstances of a thing, which in themselves considered sway neither one way nor other, argue in

* Salmasius was once an advocate, that is, a counsellor at law.

dispraise of it, before you have proved the thing itself to be either good or bad. See how open you lie: if the action you are discoursing of be commendable and praiseworthy, they that did it deserve the greater honour, in that they were prepossessed with no passions, but did what they did for virtue's sake. If there were great difficulty in the enterprise, they did well in not going about it rashly, but upon advice and consideration. Though for my own part, when I call to mind with how unexpected an importunity and fervency of mind, and with how unanimous a consent, the whole army, and a great part of the people from almost every county in the kingdom, cried out with one voice for justice against the king, as being the sole author of all their calamities: I cannot but think, that these things were brought about by a divine impulse. Whatever the matter was, whether we consider the magistrates, or the body of the people, no men ever undertook with more courage, and, which our adversaries themselves confess, in a more sedate temper of mind, so brave an action, an action that might have become those famous heroes, of whom we read in former ages; an action, by which they ennobled not only laws, and their execution, which seem for the future equally restored to high and low against one another; but even justice, and to have rendered it, after so signal a judgment, more illustrious and greater than in its own self. We are now come to an end of the 3d page of the first book, and have not the bare narrative he promised us yet. He complains that our principles are, that a king, whose government is burdensome and odious, may lawfully be deposed: and "by this doctrine," says he, "if they had had a king a thousand times better than they had, they would not have spared his life." Observe the man's subtle way of arguing. For I would willingly be informed what consequence there is in this, unless he allows, that a king's government may be burdensome and odious, who is a thousand times better than our king was. So that now he has brought things to this pass, to make the king that he defends a thousand times worse than some whose government notwithstanding is burdensome and odious, that is, it may be, the most monstrous tyrant that ever reigned. I wish ye joy, O ye kings, of so able a defender! Now the narrative begins. "They put him to several sorts of torments." Give an instance. "They removed him from prison to prison;" and so they might lawfully do; for having been a tyrant, he became an open enemy, and was taken in war. "Often changing his keepers." Lest they themselves should change. "Sometimes they gave him hopes of liberty; nay, and sometimes even of restoring him to his crown, upon articles of agreement." It seems then the taking away his life was not done upon so much premeditation, as he talked of before; and that we did not lay hold on all opportunities and means, that offered themselves, to renounce our king. Those things that in the beginning of the war we demanded of him, when he had almost brought us under, which things if they were denied us, we could enjoy no liberty, nor live in any safety; those very things we petitioned him for when he was our prisoner, in a humble, submissive way, not once, nor twice, but thrice, and oftener, and were as often denied. When we had now lost all hopes of the king's complying with us, then was that noble order of parliament made, that from that time forward, there should no articles be sent to the king; so that we left off applying ourselves to him, not from the time that he began to be a tyrant, but from the time that we found him incurable. But afterward some parliament-men set upon a new project, and meeting with a convenient opportunity to put it in practice, pass a vote to send further proposals once more to the king. Whose wickedness and folly nearest resembles that of the Roman senate, who contrary to the opinion of M. Tullius, and all honest men, voted to send embassadors to M. Antony; and the event had been the same, but that it pleased God Almighty, in his providence, to order it otherwise, and to assert our liberty, though he suffered them to be enslaved: for though the king did not agree to any thing that might conduce to a firm peace, and settlement of things, more than he had before, they go and vote themselves satisfied. Then the sounder part of the house finding themselves and the commonwealth betrayed, implore the aid of that valiant and always faithful army to the commonwealth. Upon which occasion I can observe only this, which yet I am loth to utter; to wit, that our soldiers understood themselves better than our senators, and that they saved the commonwealth by their arms, when the other by their votes had almost ruined it. Then he relates a great many things in a doleful, lamentable strain; but he does it so senselessly, that he seems rather to beg of his readers, that they would be sorrowful, than to stir up any such passion in them. It grieves him "to think that the king should undergo a capital punishment, after such a manner as no other king ever had done." Though he had often told us before, that there never was a king that underwent a capital punishment at all. Do you use to compare ways and manners, ye coxcomb, when you have no things nor actions to compare with one another? "He suffered death," says he, "as a robber, as a murderer, as a parricide, as a traitor, as a tyrant." Is this defending the king? Or is it not rather giving a more severe sentence against him, than that that we gave? How came you so all on a sudden to be of our mind? He complains "that executioners in vizards [personati carnifices] cut off the king's head." What shall we do with this fellow? He told us before, of "a murder committed on one in the disguise of a king [in personâ regis]:" now he says, it was done in the disguise of an executioner. It were to no purpose, to take particular notice of every silly thing he says. He tells stories of "boxes on the ear, and kicks, that," he says, "were given the king by common soldiers, and that it was four shillings apiece to see his dead body." These, and such like stories, which partly are false, and partly impertinent, betray the ignorance and childishness of our poor scholar; but are far from making any reader ever a whit the sadder. In good faith his son Charles had done better to have hired some ballad-singer, to have

bewailed his father's misfortunes, than this doleful, shall I call him, or rather most ridiculous orator, who is so dry and insipid, that there is not the least spirit in any thing he says. Now the narrative is done, and it is hard to say what he does next, he runs on so sordidly and irregular. Now he is angry, then he wonders; he neither cares what he talks, nor how; repeats the same things ten times over, that could not but look ill, though he had said them but once. And I persuade myself, the extemporary rhymes of some antic jack-pudding may deserve printing better; so far am I from thinking aught he says worthy of a serious answer. I pass by his styling the king a "protector of religion," who chose to make war upon the church, rather than part with those church-tyrants, and enemies of all religion, the bishops; and how is it possible, that he should "maintain religion in its purity," that was himself a slave to those impure traditions and ceremonies of theirs? And for our "sectaries, whose sacrilegious meetings," you say, "have public allowance;" instance in any of their principles, the profession of which is not openly allowed of, and countenanced in Holland. But in the mean time, there is not a more sacrilegious wretch in nature than yourself, that always took liberty to speak ill of all sorts of people. "They could not wound the commonwealth more dangerously, than by taking off its master." Learn, ye abject, homeborn slave; unless ye take away the master, ye destroy the commonwealth. That that has a master, is one man's property. The word master denotes a private, not a public relation. "They persecute most unjustly those ministers, that abhorred this action of theirs." Lest you should not know what ministers he means, I will tell you in a few words what manner of men they were; they were those very men, that by their writings and sermons justified taking up arms against the king, and stirred the people up to it: that daily cursed, as Deborah did Meroz, all such as would not furnish the parliament either with arms, or men, or money. That taught the people out of their pulpits, that they were not about to fight against a king, but a greater tyrant than either Saul or Ahab ever were; nay, more a Nero than Nero himself. As soon as the bishops, and those clergymen whom they daily inveighed against, and branded with the odious names of pluralists and nonresidents, were taken out of their way, they presently jump, some into two, some into three of their best benefices; being now warm themselves, they soon unworthily neglected their charge. Their covetousness brake through all restraints of modesty and religion, and themselves now labour under the same infamy, that they had loaded their predecessors with; and because their covetousness is not yet satisfied, and their ambition has accustomed them to raise tumults, and be enemies to peace, they cannot rest at quiet yet, but preach up sedition against the magistracy, as it is now established, as they had formerly done against the king. They now tell the people, that he was cruelly murdered; upon whom themselves having heaped all their curses, had devoted him to destruction, whom they had delivered up as it were to the parliament, to be despoiled of his royalty, and pursued with a holy war. They now complain, that the sectaries are not extirpated; which is a most absurd thing to expect the magistrates should be able to do, who never yet were able, do what they could, to extirpate avarice and ambition, those two most pernicious heresies, and more destructive to the church than all the rest, out of the very order and tribe of the ministers themselves. For the sects which they inveigh against, I confess there are such amongst us, but they are obscure, and make no noise in the world: the sects that they are of, are public and notorious, and much more dangerous to the church of God. Simon Magus and Diotrephes were the ringleaders of them. Yet are we so far from persecuting these men, though they are pestilent enough, that though we know them to be ill-affected to the government, and desirous of and endeavouring to work a change, we allow them but too much liberty. You, that are both a Frenchman and a vagabond, seem displeased that "the English, more fierce and cruel than their own mastiffs," as your barking eloquence has it, "have no regard to the lawful successor and heir of the crown: take no care of the king's youngest son, nor of the queen of Bohemia." I will make ye no answer; you shall answer yourself. "When the frame of a government is changed from a monarchy to any other, the new modellers have no regard to succession:" the application is easy; it is in your book De primatu Papæ. "The great change throughout three kingdoms," you say, "was brought about by a small number of men in one of them." If this were true, that small number of men would have deserved to have dominion over the rest; valiant men over fainthearted cowards. "These are they that presumptuously took upon them to change," antiquum regni regimen, in alium qui à pluribus tyrannis teneatur. It is well for them that you cannot find fault with them, without committing a barbarous solecism; you shame all grammarians. "The English will never be able to wash out this stain." Nay, you, though a blot and a stain to all learned men, were never yet able to stain the renown and everlasting glory of the English nation, that with so great a resolution, as we hardly find the like recorded in any history, having struggled with, and overcome, not only their enemies in the field, but the superstitious persuasions of the common people, have purchased to themselves in general amongst all posterity the name of deliverers: the body of the people having undertook and performed an enterprise, which in other nations is thought to proceed only from a magnanimity that is peculiar to heroes. What "the protestants and primitive Christians" have done, or would do upon such an occasion, I will tell ye hereafter, when we come to debate the merits of the cause: in discoursing it before, I should be guilty of your fault, who outdo the most impertinent talkers in nature. You wonder how we shall be able to answer the Jesuits. Meddle with your own matters, you runagate, and be ashamed of your actions, since the church is ashamed of you; who, though but of late you set yourself so fiercely and with so

much ostentation against the pope's supremacy and episcopal government, are now become yourself a very creature of the bishops. You confess, that "some protestants, whom you do not name, have asserted it lawful to depose a tyrant:" but though you do not think fit to name them, I will, because you say "they are far worse than the very Jesuits themselves;" they are no other than Luther, and Zuinglius, and Calvin, and Bucer, and Pareus, and many others. "But then," you say, "they refer it to the judgment of learned and wise men, who shall be accounted a tyrant. But what for men were these? Were they wise men, were they men of learning? Were they anywise remarkable, either for virtue or nobility?" You may well allow a people, that has felt the heavy yoke of slavery to be wise, and learned, and noble enough, to know what is fit to be done to the tyrant that has oppressed them; though they neither consult with foreigners nor grammarians. But that this man was a tyrant, not only the parliaments of England and Scotland have declared by their actions and express words; but almost all the people of both nations assented to it, till such time as by the tricks and artifices of the bishops they were divided into two factions: and what if it has pleased God to choose such men, to execute his vengeance upon the greatest potentates on earth, as he chose to be made partakers of the benefit of the gospel? "Not many wise, not many learned, not many powerful, not many noble: that by those that are not, he might bring to nought those that are; and that no flesh might glory in his sight." And who are you, that babble to the contrary? dare you affect the reputation of a learned man? I confess you are pretty well versed in phrase-books, and lexicons, and glossaries; insomuch that you seem to have spent your time in nothing else. But you do not make appear, that you have read any good authors with so much judgment as to have benefited by them. Other copies, and various lections, and words omitted, and corruptions of texts, and the like, these you are full of; but no footstep of any solid learning appears in all you have writ: or do ye think yourself a wise man, that quarrel and contend about the meanest trifles that may be? That being altogether ignorant in astronomy and physic, yet are always railing at the professors of both, whom all men credit in what things belong to their own sciences, that would be ready to curse them to the pit of hell, that should offer to deprive you of the vain glory of having corrected or supplied the least word or letter in any copy you have criticised upon. And yet you are mad to hear yourself called a grammarian. In certain trifling discourses of yours, you call Dr. Hammond knave in plain terms, who was one of this king's chaplains, and one that he valued above all the rest, for no other reason but because he had called you a grammarian. And I do not question, but you would have been as ready to have thrown the same reproach upon the king himself, if you had heard that he had approved his chaplain's judgment of you. Take notice now, how much I (who am but one of those many English, that you have the impudence to call madmen, and unlearned, and ignoble, and wicked) slight and despise you, (for that the English nation in general should take any notice in public of such a worm as you are, would be an infinite undervaluing of themselves,) who, though one should turn you topsyturvy, and inside out, are but a grammarian: nay, as if you had made a foolisher wish than Midas did, whatever you meddle with, except when you make solecisms, is grammar still. Whosoever therefore he be, though from among the dregs of that common people that you are so keen upon, (for as for those men of eminency amongst us, whose great actions evidenced to all men their nobility, and virtue, and conduct, I will not disgrace them so much, as to compare you to them, or them to you,) but whosoever, I say, among the dregs of that common people, has but sucked in this principle, that he was not born for his prince, but for God and his country; he deserves the reputation of a learned, and an honest, and a wise man more, and is of greater use in the world, than yourself. For such a one is learned without letters; you have letters, but no learning, that understand so many languages, turn over so many volumes, and yet are but asleep when all is done.

CHAP. II.

The argument that Salmasius, toward the conclusion of his first chapter, urged as irrefragable, to wit, that it was really so, because all men unanimously agreed in it; that very argument, than which, as he applied it, there is nothing more false, I, that am now about to discourse of the right of kings, may turn upon himself with a great deal of truth. For, whereas he defines "a king" (if that may be said to be defined which he makes infinite) "to be a person in whom the supreme power of the kingdom resides, who is answerable to God alone, who may do whatsoever pleases him, who is bound by no law:" I will undertake to demonstrate, not by mine, but by his own reasons and authorities, that there never was a nation or people of any account (for to ransack all the uncivilized parts of the world were to no purpose) that ever allowed this to be their king's right, or put such exorbitant power into his hand, as "that he should not be bound by any law, that he might do what he would, that he should judge all, but be judged of none." Nor can I persuade myself, that there ever was any one person besides Salmasius of so slavish a spirit, as to assert the outrageous enormities of tyrants to be the rights of kings. Those amongst us that were the greatest royalists, always abhorred this sordid opinion: and Salmasius himself, as appears by some other writings of his before he was bribed, was quite of another mind. Insomuch, that what he here gives out, does not look like the dictates of a free subject under a free government, much less in so famous a commonwealth as that of Holland, and the most eminent university there: but seems to have been penned by some despicable slave, that lay rotting in a

prison, or a dungeon. If whatever a king has a mind to do, the right of kings will bear him out in, (which was a lesson that the bloody tyrant Antoninus Caracalla, though his step-mother Julia preached it to him, and endeavoured to inure him to the practice of it, by making him commit incest with herself, yet could hardly suck in,) then there neither is, nor ever was, that king, that deserved the name of a tyrant. They may safely violate all the laws of God and man: their very being kings keeps them innocent. What crime was ever any of them guilty of? They did but make use of their own right upon their own vassals. No king can commit such horrible cruelties and outrages, as will not be within this right of kings. So that there is no pretence left for any complaints or expostulations with any of them. And dare you assert, that "this right of kings," as you call it, "is grounded upon the law of nations, or rather upon that of nature," you brute beast? for you deserve not the name of a man, that are so cruel and unjust towards all those of your own kind; that endeavour, as much as in you lies, so to bear down and vilify the whole race of mankind, that were made after the image of God, as to assert and maintain, that those cruel and unmerciful taskmasters, that through the superstitious whimsies, or sloth, or treachery of some persons, get into the chair, are provided and appointed by nature herself, that mild and gentle mother of us all, to be the governors of those nations they enslave. By which pestilent doctrine of yours, having rendered them more fierce and untractable, you not only enable them to make havoc of, and trample under foot, their miserable subjects; but endeavour to arm them for that very purpose with the law of nature, the right of kings, and the very constitutions of government, than which nothing can be more impious or ridiculous. By my consent, as Dionysius formerly of a tyrant became a schoolmaster, so you of a grammarian should become a tyrant; not that you may have that regal license of doing other people harm, but a fair opportunity of perishing miserably yourself: that, as Tiberius complained, when he had confined himself to the island Capreæ, you may be reduced into such a condition, as to be sensible that you perish daily. But let us look a little more narrowly into this right of kings that you talk of. "This was the sense of the eastern, and of the western part of the world." I shall not answer you with what Aristotle and Cicero (who are both as credible authors as any we have) tell us, viz. That the people of Asia easily submit to slavery, but the Syrians and the Jews are even born to it from the womb. I confess there are but few, and those men of great wisdom and courage, that are either desirous of liberty, or capable of using it. The greatest part of the world choose to live under masters; but yet they would have them just ones. As for such as are unjust and tyrannical, neither was God ever so much an enemy to mankind, as to enjoin a necessity of submitting to them; nor was there ever any people so destitute of all sense, and sunk into such a depth of despair, as to impose so cruel a law upon themselves and their posterity. First, you produce "the words of King Solomon in his Ecclesiastes." And we are as willing to appeal to the Scripture as you. As for Solomon's authority, we will consider that hereafter, when perhaps we shall be better able to understand it. First, let us hear God himself speak, Deut. xvii. 14. "When thou art come into the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as the nations that are round about me." Which passage I could wish all men would seriously consider: for hence it appears by the testimony of God himself; first, that all nations are at liberty to erect what form of government they will amongst themselves, and to change it when and into what they will. This God affirms in express terms concerning the Hebrew nation; and it does not appear but that other nations are, as to this respect, in the same condition. Another remark that this place yields us, is, that a commonwealth is a more perfect form of government than a monarchy, and more suitable to the condition of mankind, and in the opinion of God himself better for his own people; for himself appointed it, and could hardly be prevailed withal a great while after, and at their own importunate desire, to let them change it into a monarchy. But to make it appear, that he gave them their choice to be governed by a single person, or by more, so they were justly governed, in case they should in time to come resolve upon a king, he prescribes laws for this king of theirs to observe, whereby he was forbidden to multiply to himself horses and wives, or to heap up riches: whence he might easily infer, that no power was put into his hands over others, but according to law, since even those actions of his life, which related only to himself, were under a law. He was commanded therefore to transcribe with his own hand all the precepts of the law, and having writ them out, to observe and keep them, that his mind might not be lifted up above his brethren. It is evident from hence, that as well the prince as the people was bound by the law of Moses. To this purpose Josephus writes, a proper and able interpreter of the laws of his own country, who was admirably well versed in the Jewish policy, and infinitely preferable to a thousand obscure ignorant rabbins: he has it thus in the fourth book of his Antiquities, *Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον, &c.* "An Aristocracy is the best form of government; wherefore do not you endeavour to settle any other; it is enough for you, that God presides over ye, but if you will have a king, let him guide himself by the law of God, rather than by his own wisdom; and lay a restraint upon him, if he offer at more power than the state of your affairs will allow of." Thus he expresses himself upon this place in Deuteronomy. Another Jewish author, Philo Judæus, who was Josephus's contemporary, a very studious man in the law of Moses, upon which he wrote a large commentary: when in his book concerning the creation of the king, he interprets this chapter of Deuteronomy, he sets a king loose from the law no otherwise than as an enemy may be said to be so: "They," says he, "that to the prejudice and destruction of the people acquire great power to themselves, deserve not the name of kings, but that of

enemies: for their actions are the same with those of an irreconcilable enemy. Nay, they, that under a pretence of government are injurious, are worse than open enemies. We may fence ourselves against the latter; but the malice of the former is so much the more pestilent, because it is not always easy to be discovered." But when it is discovered, why should they not be dealt with as enemies? The same author in his second book, Allegoriar. Legis, " A king," says he, " and a tyrant, are contraries." And a little after, " A king ought not only to command, but also to obey." All this is very true, you will say, a king ought to observe the laws, as well as any other man. But what if he will not, what law is there to punish him? I answer, the same law that there is to punish other men; for I find no exceptions. There is no express law to punish the priests, or any other inferiour magistrates, who all of them, if this opinion of the exemption of kings from the penalties of the law would hold, might, by the same reason, claim impunity, what guilt soever they contract, because there is no positive law for their punishment; and yet I suppose none of them ever challenged such a prerogative, nor would it ever be allowed them, if they should. Hitherto we have learned from the very text of God's own law, that a king ought to obey the laws, and not lift himself up above his brethren. Let us now consider whether Solomon preached up any other doctrine, chap. viii. ver. 2. " I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight; stand not in an evil thing; for he doth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what dost thou?" It is well enough known, that here the preacher directs not his precepts to the Sanhedrim, or to a parliament, but to private persons; and such he commands to " keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God." But as they swear allegiance to kings, do not kings likewise swear to obey and maintain the laws of God, and those of their own country? So the Reubenites and Gadites promise obedience to Joshua, Josh. i. 17. " According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses." Here is an express condition. Hear the preacher else, ch. ix. ver. 17. " The words of wise men are heard in quiet, more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools." The next caution that Solomon gives us, is, " Be not hasty to go out of his sight; stand not in an evil thing; for he doth whatsoever pleaseth him." That is, he does what he will to malefactors, whom the law authorizes him to punish, and against whom he may proceed with mercy or severity, as he sees occasion. Here is nothing like tyranny; nothing that a good man needs be afraid of. " Where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say to him, What dost thou?" And yet we read of one, that not only said to a king, " What dost thou?" but told him, " Thou hast done foolishly." But Samuel, you may say, was an extraordinary person. I answer you with your own words, which follow in the forty-ninth page of your book, " What was there extraordinary," say you, " in Saul or David?" And so say I, what was there in Samuel extraordinary? He was a prophet, you will say; so are they that now follow his example; for they act according to the will of God, either his revealed or his sacred will, which yourself grant in your 50th page. The preacher therefore in this place prudently advises private persons not to contend with princes; for it is even dangerous to contend with any man, that is either rich or powerful. But what then? must therefore the nobility of a nation, and all the inferiour magistrates, and the whole body of the people, not dare to mutter when a king raves and acts like a madman? Must they not oppose a foolish, wicked, and outrageous tyrant, that perhaps seeks the destruction of all good men? Must they not endeavour to prevent his turning all divine and human things upside down? Must they suffer him to massacre his people, burn their cities, and commit such outrages upon them daily; and finally, to have perfect liberty to do what he lists without control?

O de Cappadocis eques catastris!
Thou slavish knight of Cappadocia!

Whom all free people, if you can have the confidence hereafter to set your foot within a free country, ought to cast out from amongst them, and send to some remote parts of the world, as a prodigy of dire portent; or to condemn to some perpetual drudgery, as one devoted to slavery, solemnly obliging themselves, if they ever let you go, to undergo a worse slavery under some cruel, silly tyrant: no man living can either devise himself, or borrow from any other, expressions so full of cruelty and contempt, as may not justly be applied to you. But go on. " When the Israelites asked a king of God, they said, they would set up a king that should have the same rule and dominion over them, that the kings of their neighbour countries exercised over their subjects. But the kings of the East we know had an unlimited power," as Virgil testifies,

" ——— Regem non sic Ægyptus et ingens
" Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, et Medus Hydaspes
" Observant."———
" No Eastern nation ever did adore
" The majesty of sovereign princes more."

First, what is that to us, what sort of kings the Israelites desired? Especially since God was angry with them, not only for desiring such a king as other nations had, and not such a king as his own law describes, but barely for desiring a king at all? Nor is it credible, that they should desire an unjust king, and one that should be out of the reach of all laws, who could not bear the government of Samuel's sons, though under the power of laws; but from their covetousness sought refuge in a king. And lastly, the verse that you quote out of Virgil does not prove, that the kings of the East had an absolute unlimited power; for those bees, that he there speaks of, and who reverence their kings, he says, more than the Egyptians or Medes do theirs, by the authority of the same poet:

——" Magnis agitant sub legibus ævum."
" Live under certain fundamental laws."

They do not live under a king then, that is tied to no law. But now I will let you see how little reason you have to think I bear you an ill-will. Most people think you a knave; but I will make it appear, that you have only put on a knave's vizor for the present. In your introduction to your discourse of the pope's supremacy, you say, that some divines in the council of Trent made use of the government, that is said to be amongst bees, to prove the pope's supremacy. This fancy you borrow from them, and urge it here with the same malice that they did there. Now that very same answer that you gave them, whilst you were an honest man, now that you are become a knave, you shall give yourself, and pull off with your own hand that vizor you have now put on: "The bees," say you, "are a state, and so natural philosophers call them; they have a king, but a harmless one; he is a leader, or captain, rather than a king; he never beats, nor pulls, nor kills his subject bees." No wonder they are so observant of him then: but in good faith, you had but ill luck to meddle with these bees; for though they are bees of Trent, they shew you to be a drone. Aristotle, a most exact writer of politics, affirms that the Asiatic monarchy, which yet himself calls barbarous, was according to law, Politic. 3. And whereas he reckons up five several sorts of monarchies, four of those five he makes governments according to laws, and with the consent of the people; and yet he calls them tyrannical forms of government, because they lodge so much power in one man's hand. But the kingdom of the Lacedemonians, he says, is most properly a kingdom, because there all power is not in the king. The fifth sort of monarchy, which he calls παμβασίλεια, that is, where the king is all in all; and to which he refers that that you call the right of kings, which is a liberty to do what they list; he neither tells us when nor where any such form of government ever obtained. Nor seems he to have mentioned it for any other purpose, than to shew how unjust, absurd, and tyrannical a government it is. You say, that when Samuel would deter the people from choosing a king, he propounded to them this right of kings. But whence had Samuel it? Had he it from the written law of God? That cannot be. We have observed already, that the Scriptures afford us a quite other scheme of sovereignty. Had Samuel it then immediately from God himself by revelation? That is not likely neither; for God dislikes it, discommends it, finds fault with it: so that Samuel does not expound to the people any right of kings appointed by God; but a corrupt and depraved manner of governing, taken up by the pride and ambition of princes. He tells not the people what their kings ought to do, but what they would do. He told them the manner of their king, as before he told us the manner of the priests, the sons of Eli; for he uses the same word in both places (which you in the thirty-third page of your book, by a Hebrew solecism too, call משפט). That manner of theirs was wicked, and odious, and tyrannical: it was no right, but great wrong. The fathers have commented upon this place too: I will instance in one, that may stand for a great many; and that is Sulpitius Severus, a contemporary and intimate friend of St. Jerome, and, in St. Augustin's opinion, a man of great wisdom and learning. He tells us in his sacred history, that Samuel in that place acquaints the people with the imperious rule of kings, and how they used to lord it over their subjects. Certainly it cannot be the right of kings to domineer and be imperious. But according to Sallust, that lawful power and authority that kings were entrusted with, for the preservation of the public liberty, and the good of the commonwealth, quickly degenerated into pride and tyranny: and this is the sense of all orthodox divines, and of all lawyers, upon that place of Samuel. And you might have learned from Sichardus, that most of the rabbins too were of the same mind; at least, not any one of them ever asserted, that the absolute inherent right of kings is there discoursed of. Yourself in your fifth chapter, page 106, complain, that "not only Clemens Alexandrinus, but all other expositors mistake themselves upon this text:" and you, I will warrant ye, are the only man that have had the good luck to hit the mark. Now, what a piece of folly and impudence is this in you to maintain, in opposition to all orthodox expositors, that those very actions, which God so much condemns, are the right of kings, and to pretend law for them! Though yourself confess, that that right is very often exercised in committing outrages, being injurious, contumelious, and the like. Was any man ever to that degree sui juris, so much his own master, as that he might lawfully prey upon mankind, bear down all that stood in his way, and turn all things upside down? Did the Romans ever maintain, as you say they did, that any man might do these things suo jure, by virtue of some inherent right in himself? Sallust indeed makes C. Memmius, a tribune of the people, in an invective speech of his against the pride of the nobility, and their escaping unpunished, howsoever they misbehaved themselves, to use these words, viz. "To do whatever one has a mind to, without fear of punishment, is to be a king." This saying you catched hold of, thinking it would make for your purpose; but consider it a little better, and you will find yourself deceived. Does he in that place assert the right of kings? or does he not blame the common people, and chide them for their sloth, in suffering their nobility to lord it over them, as if they were out of the reach of all law, and in submitting again to that kingly tyranny, which, together with their kings themselves, their ancestors had lawfully and justly rejected and banished from amongst them? If you had consulted Tully, you would have understood both Sallust and Samuel better. In his oration pro C. Rabirio, "There is none of us ignorant," says he, "of the manner of kings. These are their lordly dictates: mind what I say, and do accordingly." Many passages to this purpose he quotes out of poets, and calls them not the right, but the custom or manner of kings; and he says, we ought to read and consider them, not only for curiosity sake, but that we may learn to beware of them, and avoid them. You perceive how miserably you are come off with Sallust,

who though he be as much an enemy to tyranny as any other author whatsoever, you thought would have patronized this tyrannical right that you are establishing. Take my word for it, the right of kings seems to be tottering, and even to further its own ruin, by relying upon such weak props for its support; and by endeavouring to maintain itself by such examples and authorities, as would hasten its downfal, if it were further off than it is. "The extremity of right or law," you say, "is the height of injury, Summum jus summa injuria; this saying is verified most properly in kings, who, when they go to the utmost of their right, fall into those courses, in which Samuel makes the rights of kings to consist." And it is a miserable right, which, when you have said all you can for, you can no otherwise defend, than by confessing, that it is the greatest injury that may be. The extremity of right or law is said to be, when a man ties himself up to niceties, dwells upon letters and syllables, and in the mean time neglects the intent and equity of the law; or when a written law is cunningly and maliciously interpreted; this Cicero makes to have been the rise of that common saying. But since it is certain that all right flows from the fountain of justice, so that nothing can possibly be any man's right that is not just, it is a most wicked thing in you to affirm, that for a king to be unjust, rapacious, tyrannical, and as ill as the worst of them ever was, is according to the right of kings; and to tell us that a holy prophet would have persuaded the people to such a senseless thing. For whether written or unwritten, whether extreme or remiss, what right can any man have to be injurious? Which, lest you should confess to be true of other men, but not of kings, I have one man's authority to object to you, who, I think, was a king likewise, and professes that that right of kings, that you speak of, is odious both to God and himself: it is in the 94th psalm, "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, that frameth mischief by a law?" Be not therefore so injurious to God, as to ascribe this doctrine to him, viz. that all manner of wicked and flagitious actions are but the right of kings; since himself tells us, that he abhors all fellowship with wicked princes for this very reason, because, under pretence of sovereignty, they create misery and vexation to their subjects. Neither bring up a false accusation against a prophet of God; for by making him to teach us in this place what the right of kings is, you do not produce the right Samuel, but such another empty shadow as was raised by the witch of Endor. Though for my own part, I verily believe that that infernal Samuel would not have been so great a liar, but that he would have confessed, that what you call the right of kings, is tyranny. We read indeed of impieties countenanced by law, Jus datum sceleri: you yourself confess, that they are bad kings that have made use of this boundless licence of theirs to do every thing. Now, this right that you have introduced for the destruction of mankind, not proceeding from God, as I have proved it does not, must needs come from the devil; and that it does really so, will appear more clearly hereafter. "By virtue of this liberty, say you, princes may if they will." And for this, you pretend to have Cicero's authority. I am always willing to mention your authorities, for it generally happens, that the very authors you quote them out of, give you an answer themselves. Hear else what Cicero says in his 4th Philippic, "What cause of war can be more just and warrantable than to avoid slavery? For though a people may have the good fortune to live under a gentle master, yet those are in a miserable condition, whose prince may tyrannize over them if he will." May, that is, can; has power enough so to do. If he meant it of his right, he would contradict himself, and make that an unjust cause of war, which himself had affirmed with the same breath to be a most just one. It is not therefore the right of all kings that you describe, but the injuriousness, and force, and violence of some. Then you tell us what private men may do. "A private man," say you, "may lie, may be ungrateful:" and so may kings, but what then? May they therefore plunder, murder, ravish, without control? It is equally prejudicial and destructive to the commonwealth, whether it be their own prince, or a robber, or a foreign enemy, that spoils, massacres, and enslaves them. And questionless, being both alike enemies of human society, the one, as well as the other, may lawfully be opposed and punished; and their own prince the rather, because he, though raised to that dignity by the honours that his people have conferred upon him, and being bound by his oath to defend the public safety, betrays it notwithstanding all. At last you grant, that "Moses prescribes laws, according to which the king that the people of Israel should choose, ought to govern, though different from this right that Samuel proposes;" which words contain a double contradiction to what you have said before. For whereas you had affirmed, that a king was bound by no law, here you confess he is. And you set up two contrary rights, one described by Moses, and another by Samuel, which is absurd. "But," says the prophet, "you shall be servants to your king." Though I should grant that the Israelites were really so, it would not presently follow, that it was the right of their kings to have them so; but that by the usurpation and injustice of most of them, they were reduced to that condition. For the prophet had foretold them, that that importunate petition of theirs would bring a punishment from God upon them; not because it would be their king's right so to harass them, but because they themselves had deserved it should be so. If kings are out of the reach of the law, so as that they may do what they list, they are more absolute than any masters, and their subjects in a more despicable condition than the worst of slaves. The law of God provided some redress from them, though of another nation, if their masters were cruel and unreasonable towards them. And can we imagine, that the whole body of the people of a free nation, though oppressed and tyrannized over, and preyed upon, should be left remediless? That they had no law to protect them, no sanctuary to betake themselves to? Can we think, that they were delivered from the bondage they were under to the Egyptian kings, to be re-

duced into a worse to one of their own brethren? All which being neither agreeable to the law of God, nor to common sense, nothing can be more evident, than that the prophet declares to the people the manner, and not the right, of kings; nor the manner of all kings, but of most. Then you come to the rabbins, and quote two of them, but you have as bad luck with them here, as you had before. For it is plain, that that other chapter that rabbi Joses speaks of, and which contains, he says, the right of kings, is that in Deuteronomy, and not in Samuel. For rabbi Judas says very truly, and against you, that that discourse of Samuel's was intended only to frighten the people. It is a most pernicious doctrine, to maintain that to be any one's right, which in itself is flat injustice, unless you have a mind to speak by contraries. And that Samuel intended to affrighten them, appears by the 18th verse, "And ye shall cry out in that day, because of your king, which ye shall have chosen you, and I will not hear you in that day, saith the Lord." That was to be their punishment for their obstinacy in persisting to desire a king, against the mind and will of God; and yet they are not forbidden here either to pray against him, or to endeavour to rid themselves of him. For if they might lawfully pray to God against him, without doubt they might use all lawful means for their own deliverance. For what man living, when he finds himself in any calamity, betakes himself to God, so as to neglect his own duty, in order to a redress, and rely upon his lazy prayers only? But be it how it will, what is all this to the right of kings, or of the English people? who neither asked a king against the will of God, nor had one appointed us by God, but by the right that all nations have to appoint their own governors, appointed a king over us by laws of our own, neither in obedience to, nor against, any command of God? And this being the case, for aught I see, we have done well in deposing our king, and are to be commended for it, since the Israelites sinned in asking one. And this the event has made appear; for we, when we had a king, prayed to God against him, and he heard us, and delivered us: but the Jews (who not being under a kingly government, desired a king) he suffered to live in slavery under one, till, at last, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, they betook themselves to their former government again. Then you come to give us a display of your talmudical learning; but you have as ill success with that as you have had with all the rest. For, whilst you are endeavouring to prove that kings are not liable to any temporal judicature, you quote an authority out of the treatise of the Sanhedrim, "that the king neither is judged of others, nor does himself judge any." Which is against the people's own petition in Samuel; for they desired a king that might judge them. You labour in vain to salve this, by telling us, that it is to be understood of those kings that reigned after the Babylonish captivity. For then, what say ye to Maimonides? He makes this difference betwixt the kings of Israel and those of Juda; that the kings of the posterity of David judge, and are judged; but the kings of Israel do neither. You contradict and quarrel with yourself or your rabbins, and still do my work for me. This, say you, is not to be understood of the kings of Israel in their first institution; for in the 17th verse it is said, "you shall be his servants;" that is, he shall use you to it, not that he shall have any right to make you so. Or if you understand it of their king's right, it is but a judgment of God upon them for asking a king; the effects of which they were sensible of under most of their kings, though not perhaps under all. But you need no antagonists, you are such a perpetual adversary to yourself. For you tell us now a story, as if you were arguing on my side, how that first Aristobulus, and after him Jannæus surnamed Alexander, did not receive that kingly right that they pretended to, from the Sanhedrim, that great treasury and oracle of the laws of that nation, but usurped it by degrees against the will of the senate. For whose sake, you say, that childish fable of the principal men of that assembly being struck dead by the angel Gabriel was first invented. And thus you confess, that this magnificent prerogative, upon which you seem mainly to rely, viz. "that kings are not to be judged by any upon earth, was grounded upon this worse than an old wife's tale, that is, upon a rabbinical fable." But that the Hebrew kings were liable to be called in question for their actions, and to be punished with stripes, if they were found faulty, Sichardus shews at large out of the writings of the rabbins, to which author you are indebted for all that you employ of that sort of learning, and yet you have the impudence to be thwarting with him. Nay, we read in Scripture, that Saul thought himself bound by a decree of his own making; and in obedience thereunto, that he cast lots with his son Jonathan which of them two should die. Uzzias likewise, when he was thrust out of the temple by the priests as a leper, submitted as every private person in such a case ought to do, and ceased to be a king. Suppose he should have refused to go out of the temple, and lay down the government, and live alone, and had resolved to assert that kingly right of not being subject to any law, do you think the priests, and the people of the Jews, would have suffered the temple to be defiled, the laws violated, and live themselves in danger of the infection? It seems there are laws against a leprous king, but none against a tyrant. Can any man possibly be so mad and foolish as to fancy, that the laws should so far provide for the people's health, as though some noisome distemper should seize upon the king himself, yet to prevent the infection's reaching them, and make no provision for the security of their lives and estates, and the very being of the whole state, against the tyranny of a cruel, unjust prince, which is incomparably the greater mischief of the two? "But," say you, "there can be no precedent shewn of any one king that has been arraigned in a court of justice, and condemned to die." Sichardus answers that well enough. It is all one, says he, as if one should argue on this manner: The emperor of Germany never was summoned to appear before one of the prince electors; therefore, if the prince elector Palatine should impeach the emperor, he were not bound to plead to it; though

it appears by the golden bull, that Charles the fourth subjected himself and his successors to that cognizance and jurisdiction. But no wonder if kings were indulged in their ambition, and their exorbitances passed by, when the times were so corrupt and depraved, that even private men, if they had either money or interest, might escape the law, though guilty of crimes of never so high a nature. That ἀνυπεύθυνον, that you speak of, that is to be wholly independent upon any other, and accountable to none upon earth, which you say is peculiar to the majesty of sovereign princes, Aristotle in the 4th book of his Pol. Ch. 10. calls a most tyrannical form of government, and not in the least to be endured by a free people. And that kings are not liable to be questioned for their actions, you prove by the testimony of a very worthy author, that barbarous tyrant Mark Antony; one of those that subverted the commonwealth of Rome: and yet he himself, when he undertook an expedition against the Parthians, summoned Herod before him, to answer to a charge of murder, and would have punished him, but that Herod bribed him. So that Antony's asserting this prerogative royal, and your defence of King Charles, come both out of one and the same spring. "And it is very reasonable," say you, "that it should be so; for kings derive their authority from God alone." What kings are those, I pray, that do so? For I deny, that there ever were any such kings in the world, that derived their authority from God alone. Saul, the first king of Israel, had never reigned, but that the people desired a king, even against the will of God; and though he was proclaimed king once at Mizpah, yet after that he lived a private life, and looked to his father's cattle, till he was created so the second time by the people at Gilgal. And what think ye of David? Though he had been anointed once by God, was he not anointed a second time in Hebron by the tribe of Judah, and after that by all the people of Israel, and that after a mutual covenant betwixt him and them? 2 Sam. v. 1 Chron. xi. Now, a covenant lays an obligation upon kings, and restrains them within bounds. Solomon, you say, "succeeded him in the throne of the Lord, and was acceptable to all men:" 1 Chron. xxix. So that it is something to be well-pleasing in the eyes of the people. Jehoiadah the priest made Joash king, but first he made him and the people enter into a covenant to one another, 2 Kings xi. I confess that these kings, and all that reigned of David's posterity, were appointed to the kingdom both by God and the people; but of all other kings, of what country soever, I affirm, that they are made so by the people only: nor can you make it appear, that they are appointed by God, any otherwise than as all other things, great and small, are said to be appointed by him, because nothing comes to pass without his providence. So that I allow the throne of David was in a peculiar manner called "the throne of the Lord:" whereas the thrones of other princes are no otherwise God's, than all other things in the world are his; which if you would, you might have learnt out of the same chapter, ver. 11, 12. "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, &c. for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all." And this is so often repeated, not to puff up kings, but to put them in mind, though they think themselves gods, that yet there is a God above them, to whom they owe whatever they are and have. And thus we easily understand what the poets, and the Essenes among the Jews, mean, when they tell us, that it is by God that kings reign, and that they are of Jupiter; for so all of us are of God, we are all his offspring. So that this universal right of Almighty God's, and the interest that he has in princes, and their thrones, and all that belongs to them, does not at all derogate from the people's right; but that notwithstanding all this, all other kings, not particularly and by name appointed by God, owe their sovereignty to the people only, and consequently are accountable to them for the management of it. The truth of which doctrine, though the common people are apt to flatter their kings, yet they themselves acknowledge, whether good ones, as Sarpedon in Homer is described to have been; or bad ones, as those tyrants in the lyrick poet:

> Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶι τετιμήμεσθα, μάλιϛα, &c.
>
> Glaucus, in Lycia we're ador'd like gods:
> What makes 'twixt us and others so great odds?

He resolves the question himself: "Because, says he, we excel others in heroical virtues: Let us fight manfully then, says he, lest our countrymen tax us with sloth and cowardice." In which words he intimates to us, both that kings derive their grandeur from the people, and that for their conduct and behaviour in war they are accountable to them. Bad kings indeed, though to cast some terrour into people's minds, and beget a reverence of themselves, they declare to the world, that God only is the author of kingly government; in their hearts and minds they reverence no other deity but that of fortune, according to that passage in Horace:

> Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
> Regumque matres barbarorum, et
> Purpurei metuunt tyranni.
>
> Injurioso ne pede proruas
> Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
> Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
> Concitet, imperiumque frangat.
>
> "All barb'rous people, and their princes too,
> "All purple tyrants honour you;
> "The very wand'ring Scythians do.
>
> "Support the pillar of the Roman state,
> "Lest all men be involv'd in one man's fate.
> "Continue us in wealth and peace;
> "Let wars and tumults ever cease."

So that if it is by God that kings now-a-days reign, it is by God too that the people assert their own liberty; since all things are of him, and by him. I am sure the Scripture bears witness to both; that by him kings reign, and that by him they are cast down from their thrones. And yet experience teaches us, that both these things are brought about by the people, oftener than by God. Be this right of kings, therefore, what it will, the right of the people is as much from God as

it. And whenever any people, without some visible designation of God himself, appoint a king over them, they have the same right to put him down, that they had to set him up at first. And certainly it is a more godlike action to depose a tyrant than to set up one: and there appears much more of God in the people, when they depose an unjust prince, than in a king that oppresses an innocent people. Nay, the people have a warrant from God to judge wicked princes; for God has conferred this very honour upon those that are dear to him, that celebrating the praises of Christ their own king, "they shall bind in chains the kings of the nations, (under which appellation all tyrants under the gospel are included,) and execute the judgments written upon them that challenge to themselves an exemption from all written laws," Psalm cxlix. So that there is but little reason left for that wicked and foolish opinion, that kings, who commonly are the worst of men, should be so high in God's account, as that he should have put the world under them, to be at their beck, and be governed according to their humour; and that for their sakes alone he should have reduced all mankind, whom he made after his own image, into the same condition with brutes. After all this, rather than say nothing, you produce M. Aurelius as a countenancer of tyranny; but you had better have let him alone. I cannot say whether he ever affirmed, that princes are accountable only before God's tribunal. But Xiphiline indeed, out of whom you quote those words of M. Aurelius, mentions a certain government, which he calls an Autarchy, of which he makes God the only judge: περὶ ἀυταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δυναται. But that this word Autarchy and Monarchy are synonymous, I cannot easily persuade myself to believe. And the more I read what goes before, the less I find myself inclinable to think so. And certainly whoever considers the context, will not easily apprehend what coherence this sentence has with it, and must needs wonder how it comes so abruptly into the text; especially since Marcus Aurelius, that mirror of princes, carried himself towards the people, as Capitolinus tells us, just as if Rome had been a commonwealth still. And we all know, that when it was so, the supreme power was in the people. The same emperor honoured the memory of Thraseas, and Helvidius, and Cato, and Dio, and Brutus; who all were tyrant-slayers, or affected the reputation of being thought so. In the first book that he writes of his own life, he says, that he proposed to himself a form of government, under which all men might equally enjoy the benefit of the law, and right and justice be equally administered to all. And in his fourth book he says, the law is master, and not he. He acknowledged the right of the senate and the people, and their interest in all things: we are so far, says he, from having any thing of our own, that we live in your houses. These things Xiphiline relates of him. So little did he arrogate aught to himself by virtue of his sovereign right. When he died, he recommended his son to the Romans, for his successor, if they should think he deserved it. So far was he from pretending to a commission from Heaven to exercise that absolute and imaginary right of sovereignty, that Autarchy, that you tell us of. "All the Latin and Greek books are full of authorities of this nature." But we have heard none of them yet. "So are the Jewish authors." And yet, you say, "the Jews in many things allowed but too little to their princes." Nay, you will find that both the Greeks and the Latins allowed much less to tyrants. And how little the Jews allowed them would appear, if that book that Samuel "wrote of the manner of the kingdom" were extant; which book, the Hebrew doctors tell us, their kings tore in pieces and burnt, that they might be more at liberty to tyrannize over the people without control or fear of punishment. Now look about ye again, and catch hold of somewhat or other. In the last place, you come to wrest David's words in the 17th Psalm, "let my sentence come forth from thy presence." Therefore, says Barnachmoni, "God only can judge the king." And yet it is most likely, that David penned this psalm when he was persecuted by Saul, at which time, though himself were anointed, he did not decline being judged even by Jonathan: "Notwithstanding, if there be iniquity in me, slay me thyself," 1 Sam. xx. At least, in this psalm he does no more than what any person in the world would do upon the like occasion; being falsely accused by men, he appeals to the judgment of God himself, "let thine eyes look upon the thing that is right; thou hast proved and visited mine heart," &c. What relation has this to a temporal judicature? Certainly they do no good office to the right of kings, that thus discover the weakness of its foundation. Then you come with that threadbare argument, which of all others is most in vogue with our courtiers, "Against thee, thee only have I sinned," Psalm li. 6. As if David in the midst of his repentance, when overwhelmed with sorrow, and almost drowned in tears, he was humbly imploring God's mercy, had any thoughts of this kingly right of his when his heart was so low, that he thought he deserved not the right of a slave. And can we think, that he despised all the people of God, his own brethren, to that degree, as to believe that he might murder them, plunder them, and commit adultery with their wives, and yet not sin against them all this while? So holy a man could never be guilty of such insufferable pride, nor have so little knowledge either of himself, or of his duty to his neighbour. So without doubt when he says, "against thee only," he meant, against thee chiefly have I sinned, &c. But whatever he means, the words of a psalm are too full of poetry, and this psalm too full of passion, to afford us any exact definitions of right and justice; nor is it proper to argue any thing of that nature from them. "But David was never questioned for this, nor made to plead for his life before the Sanhedrim." What then? How should they know, that any such thing had been, which was done so privately, that perhaps for some years after not above one or two were privy to it, as such secrets there are in most courts? 2 Sam. xii. "Thou hast done this thing in secret." Besides, what if the senate should neglect to punish private persons? Would

any infer, that therefore they ought not to be punished at all? But the reason why David was not proceeded against as a malefactor, is not much in the dark: he had condemned himself in the 5th verse, "The man that hath done this thing shall surely die." To which the prophet presently replies, "Thou art the man." So that in the prophet's judgment, as well as his own, he was worthy of death: but God, by his sovereign right over all things, and of his great mercy to David, absolves him from the guilt of his sin, and the sentence of death which he had pronounced against himself; verse 13th, "The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die." The next thing you do is to rail at some bloody advocate or other, and you take a deal of pains to refute the conclusion of his discourse. Let him look to that; I will endeavour to be as short as I can in what I have undertaken to perform. But some things I must not pass by without taking notice of; as first and foremost your notorious contradictions; for in the 30th page you say, "The Israelites do not deprecate an unjust, rapacious, tyrannical king, one as bad as the worst of kings are." And yet, page 42, you are very smart upon your advocate, for maintaining that the Israelites asked for a tyrant: "Would they have leaped out of the fryingpan into the fire," say you, "and groan under the cruelty of the worst of tyrants, rather than live under bad judges, especially being used to such a form of government?" First, you said the Hebrews would rather live under tyrants and judges, here you say they would rather live under judges than tyrants; and that "they desired nothing less than a tyrant." So that your advocate may answer you out of your own book. For according to your principles it is every king's right to be a tyrant. What you say next is very true, "the supreme power was then in the people, which appears by their own rejecting their judges, and making choice of a kingly government." Remember this, when I shall have occasion to make use of it. You say, that God gave the children of Israel a king as a thing good and profitable for them, and deny that he gave them one in his anger, as a punishment for their sin. But that will receive an easy answer; for to what purpose should they cry to God because of the king that they had chosen, if it were not because a kingly government is an evil thing; not in itself, but because it most commonly does, as Samuel forewarns the people that theirs would, degenerate into pride and tyranny? If you are not yet satisfied, hark what you say yourself; acknowledge your own hand, and blush; it is in your "Apparatus ad Primatum: God gave them a king in his anger," say you, "being offended at their sin in rejecting him from ruling over them; and so the christian church, as a punishment for its forsaking the pure worship of God, has been subjected to the more than kingly government of one mortal head." So that if your own comparison holds, either God gave the children of Israel a king as an evil thing, and as a punishment, or he has set up the pope for the good of the church. Was there ever any thing more light and mad than this man is? Who would trust him in the smallest matters, that in things of so great concern says and unsays without any consideration in the world? You tell us in your twenty-ninth page, "that by the constitution of all nations, kings are bound by no law." That "this had been the judgment both of the eastern and western part of the world." And yet, page 43, you say, "That all the kings of the east ruled κατὰ νόμον, according to law, nay, that the very kings of Egypt in all matters whatsoever, whether great or small, were tied to laws." Though in the beginning of this chapter you had undertook to demonstrate, That "kings are bound by no laws, that they give laws to others, but have none prescribed to themselves." For my part I have no reason to be angry with you, for either you are mad, or of our side. You do not defend the king's cause, but argue against him, and play the fool with him: or if you are in earnest, that epigram of Catullus,

> Tantò pessimus omnium poeta,
> Quantò tu optimus omnium patronus.
>
> The worst of poets, I myself declare,
> By how much you the best of patrons are.

That epigram, I say, may be turned, and very properly applied to you; for there never was so good a poet as you are a bad patron. Unless that stupidity, that you complain your advocate is "immersed over head and ears in," has blinded the eyes of your own understanding too, I will make you now sensible that you are become a very brute yourself. For now you come and confess, that "the kings of all nations have laws prescribed to them." But then you say again, "They are not so under the power of them, as to be liable to censure or punishment of death, if they break them." Which yet you have proved neither from Scripture, nor from any good author. Observe then in short; to prescribe municipal laws to such as are not bound by them, is silly and ridiculous: and to punish all others, but leave some one man at liberty to commit all sort of impieties without fear of punishment, is most unjust; the law being general, and not making any exception; neither of which can be supposed to hold place in the constitutions of any wise lawmaker, much less in those of God's own making. But that all may perceive how unable you are to prove out of the writings of the Jews, what you undertook in this chapter to make appear by them, you confess of your own accord, That "there are some rabbins, who affirm that their forefathers ought not to have had any other king than God himself; and that he set other kings over them for their punishment." And of those men's opinion I declare myself to be. It is not fitting or decent, that any man should be a king, that does not far excel all his subjects. But where men are equals, as in all governments very many are, they ought to have an equal interest in the government, and hold it by turns. But that all men should be slaves to one that is their equal, or (as it happens most commonly) far inferiour to them, and very often a fool, who can so much as entertain such a thought without indignation? Nor does "it make for the honour of a kingly government, that our Saviour was of

the posterity of some kings," more than it does for the commendation of the worst of kings, that he was the offspring of some of them too. "The Messias is a king." We acknowledge him so to be, and rejoice that he is so; and pray that his kingdom may come, for he is worthy: nor is there any other equal, or next to him. And yet a kingly government being put into the hands of unworthy and undeserving persons, as most commonly it is, may well be thought to have done more harm than good to mankind. Nor does it follow for all this that all kings, as such, are tyrants. But suppose it did, as for argument-sake I will allow it does, lest you should think I am too hard with ye; make you the best use of it you can. "Then, say you, God himself may properly be said to be the king of tyrants, nay, himself, the worst of all tyrants." If the first of these conclusions does not follow, another does, which may be drawn from most parts of your book, viz. That you perpetually contradict, not only the Scriptures, but your own self. For in the very last foregoing period you had affirmed, that "God was the king of all things, having himself created them." Now he created tyrants and devils, and consequently, by your own reason, is the king of such. The second of these conclusions we detest, and wish that blasphemous mouth of yours were stopped up, with which you affirm God to be the worst of tyrants, if he be, as you often say he is, the king and lord of such. Nor do you much advantage your cause by telling us, that "Moses was a king, and had the absolute and supreme power of a king." For we could be content that any other were so, that could "refer our matters to God, as Moses did, and consult with him about our affairs," Exod. xviii. 19. But neither did Moses, notwithstanding his great familiarity with God, ever assume a liberty of doing what he would himself. What says he of himself; "the people come unto me to inquire of God." They came not then to receive Moses's own dictates and commands. Then says Jethro, ver. 19. "Be thou for the people to Godward, that thou mayst bring their causes unto God." And Moses himself says, Deut. iv. 5. "I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me." Hence it is that he is said to have been "faithful in all the house of God." Numb. xii. 7. So that the Lord Jehovah himself was the people's king, and Moses no other than as it were an interpreter or a messenger betwixt him and them. Nor can you, without impiety and sacrilege, transfer this absolute supreme power and authority, from God to a man, (not having any warrant from the word of God so to do,) which Moses used only as a deputy or substitute to God; under whose eye, and in whose presence, himself and the people always were. But now, for an aggravation of your wickedness, though here you make Moses to have exercised an absolute and unlimited power in your "Apparat. ad Primat." page 230, you say, that "he, together with the seventy elders, ruled the people, and that himself was the chief of the people, but not their master." If Moses therefore were a king, as certainly he was, and the best of kings, and had a supreme and legal power, as you say he had, and yet neither was the people's master nor governed them alone; then, according to you, kings, though indued with the supreme power, are not by virtue of that sovereign and kingly right of theirs lords over the people, nor ought to govern them alone; much less according to their own will and pleasure. After all this, you have the impudence to feign a command from God to that people, "to set up a king over them, as soon as they should be possessed of the Holy Land," Deut. xvii. For you craftily leave out the former words, "and shalt say, I will set a king over me," &c. And now call to mind what you said before, page 42, and what I said I should have occasion to make use of, viz. "That the power was then in the people, and that they were entirely free." What follows, argues you either mad or irreligious; take whether you list: "God," say you, "having so long before appointed a kingly government, as best and most proper for that people; what shall we say to Samuel's opposing it, and God's own acting, as if himself were against it? How do these things agree?" He finds himself caught; and observe now with how great malice against the prophet, and impiety against God, he endeavours to disentangle himself. "We must consider," says he, "that Samuel's own sons then judged the people, and the people rejected them because of their corruption; now Samuel was loth his sons should be laid aside, and God, to gratify the prophet, intimated to him, as if himself were not very well pleased with it." Speak out, ye wretch, and never mince the matter: you mean, God dealt deceitfully with Samuel, and he with the people. It is not your advocate, but yourself, that are "frantic and distracted;" who cast off all reverence to God Almighty, so you may but seem to honour the king. Would Samuel prefer the interest of his sons, and their ambition, and their covetousness, before the general good of all the people, when they asked a thing that would be good and profitable for them? Can we think, that he would impose upon them by cunning and subtilty, and make them believe things that were not? Or if we should suppose all this true of Samuel, would God himself countenance and gratify him in it; would he dissemble with the people? So that either that was not the right of kings, which Samuel taught the people; or else that right, by the testimony both of God and the prophet, was an evil thing, was burdensome, injurious, unprofitable, and chargeable to the commonwealth: or lastly, (which must not be admitted,) God and the prophet deceived the people. God frequently protests, that he was extremely displeased with them for asking a king. V. 7th, "They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them." As if it were a kind of idolatry to ask a king that would even suffer himself to be adored, and assume almost divine honour to himself. And certainly, they that subject themselves to a worldly master, and set him above all laws, come but a little short of choosing a strange god: and a strange one it commonly is; brutish, and void of all sense and reason. So 1st of Sam. chap. 10th, v. 19th, "And ye have this day rejected your God, who himself

saved you out of all your adversities and your tribulation, and ye have said unto him, Nay, but set a king over us;" &c. and chap. 12th, v. 12th, "Ye said unto me, Nay, but a king shall reign over us; when the Lord your God was your king:" and v. the 17th, "See that your wickedness is great, that ye have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking you a king." And Hosea speaks contemptibly of the king, chap. xiii. v. 10, 11, "I will be thy king; where is any other that may save in all thy cities, and thy judges of whom thou saidst, Give me a king, and princes? I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath." And Gideon, that warlike judge, that was greater than a king; "I will not rule over you," says he, "neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you," Judges, chap. viii. Intimating thereby, that it is not fit for a man, but for God only, to exercise dominion over men. And hence Josephus in his book against Appion, an Egyptian grammarian, and a foul-mouthed fellow, like you, calls the commonwealth of the Hebrews a Theocracy, because the principality was in God only. In Isaiah, chap. xxvi. v. 13, the people in their repentance, complain that it had been mischievous to them, "that other lords besides God himself, had had dominion over them." All which places prove clearly, that God gave the Israelites a king in his anger; but now who can forbear laughing at the use you make of Abimelech's story? Of whom it is said, when he was killed, partly by a woman that hurled a piece of millstone upon him, and partly by his own armour-bearer, that "God rendered the wickedness of Abimelech." "This history," say you, "proves strongly, that God only is the judge and avenger of kings." Yea, if this argument hold, he is the only judge and punisher of tyrants, villanous rascals, and bastards. Whoever can get into the saddle, whether by right or by wrong, has thereby obtained a sovereign kingly right over the people, is out of all danger of punishment, all inferiour magistrates must lay down their arms at his feet, the people must not dare to mutter. But what if some great notorious robber had perished in war, as Abimelech did, would any man infer from thence, that God only is the judge and punisher of highwaymen? Or what if Abimelech had been condemned by the law, and died by an executioner's hand, would not God then have rendered his wickedness? You never read, that the judges of the children of Israel were ever proceeded against according to law: and yet you confess, that "where the government is an aristocracy, the prince, if there be any, may and ought to be called in question, if he break the laws." This in your 47th page. And why may not a tyrant as well be proceeded against in a kingly government? why, because God rendered the wickedness of Abimelech. So did the woman, and so did his own armour-bearer; over both which he pretended to a right of sovereignty. And what if the magistrates had rendered his wickedness? Do not they bear the sword for that very purpose, for the punishment of malefactors? Having done with his powerful argument from the history of Abimelech's death, he betakes himself, as his custom is, to slanders and calumnies; nothing but dirt and filth comes from him; but for those things that he promised to make appear, he hath not proved any one of them, either from the Scriptures or from the writings of the rabbins. He alleges no reason why kings should be above all laws, and they only of all mortal men exempt from punishment, if they deserve it. He falls foul upon those very authors and authorities that he makes use of, and by his own discourse demonstrates the truth of the opinion that he argues against. And perceiving, that he is like to do but little good with his arguments, he endeavours to bring an odium upon us, by loading us with slanderous accusations, as having put to death the most virtuous innocent prince that ever reigned. "Was King Solomon, says he, better than King Charles the First?" I confess some have ventured to compare his father King James with Solomon; nay, to make King James the better gentleman of the two. Solomon was David's son, David had been Saul's musician; but King James was the son of the earl of Darnley, who, as Buchanan tells us, because David the musician got into the queen's bed-chamber at an unseasonable time, killed him a little after; for he could not get to him then, because he had bolted the door on the inside. So that King James being the son of an earl, was the better gentleman; and was frequently called a second Solomon, though it is not very certain, that himself was not the son of David the musician too. But how could it ever come into your head, to make a comparison between King Charles and Solomon? For that very King Charles whom you praise thus to the sky, that very man's obstinacy, and covetousness, and cruelty, his hard usage of all good and honest men, the wars that he raised, the spoilings, and plunderings, and conflagrations, that he occasioned, and the death of innumerable of his subjects, that he was the cause of, does his son Charles, at this very time, whilst I am a-writing, confess and bewail on the stool of repentance in Scotland, and renounces there that kingly right that you assert. But since you delight in parallels, let us compare King Charles and King Solomon together a little: "Solomon began his reign with the death of his brother," who justly deserved it; King Charles began his with his father's funeral, I do not say with his murder: and yet all the marks and tokens of poison that may be appeared in his dead body; but that suspicion lighted upon the duke of Buckingham only, whom the king notwithstanding cleared to the parliament, though he had killed the king and his father; and not only so, but he dissolved the parliament, lest the matter should be inquired into. "Solomon oppressed the people with heavy taxes;" but he spent that money upon the temple of God, and in raising other public buildings: King Charles spent his in extravagances. Solomon was enticed to idolatry by many wives: this man by one. Solomon, though he were seduced himself, we read not that he seduced others; but King Charles seduced and enticed others, not only by large and ample rewards to corrupt the church, but by his edicts and ecclesiastical constitutions

he compelled them to set up altars, which all protestants abhor, and to bow down to crucifixes painted over them on the wall. "But yet for all this, Solomon was not condemned to die." Nor does it follow because he was not, that therefore he ought not to have been. Perhaps there were many circumstances, that made it then not expedient. But not long after, the people both by words and actions made appear what they took to be their right, when ten tribes of twelve revolted from his son; and if he had not saved himself by flight, it is very likely they would have stoned him, notwithstanding his threats and big swelling words.

CHAP. III.

Having proved sufficiently, that the kings of the Jews were subject to the same laws that the people were; that there are no exceptions made in their favour in Scripture; that it is a most false assertion grounded upon no reason, nor warranted by any authority, to say, that kings may do what they list with impunity; that God has exempted them from all human jurisdiction, and reserved them to his own tribunal only; let us now consider, whether the gospel preach up any such doctrine, and enjoin that blind obedience, which the law was so far from doing, that it commanded the contrary; let us consider, whether or no the gospel, that heavenly promulgation, as it were, of christian liberty, reduce us to a condition of slavery to kings and tyrants, from whose imperious rule even the old law, that mistress of slavery, discharged the people of God, when it obtained. Your first argument you take from the person of Christ himself. But, alas! who does not know, that he put himself into the condition, not of a private person only, but even of a servant, that we might be made free? Nor is this to be understood of some internal spiritual liberty only; how inconsistent else would that song of his mother's be with the design of his coming into the world, "He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart, he hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek!" How ill suited to their occasion would these expressions be, if the coming of Christ rather established and strengthened a tyrannical government, and made a blind subjection the duty of all Christians! He himself having been born, and lived, and died under a tyrannical government, has thereby purchased liberty for us. As he gives us his grace to submit patiently to a condition of slavery, if there be a necessity of it; so if by any honest ways and means we can rid ourselves, and obtain our liberty, he is so far from restraining us, that he encourages us so to do. Hence it is that St. Paul not only of an evangelical, but also of a civil liberty, says thus, 1 Cor. vii. 21. "Art thou called, being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayst be made free, use it rather; you are bought with a price, be not ye servants of men." So that you are very impertinent in endeavouring *to argue us into slavery by the example* of our Saviour; who, by submitting to such a condition himself, has confirmed even our civil liberties. He took upon him indeed in our stead the form of a servant, but he always retained his purpose of being a deliverer; and thence it was, that he taught us a quite other notion of the right of kings, than this that you endeavour to make good. You, I say, that preach up not kingship, but tyranny, and that in a commonwealth; by enjoining not only a necessary, but a religious, subjection to whatever tyrant gets into the chair, whether he come to it by succession or by conquest, or chance, or any how. And now I will turn your own weapons against you; and oppose you, as I use to do, with your own authorities. When the collectors of the tribute money came to Christ for tribute in Galilee, he asked Peter, Matt. xvii. "Of whom the kings of the earth took custom or tribute, of their own children, or of strangers?" Peter saith unto him, "Of strangers." Jesus saith unto him, "Then are the children free; notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, &c. give unto them for thee and for me." Expositors differ upon this place, whom this tribute was paid to; some say it was paid to the priests, for the use of the sanctuary; others, that it was paid to the emperor. I am of opinion, that it was the revenue of the sanctuary, but paid to Herod, who perverted the institution of it, and took it to himself. Josephus mentions divers sorts of tribute, which he and his sons exacted, all which Agrippa afterwards remitted. And this very tribute, though small in itself, yet being accompanied with many more, was a heavy burden. The Jews, even the poorest of them, in the time of their commonwealth, paid a poll; so that it was some considerable oppression that our Saviour spoke of: and from hence he took occasion to tax Herod's injustice (under whose government, and within whose jurisdiction he then was) in that, whereas the kings of the earth, who affect usually the title of fathers of their country, do not use to oppress their own children, that is, their own natural-born subjects, with heavy and unreasonable exactions, but lay such burdens upon strangers and conquered enemies; he, quite contrary, oppressed not strangers, but his own people. But let what will be here meant by children, either natural-born subjects, or the children of God, and those of the elect only, or Christians in general, as St. Augustine understands the place; this is certain, that if Peter was a child, and therefore free, then by consequence we are so too, by our Saviour's own testimony, either as Englishmen, or as Christians, and that it therefore is not the right of kings to exact heavy tributes from their own countrymen, and those freeborn subjects. Christ himself professes, that he paid not this tribute as a thing that was due, but that he might not bring trouble upon himself by offending those that demanded it. The work that he came into this world to do, was quite of another nature. But if our Saviour deny, that it is the right of kings to burden their freeborn subjects with grievous exactions; he would certainly much less allow it to be their right to spoil, massacre, and torture their own countrymen, and those Christians too. He

discoursed after such a manner of the right of kings, that those to whom he spoke suspected his principles as laying too great a restraint upon sovereignty, and not allowing the licence that tyrants assume to themselves to be the rights of kings. It was not for nothing, that the Pharisees put such questions to him, tempting him; and that at the same time they told him, that he regarded not the person of any man: nor was it for nothing, that he was angry when such questions were proposed to him, Matt. xxii. If one should endeavour to ensnare you with little questions, and catch at your answers, to ground an accusation against you upon your own principles concerning the right of kings, and all this under a monarchy, would you be angry with him? You would have but very little reason. It is evident, that our Saviour's principles concerning government were not agreeable to the humour of princes. His answer too implies as much; by which he rather turned them away, than instructed them. He asked for the tribute-money. "Whose image and superscription is it?" says he. They tell him it was Cæsar's. "Give then to Cæsar," says he, "the things that are Cæsar's; and to God, the things that are God's." And how comes it to pass, that the people should not have given to them the things that are theirs? "Render to all men their dues," says St. Paul, Rom. xiii. So that Cæsar must not engross all to himself. Our liberty is not Cæsar's; it is a blessing we have received from God himself; it is what we are born to; to lay this down at Cæsar's feet, which we derive not from him, which we are not beholden to him for, were an unworthy action, and a degrading of our very nature. If one should consider attentively the countenance of a man, and not inquire after whose image so noble a creature were framed; would not any one that heard him presently make answer, That he was made after the image of God himself? Being therefore peculiarly God's own, and consequently things that are to be given to him, we are entirely free by nature, and cannot without the greatest sacrilege imaginable be reduced into a condition of slavery to any man, especially to a wicked, unjust, cruel tyrant. Our Saviour does not take upon him to determine what things are God's and what Cæsar's; he leaves that as he found it. If the piece of money, which they shewed him, was the same that was paid to God, as in Vespasian's time it was; then our Saviour is so far from having put an end to the controversy, that he has but entangled it, and made it more perplexed than it was before: for it is impossible the same thing should be given both to God and to Cæsar. But, you say, he intimates to them what things were Cæsar's; to wit, that piece of money, because it bore the emperor's stamp: and what of all that? How does this advantage your cause? You get not the emperor, or yourself, a penny by this conclusion. Either Christ allowed nothing at all to be Cæsar's, but that piece of money that he then had in his hand, and thereby asserted the people's interest in every thing else; or else, if (as you would have us understand him) he affirms all money that has the emperor's stamp upon it, to be the emperor's own, he contradicts himself, and indeed gives the magistrate a property in every man's estate, whenas he himself paid his tribute-money with a protestation, that it was more than what either Peter or he were bound to do. The ground you rely on is very weak; for money bears the prince's image, not as a token of its being his, but of its being good metal, and that none may presume to counterfeit it. If the writing princes' names or setting their stamps upon a thing, vest the property of it in them, it were a good ready way for them to invade all property. Or rather, if whatever subjects have been absolutely at their prince's disposal, which is your assertion, that piece of money was not Cæsar's because his image was stamped on it, but because of right it belonged to him before it was coined. So that nothing can be more manifest, than that our Saviour in this place never intended to teach us our duty to magistrates, (he would have spoken more plainly if he had,) but to reprehend the malice and wickedness of the hypocritical Pharisees. When they told him that Herod laid wait to kill him; did he return an humble, submissive answer? "Go, tell that fox," says he, &c. intimating, that kings have no other right to destroy their subjects, than foxes have to devour the things they prey upon. Say you, "he suffered death under a tyrant." How could he possibly under any other? But from hence you conclude, that he asserted it to be the right of kings to commit murder and act injustice. You would make an excellent moralist. But our Saviour, though he became a servant, not to make us so but that we might be free; yet carried he himself so with relation to the magistracy, as not to ascribe any more to them than their due. Now, let us come at last to inquire what his doctrine was upon this subject. The sons of Zebedee were ambitious of honour and power in the kingdom of Christ, which they persuaded themselves he would shortly set up in the world; he reproves them so, as withal to let all Christians know what form of civil government he desires they should settle amongst themselves. "Ye know," says he, "that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Unless you had been distracted, you could never have imagined, that this place makes for you: and yet you urge it, and think it furnishes you with an argument to prove, that our kings are absolute lords and masters over us and ours. May it be our fortune to have to do with such enemies in war, as will fall blindfold and naked into our camp instead of their own: as you constantly do, who allege that for yourself, that of all things in the world makes most against you. The Israelites asked God for a king, such a king as other nations round about them had. God dissuaded them by many arguments, whereof our Saviour here gives us an epitome; "You know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them." But yet, because the Israelites persisted in their desire of a king,

God gave them one, though in his wrath. Our Saviour, lest Christians should desire a king, such a one at least as might rule, as he says the princes of the Gentiles did, prévents them with an injunction to the contrary; "but it shall not be so among you." What can be said plainer than this? That stately, imperious sway and dominion, that kings use to exercise, shall not be amongst you; what specious titles soever they may assume to themselves, as that of benefactors, or the like. "But he that will be great amongst you," (and who is greater than the prince?) "let him be your servant." So that the lawyer, whoever he be, that you are so smart upon, was not so much out of the way, but had our Saviour's own authority to back him, when he said, that Christian princes were indeed no other than the people's servants; it is very certain that all good magistrates are so. Insomuch that Christians either must have no king at all, or if they have, that king must be the people's servant. Absolute lordship and Christianity are inconsistent. Moses himself, by whose ministry that servile œconomy of the old law was instituted, did not exercise an arbitrary, haughty power and authority, but bore the burden of the people, and carried them in his bosom, as a nursing father does a sucking child, Numb. xi. and what is that of a nursing father but a ministerial employment? Plato would not have the magistrates called lords, but servants and helpers of the people; nor the people servants, but maintainers of their magistrates, because they give meat, drink, and wages to their kings themselves. Aristotle calls the magistrates, keepers and ministers of the laws. Plato, ministers and servants. The apostle calls them ministers of God; but they are ministers and servants of the people, and of the laws, nevertheless for all that; the laws and the magistrates were both created for the good of the people: and yet this is it, that you call "the opinion of the fanatic mastiffs in England." I should not have thought the people of England were mastiff dogs, if such a mongrel cur as thou art did not bark at them so currishly. The master, if it shall please ye, of St. Lupus,* complains it seems, that the mastiffs are mad (fanatics). Germanus heretofore, whose colleague that Lupus of Triers was, deposed our incestuous king Vortigern by his own authority. And therefore St. Lupus despises thee, the master not of a Holy Wolf, but of some hunger-starved thieving little wolf or other, as being more contemptible than that master of vipers, of whom Martial makes mention, who hast by relation a barking she-wolf at home too, that domineers over thee most wretchedly; at whose instigations, as I am informed, thou hast wrote this stuff. And therefore it is the less wonder, that thou shouldst endeavour to obtrude an absolute regal government upon others, who hast been accustomed to bear a female rule so servilely at home thyself. Be therefore, in the name of God, the master of a wolf, lest a she-wolf be thy mistress; be a wolf thyself, be a monster made up of a man and a wolf; whatever thou art, the English mastiffs will but make a laughing-stock of thee. But I am not now at leisure to hunt for wolves, and will put an end therefore to this digression. You that but a while ago wrote a book against all manner of superiority in the church, now call St. Peter the prince of the apostles. How inconstant you are in your principles! But what says Peter? "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or to governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well: for so is the will of God," &c. This epistle Peter wrote, not only to private persons, but those strangers scattered and dispersed through Asia; who, in those places where they sojourned, had no other right, than what the laws of hospitality entitled them to. Do you think such men's case to be the same with that of natives, freeborn subjects, nobility, senates, assemblies of estates, parliaments? nay, is not the case far different of private persons, though in their own country; and senators, or magistrates, without whom kings themselves cannot possibly subsist? But let us suppose, that St. Peter had directed his epistle to the natural-born subjects, and those not private persons neither; suppose he had writ to the senate of Rome; what then? No law that is grounded upon a reason, expressly set down in the law itself, obligeth further than the reason of it extends. "Be subject," says he, ὑποταγητε: that is, according to the genuine sense and import of the word, "be subordinate, or legally subject." For the law, Aristotle says, is order. "Submit for the Lord's sake." Why so? Because a king is an officer "appointed by God for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well; for so is the will of God:" to wit, that we should submit and yield obedience to such as are here described. There is not a word spoken of any other. You see the ground of this precept, and how well it is laid. The apostle adds in the 16th verse, as free; therefore not as slaves. What now? if princes pervert the design of magistracy, and use the power that is put into their hands to the ruin and destruction of good men, and the praise and encouragement of evil-doers; must we all be condemned to perpetual slavery, not private persons only, but our nobility, all our inferiour magistrates, our very parliament itself? Is not temporal government called a human ordinance? How comes it to pass then, that mankind should have power to appoint and constitute what may be good and profitable for one another; and want power to restrain or suppress things that are universally mischievous and destructive? That prince, you say, to whom St. Peter enjoins subjection, was Nero the tyrant: and from thence you infer, that it is our duty to submit and yield obedience to such. But it is not certain, that this epistle was writ in Nero's reign: it is as likely to have been writ in Claudius's time. And they that are commanded to submit, were private persons and strangers; they were no consuls, no magistrates; it was not the Roman senate, that St. Peter directed his epistle to. Now let us hear what use you make of St. Paul, (for you take a freedom with the

* Lupus in Latin signifies a wolf.

apostles, I find, that you will not allow us to take with princes; you make St. Peter the chief of them to-day, and to-morrow put another in his place). St. Paul in his 13th chap. to the Romans, has these words: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God." I confess he writes this to the Romans, not to strangers dispersed, as Peter did; but, however, he writes to private persons, and those of the meaner rank; and yet he gives us a true and clear account of the reason, the original, and the design of government; and shews us the true and proper ground of our obedience, that it is far from imposing a necessity upon us of being slaves. "Let every soul, says he, that is, let every man, submit." Chrysostom tells us, "that St. Paul's design in this discourse, was to make it appear, that our Saviour did not go about to introduce principles inconsistent with the civil government, but such as strengthened it, and settled it upon the surest foundations." He never intended then by setting Nero or any other tyrant out of the reach of all laws, to enslave mankind under his lust and cruelty. "He intended too, (says the same author,) to dissuade from unnecessary and causeless wars." But he does not condemn a war taken up against a tyrant, a bosom enemy of his own country, and consequently the most dangerous that may be. "It was commonly said in those days, that the doctrine of the apostles was seditious, themselves persons that endeavoured to shake the settled laws and government of the world; that this was what they aimed at in all they said and did." The apostle in this chapter stops the mouths of such gainsayers: so that the apostles did not write in defence of tyrants as you do; but they asserted such things as made them suspected to be enemies to the government they lived under, things that stood in need of being explained and interpreted, and having another sense put upon them than was generally received. St. Chrysostom has now taught us what the apostle's design was in this discourse; let us now examine his words: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." He tells us not what those higher powers are, nor who they are; for he never intended to overthrow all governments, and the several constitutions of nations, and subject all to some one man's will. Every good emperor acknowledged, that the laws of the empire, and the authority of the senate, was above himself; and the same principle and notion of government has obtained all along in civilized nations. Pindar, as he is cited by Herodotus, calls the law πάντων βασιλέα, king over all. Orpheus in his hymns calls it the king both of gods and men: and he gives the reason why it is so; because, says he, it is that that sits at the helm of all human affairs. Plato in his book de Legibus, calls it τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει: that that ought to have the greatest sway in the commonwealth. In his epistles he commends that form of government, in which the law is made lord and master, and no scope given to any man to tyrannize over the laws. Aristotle is of the same opinion in his Politicks; and so is Cicero in his book de Legibus, that the laws ought to govern the magistrates, as they do the people. The law therefore having always been accounted the highest power on earth, by the judgment of the most learned and wise men that ever were, and by the constitutions of the best-ordered states; and it being very certain, that the doctrine of the gospel is neither contrary to reason, nor the law of nations, that man is truly and properly subject to the higher powers, who obeys the law and the magistrates, so far as they govern according to law. So that St. Paul does not only command the people, but princes themselves, to be in subjection; who are not above the laws, but bound by them, "for there is no power but of God:" that is, no form, no lawful constitution of any government. The most ancient laws that are known to us were formerly ascribed to God as their author. For the law, says Cicero in his Philippics, is no other than a rule of well-grounded reason, derived from God himself, enjoining whatever is just and right, and forbidding the contrary. So that the institution of magistracy is Jure Divino, and the end of it is, that mankind might live under certain laws, and be governed by them. But what particular form of government each nation would live under, and what persons should be intrusted with the magistracy, without doubt, was left to the choice of each nation. Hence St. Peter calls kings and deputies, human ordinances. And Hosea, in the 8th chapter of his prophecy, "they have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, and I knew it not." For in the commonwealth of the Hebrews, where, upon matters of great and weighty importance, they could have access to God himself, and consult with him, they could not choose a king themselves by law, but were to refer the matter to him. Other nations have received no such command. Sometimes the very form of government, if it be amiss, or at least those persons that have the power in their hands, are not of God, but of men, or of the devil, Luke iv. "All this power will I give unto thee, for it is delivered unto me, and I give it to whom I will." Hence the devil is called the prince of this world; and in the 12th of the Revelations, the dragon gave to the beast his power, and his throne, and great authority. So that we must not understand St. Paul, as if he spoke of all sorts of magistrates in general, but of lawful magistrates; and so they are described in what follows. We must also understand him of the powers themselves; not of those men, always, in whose hands they are lodged. St. Chrysostom speaks very well and clearly upon this occasion. "What?" says he, "is every prince then appointed by God to be so? I say no such thing," says he. "St. Paul speaks not of the person of the magistrate, but of the magistracy itself. He does not say, there is no prince but who is of God. He says there is no power but of God." Thus far St. Chrysostom; for what powers are, are ordained of God: so that Paul speaks only of a lawful magistracy. For what is evil and amiss cannot be said to be ordained, because it is disorderly; order and disorder cannot consist together in the same subject. The apostle says, "the powers that be;" and you interpret his words as if he had said,

"the powers that now be;" that you may prove, that the Romans ought in conscience to obey Nero, who you take for granted was then emperor. I am very well content you should read the words so, and draw that conclusion from them. The consequence will be, that Englishmen ought to yield obedience to the present government, as it is now established according to a new model; because you must needs acknowledge, that it is the present government, and ordained of God, as much at least as Nero's was. And lest you should object, that Nero came to the empire by a lawful succession, it is apparent from the Roman history, that both he and Tiberius got into the chair by the tricks and artifices of their mothers, and had no right at all to the succession. So that you are inconsistent with yourself, and retract from your own principles, in affirming that the Romans owed subjection to the government that then was; and yet denying that Englishmen owe subjection to the government that now is. But it is no wonder, to hear you contradict yourself. There are no two things in the world more directly opposite and contrary to one another, than you are to yourself. But what will become of you, poor wretch? You have quite undone the young king with your witticisms, and ruined his fortunes utterly; for according to your own doctrine you must needs confess, that this present government in England is ordained of God, and that all Englishmen are bound in conscience to submit to it. Take notice, all ye critics and textuaries; do not you presume to meddle with this text. Thus Salmasius corrects that passage in the epistle to the Romans: he has made a discovery, that the words ought not to be read, "the powers that are; but, the powers that now are:" and all this to prove, that all men owed subjection and obedience to Nero the tyrant, whom he supposed to have been then emperor. This Epistle, which you say was writ in Nero's time, was writ in his predecessor's time, who was an honest well-meaning man: and this learned men evince by undeniable arguments. But besides, the five first years of Nero's reign were without exception. So that this threadbare argument, which so many men have at their tongues' end, and have been deceived by, to wit, that tyrants are to be obeyed, because St. Paul enjoins a subjection to Nero, is evident to have been but a cunning invention of some ignorant parson. He that resists the powers, to wit, a lawful power, resists the ordinance of God. Kings themselves come under the penalty of this law, when they resist the senate, and act contrary to the laws. But do they resist the ordinance of God, that resist an unlawful power, or a person that goes about to overthrow and destroy a lawful one? No man living in his right wits can maintain such an assertion. The words immediately after make it as clear as the sun, that the apostle speaks only of a lawful power; for he gives us in them a definition of magistrates, and thereby explains to us who are the persons thus authorized, and upon what account we are to yield obedience, lest we should be apt to mistake and ground extravagant notions upon his discourse. "The magistrates," says he, "are not a terrour to good works, but to evil: *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power?* Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. He beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil." What honest man would not willingly submit to such a magistracy as is here described? And that not only to avoid wrath, and for fear of punishment, but for conscience sake. Without magistrates, and some form or other of civil government, no commonwealth, no human society, can subsist, there were no living in the world. But whatever power enables a man, or whatsoever magistrate takes upon him, to act contrary to what St. Paul makes the duty of those that are in authority; neither is that power nor that magistrate ordained of God. And consequently to such a magistracy no subjection is commanded, nor is any due, nor are the people forbidden to resist such authority; for in so doing they do not resist the power, nor the magistracy, as they are here excellently well described; but they resist a robber, a tyrant, an enemy; who if he may notwithstanding in some sense be called a magistrate, upon this account only, because he has power in his hands, which perhaps God may have invested him with for our punishment; by the same reason the devil may be called a magistrate. This is most certain, that there can be but one true definition of one and the same thing. So that if St. Paul in this place define what a magistrate is, which he certainly does, and that accurately well; he cannot possibly define a tyrant, the most contrary thing imaginable, in the same words. Hence I infer, that he commands us to submit to such magistrates only as he himself defines and describes, and not to tyrants, which are quite other things. "For this cause you pay tribute also:" he gives a reason together with a command. Hence St. Chrysostom; "why do we pay tribute to princes? Do we not," adds he, "thereby reward them for the care they take of our safety? We should not have paid them any tribute, if we had not been convinced, that it was good for us to live under a government." So that I must here repeat what I have said already, that since subjection is not absolutely enjoined, but on a particular reason, that reason must be the rule of our subjection: where that reason holds, we are rebels if we submit not; where it holds not, we are cowards and slaves if we do. "But," say you, "the English are far from being freemen; for they are wicked and flagitious." I will not reckon up here the vices of the French, though they live under a kingly government; neither will I excuse my own countrymen too far: but this I may safely say, whatever vices they have, they have learnt them under a kingly government; as the Israelites learnt a great deal of wickedness in Egypt. And as they, when they were brought into the wilderness, and lived under the immediate government of God himself, could hardly reform, just so it is with us. But there are good hopes of many amongst us; that I may not here celebrate those men who are eminent for their piety and virtue and love of the truth; of which sort I persuade

myself we have as great a number, as where you think there are most such. "But they have laid a heavy yoke upon the English nation:" what if they have, upon those of them that endeavoured to lay a heavy yoke upon all the rest? upon those that have deserved to be put under the hatches? As for the rest, I question not but they are very well content to be at the expense of maintaining their own liberty, the public treasury being exhausted by the civil wars. Now he betakes himself to the fabulous rabbins again: he asserts frequently, that kings are bound by no laws; and yet he proves, that according to the sense of the rabbins, "a king may be guilty of treason, by suffering an invasion upon the rights of his crown." So kings are bound by laws, and they are not bound by them; they may be criminals, and yet they may not be so. This man contradicts himself so perpetually, that contradiction and he seem to be of kin to one another. You say that God himself put many kingdoms under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. I confess he did so for a time, Jer. xxvii. 7, but do you make appear, if you can, that he put the English nation into a condition of slavery to Charles Stuart for a minute. I confess he suffered them to be enslaved by him for some time; but I never yet heard, that himself appointed it so to be. Or if you will have it so, that God shall be said to put a nation under slavery, when a tyrant prevails; why may he not as well be said to deliver them from his tyranny, when the people prevail and get the upper hand? Shall his tyranny be said to be of God, and not our liberty? There is no evil in the city, that the Lord hath not done, Amos iii. So that famine, pestilence, sedition, war, all of them are of God; and is it therefore unlawful for a people afflicted with any of these plagues, to endeavour to get rid of them? Certainly they would do their utmost, though they know them to be sent by God, unless himself miraculously from heaven should command the contrary: and why may they not by the same reason rid themselves of a tyrant, if they are stronger than he? Why should we suppose his weakness to be appointed by God for the ruin and destruction of the commonwealth, rather than the power and strength of all the people for the good of the state? Far be it from all commonwealths, from all societies of freeborn men, to maintain not only such pernicious, but such stupid and senseless, principles; principles that subvert all civil society, that to gratify a few tyrants, level all mankind with brutes; and by setting princes out of the reach of human laws, give them an equal power over both. I pass by those foolish dilemmas that you now make, which that you might take occasion to propose, you feign some or other to assert, that the "superlative power of princes is derived from the people;" though for my own part I do not at all doubt, but that all the power that any magistrates have is so. Hence Cicero, in his Orat. pro Flacco, "Our wise and holy ancestors," says he, "appointed those things to obtain for laws, that the people enacted." And hence it is, that Lucius Crassus, an excellent Roman orator, and at that time president of the senate, when in a controversy betwixt them and the common people, he asserted their rights, "I beseech you, says he, suffer not us to live in subjection to any, but yourselves, to the entire body of whom we can and ought to submit." For though the Roman senate governed the people, the people themselves had appointed them to be their governors, and had put that power into their hands. We read the term of Majesty more frequently applied to the people of Rome, than to their kings. Tully in Orat. pro Flancio, "it is the condition of all free people, (says he,) and especially of this people, the lord of all nations, by their votes to give or take away, to or from any, as themselves see cause. It is the duty of the magistrates patiently to submit to what the body of the people enact. Those that are not ambitious of honour, have the less obligation upon them to court the people: those that affect preferment, must not be weary of entreating them." Should I scruple to call a king the servant of his people, when I hear the Roman senate, that reigned over so many kings, profess themselves to be but the people's servants? You will object perhaps, and say, that all this is very true in a popular state; but the case was altered afterwards, when the regal law transferred all the people's right unto Augustus and his successors. But what think you then of Tiberius, whom yourself confess to have been a very great tyrant, as he certainly was? Suetonius says of him, that when he was once called Lord or Master, though after the enacting of that Lex Regia, he desired the person that gave him that appellation, to forbear abusing him. How does this sound in your ears? a tyrant thinks one of his subjects abuses him in calling him Lord. The same emperor in one of his speeches to the senate, "I have said," says he, "frequently, heretofore, and now I say it again, that a good prince, whom you have invested with so great a power as I am intrusted with, ought to serve the senate and the body of the people, and sometimes even particular persons; nor do I repent of having said so: I confess that you have been good, and just, and indulgent masters to me, and that you are yet so." You may say, that he dissembled in all this, as he was a great proficient in the art of hypocrisy; but that is all one. No man endeavours to appear otherwise than he ought to be. Hence Tacitus tells us, that it was the custom in Rome for the emperors in the Circus, to worship the people; and that both Nero and other emperors practised it. Claudian in his panegyric upon Honorius mentions the same custom. By which sort of adoration what could possibly be meant, but that the emperors of Rome, even after the enacting of the Lex Regia, confessed the whole body of the people to be their superiours? But I find, as I suspected at first, and so I told ye, that you have spent more time and pains in turning over glossaries, and criticising upon texts, and propagating such-like laborious trifles, than in reading sound authors so as to improve your knowledge by them. For had you been never so little versed in the writings of learned men in former ages, you would not have accounted an opinion new, and the product of some enthusiastic heads, which has been asserted and maintained by the greatest philosophers, and most famous politicians in the world.

You endeavour to expose one Martin, who you tell us was a tailor, and one William a tanner; but if they are such as you describe them, I think they and you may very well go together; though they themselves would be able to instruct you, and unfold those mysterious riddles that you propose: as, "Whether or no they that in a monarchy would have the king but a servant to the commonwealth, will say the same thing of the whole body of the people in a popular state? And whether all the people serve in a democracy, or only some part or other serve the rest?" And when they have been an Œdipus to you, by my consent you shall be a sphinx to them in good earnest, and throw yourself headlong from some precipice or other, and break your neck; for else I am afraid you will never have done with your riddles and fooleries. You ask, "Whether or no, when St. Paul names kings, he meant the people?" I confess St. Paul commands us to pray for kings, but he had commanded us to pray for the people before, ver. 1. But there are some for all that, both among kings and common people, that we are forbidden to pray for; and if a man may not so much as be prayed for, may he not be punished? What should hinder? But, "when Paul wrote this epistle, he that reigned was the most profligate person in the world." That is false. For Ludovicus Capellus makes it evident, that this epistle likewise was writ in Claudius's time. When St. Paul has occasion to speak of Nero, he calls him not a king, but a lion; that is, a wild, savage beast, from whose jaws he is glad he was delivered, 2 Tim. iv. So that it is for kings, not for beasts, that we are to pray, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. Kings and their interest are not the things here intended to be advanced and secured; it is the public peace, godliness, and honesty, whose establishment we are commanded to endeavour after, and to pray for. But is there any people in the world, that would not choose rather to live an honest and careful life, though never free from war and troubles, in the defence of themselves and their families, whether against tyrants or enemies, (for I make no difference,) than under the power of a tyrant or an enemy, to spin out a life equally troublesome, accompanied with slavery and ignominy? That the latter is the more desirable of the two, I will prove by a testimony of your own; not because I think your authority worth quoting, but that all men may observe how double-tongued you are, and how mercenary your pen is. "Who would not rather," say you, "bear with those dissensions, that through the emulation of great men often happen in an aristocratical government, than live under the tyrannical government of one, where nothing but certain misery and ruin is to be looked for? The people of Rome preferred their commonwealth, though never so much shattered with civil broils, before the intolerable yoke of their emperors. When a people, to avoid sedition, submits to a monarchy, and finds by experience, that this is the worst evil of the two, they often desire to return to their former government again." These are your own words, and more you have to this purpose in that discourse concerning bishops, which under a feigned name you wrote against Petavius the Jesuit; though yourself are more a Jesuit than he, nay worse than any of that crew. We have already heard the sense of the Scripture upon this subject; and it has been worth our while to take some pains to find it out. But perhaps it will not be so to inquire into the judgment of the fathers, and to ransack their volumes: for if they assert any thing, which is not warranted by the word of God, we may safely reject their authority, be it never so great; and particularly that expression that you allege out of Irenæus, "that God in his providence orders it so, that such kings reign as are suitable to and proper for the people they are to govern, all circumstances considered." That expression, I say, is directly contrary to Scripture. For though God himself declared openly, that it was better for his own people to be governed by judges, than by kings, yet he left it to them to change that form of government for a worse, if they would themselves. And we read frequently, that when the body of the people has been good, they have had a wicked king, and contrariwise that a good king has sometimes reigned, when the people have been wicked. So that wise and prudent men are to consider and see what is profitable and fit for the people in general; for it is very certain, that the same form of government is not equally convenient for all nations, nor for the same nation at all times; but sometimes one, sometimes another may be more proper, according as the industry and valour of the people may increase or decay. But if you deprive the people of this liberty of setting up what government they like best among themselves, you take that from them, in which the life of all civil liberty consists. Then you tell us of Justin Martyr, of his humble and submissive behaviour to the Antonines, those best of emperors; as if any body would not do the like to princes of such moderation as they were. "How much worse Christians are we in these days, than those were! They were content to live under a prince of another religion." Alas! they were private persons, and infinitely inferior to the contrary party in strength and number. "But now papists will not endure a protestant prince, nor protestants one that is popish." You do well and discreetly in showing yourself to be neither papist nor protestant. And you are very liberal in your concessions; for now you confess, that all sorts of Christians agree in that very thing, that you alone take upon you with so much impudence and wickedness, to cry down and oppose. And how unlike those fathers that you commend, do you shew yourself: they wrote apologies for the Christians to heathen princes; you in defence of a wicked popish king, against Christians and protestants. Then you entertain us with a number of impertinent quotations out of Athenagoras and Tertullian: things that we have already heard out of the writings of the apostles, much more clearly and intelligibly exprest. But Tertullian was quite of a different opinion from yours, of a king's being a lord and master over his subjects: which you either knew not, or wickedly dissembled. For he, though he were a Christian, and directed his discourse

to a heathen emperor, had the confidence to tell him, that an emperor ought not to be called Lord. "Augustus himself, says he, that formed this empire, refused that appellation; it is a title proper to God only. Not but that the title of Lord and Master may in some sense be ascribed to the emperor: but there is a peculiar sense of that word, which is proper to God only; and in that sense, I will not ascribe it to the emperor. I am the emperor's freeman. God alone is my Lord and Master." And the same author, in the same discourse; "how inconsistent," says he, "are those two appellations, Father of his country, and Lord and Master!" And now I wish you much joy of Tertullian's authority, whom it had been a great deal better you had let alone. But Tertullian calls them parricides that slew Domitian. And he does well, for so they were, his wife and servants conspired against him. And they set one Parthenius and Stephanus, who were accused for concealing part of the public treasure, to make him away. If the senate and the people of Rome had proceeded against him according to the custom of their ancestors; had given judgment of death against him, as they did once against Nero; and had made search for him to put him to death; do ye think Tertullian would have called them parricides? If he had, he would have deserved to be hanged, as you do. I give the same answer to your quotation out of Origen, that I have given already to what you have cited out of Irenæus. Athanasius indeed says, that kings are not accountable before human tribunals. But I wonder who told Athanasius this! I do not hear, that he produces any authority from Scripture, to confirm this assertion. And I will rather believe kings and emperors themselves, who deny that they themselves have any such privilege, than I will Athanasius. Then you quote Ambrosius, who after he had been a proconsul, and after that became a catechumen, at last got into a bishopric: but for his authority, I say, that his interpretation of those words of David, "against thee only I have sinned," is both ignorant and adulatory. He was willing all others should be enthralled to the emperor, that he might enthral the emperor to himself. We all know with what a papal pride and arrogancy he treated Theodosius the emperor, how he took upon him to declare him guilty of that massacre at Thessalonica, and to forbid him coming into the church: how miserably raw in divinity, and unacquainted with the doctrine of the gospel, he shewed himself upon that occasion; when the emperor fell down at his feet, he commanded him to get him out of the porch. At last, when he was received again into the communion of the church, and had offered, because he continued standing near to the altar, the magisterial prelate commanded him out of the rails: "O Emperor," says he, "these inner places are for the priests only, it is not lawful for others to come within them!" Does this sound like the behaviour of a minister of the gospel, or like that of a Jewish high-priest? And yet this man, such as we hear he was, would have the emperor ride other people, that himself might ride him, which is a common trick of almost all ecclesiastics. With words to this purpose, he put back the emperor as inferior to himself; "You rule over men," saith he, "that are partakers of the same nature, and fellow-servants with yourself: for there is only one Lord and King over all, to wit, the Creator of all." This is very pretty! This piece of truth, which the craft and flattery of clergymen has all along endeavoured to suppress and obscure, was then brought to light by the furious passion, or to speak more mildly, by the ignorant indiscreet zeal, of one of them. After you have displayed Ambrose's ignorance, you shew your own, or rather, vent a heresy in affirming point blank, That "under the Old Testament, there was no such thing as forgiveness of sins upon the account of Christ's sufferings, since David confessed his transgression, saying, Against thee only have I sinned," Psal. lviii. It is the orthodox tenet, that there never was any remission of sins, but by the blood of the Lamb that was slain from the beginning of the world. I know not whose disciple you are, that set up for a broacher of new heresies: but certain I am, that that great divine's disciple, whom you are so angry with, did not mistake himself, when he said, that any one of David's subjects might have said, "Against thee only have I sinned," as properly, and with as much right, as David himself. Then you quote St. Austin, and produce a company of Hipponensian divines. What you allege out of St. Austin makes not at all against us. We confess that as the prophet Daniel has it, it is God that changeth times, sets up one kingdom, and pulls down another; we only desire to have it allowed us, that he makes use of men as his instruments. If God alone gave a kingdom to King Charles, God alone has taken it from him again, and given it to the parliament, and to the people. If therefore our allegiance was due to King Charles, because God had given him a kingdom; for the same reason it is now due to the present magistracy. For yourself confess, that God has given our magistrates such power as he uses to give to wicked princes, for the punishment of the nation. And the consequence of this will be, that according to your own opinion, our present magistrates being raised and appointed by God, cannot lawfully be deposed by any, but God himself. Thus you overthrow the opinion you pretend to maintain, which is a thing very frequent with you; your apology for the king carries its death's wound in it. You have attained to such a prodigious degree of madness and stupidity, as to prove it unlawful upon any account whatsoever, to lift up one's finger against magistrates, and with the very next breath to affirm, that it is the duty of their subjects to rise up in rebellion against them. You tell us, that St. Jerom calls Ishmael, that slew Gedaliah, a parricide or traitor: and it is very true, that he was so: for Gedaliah was deputy governor of Judæa, a good man, and slain by Ishmael without any cause. The same author in his comment upon the book of Ecclesiastes, says, that Solomon's command to keep the king's commandment, is the same with St. Paul's doctrine upon the same subject; and deserves commendation for having made a more moderate construction of that text, than most

of his contemporaries. You say, you will forbear inquiring into the sentiments of learned men that lived since St. Austin's time: but to shew that you had rather dispense with a lie, than not quote any author that you think makes for you, in the very next period but one you produce the authorities of Isidore, Gregory, and Otho, Spanish and Dutch authors, that lived in the most barbarous and ignorant ages of all; whose authorities, if you knew how much we despise, you would not have told a lie to have quoted them. But would you know the reason why he dares not come so low as to the present times? why he does as it were hide himself, and disappear, when he comes towards our own times? The reason is, because he knows full well, that as many eminent divines as there are of the reformed churches, so many adversaries he would have to encounter. Let him take up the cudgels, if he thinks fit; he will quickly find himself run down with innumerable authorities out of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, Martyr, Paræus, and the rest. I could oppose you with testimonies out of divines, that have flourished even in Leyden. Though that famous university and renowned commonwealth, which has been as it were a sanctuary for liberty, those fountains and streams of all polite learning, have not yet been able to wash away that slavish rust that sticks to you, and infuse a little humanity into you. Finding yourself destitute of any assistance or help from orthodox protestant divines, you have the impudence to betake yourself to the Sorbonists, whose college you know is devoted to the Romish religion, and consequently but of very weak authority amongst protestants. We are willing to deliver so wicked an assertor of tyranny as you, to be drowned in the Sorbonne, as being ashamed to own so despicable a slave as you shew yourself to be, by maintaining that the whole body of a nation is not equal in power to the most slothful degenerate prince that may be. You labour in vain to lay that upon the pope, which all free nations, and all orthodox divines, own and assert. But the pope and his clergy, when they were in a low condition, and but of small account in the world, were the first authors of this pernicious absurd doctrine of yours; and when by preaching such doctrine they had gotten power into their own hands, they became the worst of tyrants themselves. Yet they engaged all princes to them by the closest tie imaginable, persuading the world, that was now besotted with their superstition, that it was unlawful to depose princes, though never so bad, unless the pope dispensed with their allegiance to them, by absolving them from their oaths. But you avoid orthodox writers, and endeavour to burden the truth with prejudice and calumny, by making the pope the first assertor of what is a known and common received opinion amongst them; which if you did not do it cunningly, you would make yourself appear to be neither papist nor protestant, but a kind of mongrel Idumean Herodian. For as they of old adored one most inhuman bloody tyrant for the Messias, so you would have the world fall down and worship all. You boast, that "you have confirmed your opinion by the testimonies of the fathers that flourished in the four first centuries; whose writings only are evangelical, and according to the truth of the christian religion." This man is past all shame! how many things did they preach, how many things have they published, which Christ and his apostles never taught! How many things are there in their writings, in which all protestant divines differ from them! But what is that opinion that you have confirmed by their authorities? "Why, that evil princes are appointed by God." Allow that, as all other pernicious and destructive things are. What then? why, "that therefore they have no judge but God alone, that they are above all human laws; that there is no law, written or unwritten, no law of nature, nor of God, to call them to account before their own subjects." But how comes that to pass? Certain I am that there is no law against it: no penal law excepts kings. And all reason and justice requires, that those that offend, should be punished according to their deserts, without respect of persons. Nor have you hitherto produced any one law, either written or unwritten, of God or of nature, by which this is forbidden. What stands in the way then? Why may not kings be proceeded against? Why, "because they are appointed by God, be they never so bad." I do not know whether I had best call you a knave, or a fool, or ignorant, unlearned barbarian. You shew yourself a vile wretch, by propagating a doctrine so destructive and pernicious; and you are a fool for backing it with such silly arguments. God says in Isa. liv. "I have created the slayer to destroy." Then by your reason a murderer is above the laws. Turn this topsyturvy, and consider it as long as you will, you will find the consequence to be the same with your own. For the pope is appointed by God, just as tyrants are, and set up for the punishment of the church, which I have already demonstrated out of your own writings. "And yet," say you, Wal. Mes. pag. 412, "because he has raised his primacy to an insufferable height of power, so as that he has made it neither better nor worse than plain downright tyranny, both he and his bishops may be put down more lawfully, than they were at first set up." You tell us, that the pope and the bishops (though God in his wrath appointed them) may yet lawfully be rooted out of the church, because they are tyrants; and yet you deny that it is lawful to depose a tyrant in the commonwealth, and that for no other reason, than because God appointed him, though he did it in his anger. What ridiculous stuff is this! for whereas the pope cannot hurt a man's conscience against his own will, for in the consciences of men it is that his kingdom consists, yet you are for deposing him as a grievous tyrant, in whose own power it is not to be a tyrant; and yet you maintain, that a tyrant properly and truly so called, a tyrant that has all our lives and estates within his reach, without whose assistance the pope himself could not exercise his tyranny in the church, ought for conscience sake to be born withal and submitted to. These assertions compared with one another betray your childishness to that degree, that no man can read your books, but must of

necessity take notice of your ignorance, rashness, and incogitancy. But you allege another reason, "human affairs would be turned upside down." They would so, and be changed for the better. Human affairs would certainly be in a deplorable condition, if being once troubled and disordered, there was a necessity of their continuing always so. I say, they would be changed for the better, for the king's power would revert to the people, from whom it was first derived, and conferred upon one of themselves; and the power would be transferred from him that abused it, to them that were prejudiced and injured by the abuse of it; than which nothing can be more just, for there could not well be an umpire in such a case; who would stand to the judgment of a foreigner? all mankind would equally be subject to the laws; there would be no gods of flesh and blood: which kind of deities whoever goes about to set up in the world, they are equally injurious to church and commonwealth. Now I must turn your own weapons upon you again. You say, "there can be no greater heresy than this, to set up one man in Christ's seat. These two are infallible marks of Antichrist, infallibility in spirituals, and omnipotence in temporals." Apparat. ad Prim. page 171. Do you pretend that kings are infallible? If you do not, why do you make them omnipotent? And how comes it to pass, that an unlimited power in one man should be accounted less destructive to temporal things, than it is to ecclesiastical? Or do you think, that God takes no care at all of civil affairs? If he takes none himself, I am sure he does not forbid us to take care which way they go. If he does take any care about them, certainly he would have the same reformation made in the commonwealth, that he would have made in the church, especially it being obvious to every man's experience, that infallibility and omnipotency being arrogated to one man, are equally mischievous in both. God has not so modelled the government of the world as to make it the duty of any civil community to submit to the cruelties of tyrants, and yet to leave the church at liberty to free themselves from slavery and tyranny; nay, rather quite contrary, he has put no arms into the church's hand but those of patience and innocence, prayer and ecclesiastical discipline; but in the commonwealth, all the magistracy are by him entrusted with the preservation and execution of the laws, with the power of punishing and revenging; he has put the sword into their hands. I cannot but smile at this man's preposterous whimsies; in ecclesiastics he is Helvidius, Thraseas, a perfect tyrannicide. In politics no man more a lackey and slave to tyrants than he. If his doctrine hold, not we only that have deposed our king, but the protestants in general, who against the minds of their princes have rejected the pope, are all rebels alike. But I have confounded him long enough with his own arguments. Such is the nature of the beast, lest his adversary should be unprovided, he himself furnishes him with weapons. Never did any man give his antagonist greater advantages against himself than he does. They that he has to do withal, will be sooner weary of pursuing him, than he of flying.

CHAP. XV.

Perhaps you think, Salmasius, that you have done enough to ingratiate yourself with princes; that you have deserved well of them: but if they consider their own interest, and take their measures according to what it really is, not according to the false gloss that your flatterers have put upon it, there never was any man in the world that deserved so ill of them as you, none more destructive and pernicious to them and their interest in the whole world than yourself. For by exalting the power of kings above all human laws, you tell all mankind that are subject to such a government, that they are no better than slaves, and make them but the more desirous of liberty by discovering to them their errour, and putting that into their heads, that they never so much as dreamt of before, to wit, that they are slaves to their princes. And without doubt such a sort of government will be more irksome and unsufferable, by how much the more you persuade the world, that it is not by the allowance and submission of nations, that kings have obtained this exorbitant power; but that is absolutely essential to such a form of government, and of the nature of the thing itself. So that whether you make the world of your mind or no, your doctrine must needs be mischievous and destructive, and such as cannot but be abhorred of all princes. For if you should work men into a persuasion, that the right of kings is without all bounds, they would no longer be subject to a kingly government; if you miss of your aim, yet you make men weary of kings, by telling them that they assume such a power to themselves, as of right belonging to them. But if princes will allow of those principles that I assert; if they will suffer themselves and their own power to be circumscribed by laws, instead of an uncertain, weak, and violent government, full of cares and fears, they will reign peaceably, quietly, and securely. If they slight this counsel of mine, though wholesome in itself, because of the meanness of the author, they shall know that it is not my counsel only, but what was anciently advised by one of the wisest of kings. For Lycurgus king of Lacedemon, when he observed that his own relations that were princes of Argos and Messana, by endeavouring to introduce an arbitrary government had ruined themselves and their people; he, that he might benefit his country, and secure the succession to his own family, could think upon no better expedient, than to communicate his power to the senate, and taking the great men of the realm into part of the government with himself; and by this means the crown continued in his family for many ages. But whether it was Lycurgus, or, as some learned men are of opinion, Theopompus, that introduced that mixed form of government among the Lacedemonians, somewhat more than a hundred years after Lycurgus's time, (of whom it is recorded, that he used to boast, that by advancing the power of the senate above that of the prince, he had settled the kingdom upon a sure foundation, and was like to leave it in a lasting and durable condition to his posterity,) which of

them soever it was, I say, he has left a good example to modern princes; and was as creditable a counsellor, as his counsel was safe. For that all men should submit to any one man, so as to acknowledge a power in him superior to all human laws, neither did any law ever enact, nor indeed was it possible that any such law should ever be; for that cannot be said to be a law that strikes at the root of all laws, and takes them quite away: it being apparent that your positions are inconsistent with the nature of all laws, being such as render them no laws at all. You endeavour notwithstanding, in this fourth chapter, to make good by examples, what you have not been able to do by any reasons that you have alleged hitherto. Let us consider whether your examples help your cause; for they many times make things plain, which the laws are either altogether silent in, or do but hint at. We will begin first with the Jews, whom we suppose to have known most of the mind of God; and then, according to your own method, we will come to the times of Christianity. And first, for those times in which the Israelites being subject to kings, who, or howsoever they were, did their utmost to cast that slavish yoke from off their necks. Eglon the king of Moab had made a conquest of them; the seat of his empire was at Jericho; he was no contemner of the true God; when his name was mentioned, he rose from his seat: the Israelites had served him eighteen years; they sent a present to him, not as to an enemy, but to their own prince; notwithstanding which outward veneration and profession of subjection, they killed him by a wile, as an enemy to their country. You will say perhaps, that Ehud, who did that action, had a warrant from God for so doing. He had so, it is like; and what greater argument of its being a warrantable and praiseworthy action? God uses not to put men upon things that are unjust, treacherous, and cruel, but upon such things as are virtuous and laudable. But we read no where that there was any positive command from Heaven in the case. "The Israelites called upon God;" so did we. And God stirred up a saviour for them; so he did for us. Eglon of a neighbouring prince became a prince of the Jews; of an enemy to them he became their king. Our gentleman of an English king became an enemy to the English nation; so that he ceased to be a king. Those capacities are inconsistent. No man can be a member of the state, and an enemy to it at the same time. Antony was never looked upon by the Romans as a consul, nor Nero as an emperor, after the senate had voted them both enemies. This Cicero tells us in his Fourth Philippic: "If Antony be a consul," says he, "Brutus is an enemy; but if Brutus be a saviour and preserver of the commonwealth, Antony is an enemy: none but robbers count him a consul." By the same reason, say I, who but enemies to their country look upon a tyrant as a king? So that Eglon's being a foreigner, and King Charles a prince of our own, will make no difference in the case; both being enemies and both tyrants, they are in the same circumstances. If Ehud killed him justly, we have done so too in putting our king to death. Samson that renowned champion of the Hebrews, though his countrymen blamed him for it, "Dost thou not know," say they, "that the Philistines have dominion over us?" Yet against those Philistines, under whose dominion he was, he himself undertook a war in his own person, without any other help; and whether he acted in pursuance of a command from Heaven, or was prompted by his own valour only, or whatsoever inducement he had, he did not put to death one, but many, that tyrannized over his country, having first called upon God by prayer, and implored his assistance. So that Samson counted it no act of impiety, but quite contrary, to kill those that enslaved his country, though they had dominion over himself too; and though the greater part of his countrymen submitted to their tyranny. "But yet David, who was both a king and a prophet, would not take away Saul's life, because he was God's anointed." Does it follow, that because David refused to do a thing, therefore we are obliged not to do that very thing? David was a private person, and would not kill the king; is that a precedent for a parliament, for a whole nation? David would not revenge his own quarrel, by putting his enemy to death by stealth; does it follow, that therefore the magistrates must not punish a malefactor according to law? He would not kill a king; must not an assembly of the states therefore punish a tyrant? he scrupled the killing of God's anointed; must the people therefore scruple to condemn their own anointed? especially one that after having so long professed hostility against his own people, and washed off that anointing of his, whether sacred or civil, with the blood of his own subjects. I confess that those kings, whom God by his prophets anointed to be kings, or appointed to some special service, as he did Cyrus, Isa. xliv. may not improperly be called the Lord's anointed: but all other princes, according to the several ways of their coming to the government, are the people's anointed, or the army's, or many times the anointed of their own faction only. But taking it for granted, that all kings are God's anointed, you can never prove, that therefore they are above all laws, and not to be called in question, what villanies soever they commit. What if David laid a charge upon himself and other private persons, not to stretch forth their hands against the Lord's anointed? Does not God himself command princes not so much as "to touch his anointed?" which were no other than his people, Psal. cv. He preferred that anointing, wherewith his people were anointed, before that of kings, if any such thing were. Would any man offer to infer from this place of the Psalmist, that believers are not to be called in question, though they offend against the laws, because God commands princes not to touch his anointed? King Solomon was about to put to death Abiathar the priest, though he were God's anointed too; and did not spare him because of his anointing, but because he had been his father's friend. If that sacred and civil anointing, wherewith the high priest of the Jews was anointed, whereby he was not only constituted high priest, but a temporal magistrate in many cases, did

not exempt him from the penalty of the laws; how comes a civil anointing only to exempt a tyrant? But you say, "Saûl was a tyrant, and worthy of death:" What then? It does not follow, that because he deserved it, that David in the circumstances he was then under had power to put him to death without the people's authority, or the command of the magistracy. But was Saul a tyrant? I wish you would say so; indeed you do so, though you had said before in your Second Book, page 32, That "he was no tyrant, but a good king, and chosen of God." Why should false accusers, and men guilty of forgery, be branded, and you escape without the like ignominious mark? For they practise their villanies with less treachery and deceit, than you write and treat of matters of the greatest moment. Saul was a good king, when it served your turn to have him so; and now he is a tyrant, because it suits with your present purpose. But it is no wonder, that you make a tyrant of a good king; for your principles look as if they were invented for no other design, than to make all good kings so. But yet David, though he would not put to death his father-in-law, for causes and reasons that we have nothing to do withal, yet in his own defence, he raised an army, took and possessed cities that belonged to Saul, and would have defended Keilah against the king's forces, had he not understood, that the citizens would be false to him. Suppose Saul had besieged the town, and himself had been the first that had scaled the walls; do you think David would presently have thrown down his arms, and have betrayed all those that assisted him to his anointed enemy? I believe not. What reason have we to think David would have stuck to do what we have done, who when his occasions and circumstances so required, proffered his assistance to the Philistines, who were then the professed enemies of his country, and did that against Saul, which I am sure we should never have done against our tyrant? I am weary of mentioning your lies, and ashamed of them. You say, it is a maxim of the English, "That enemies are rather to be spared than friends;" and that therefore "we conceived we ought not to spare our king's life, because he had been our friend." You impudent liar, what mortal ever heard this whimsy before you invented it? But we will excuse it. You could not bring in that threadbare flourish, of our being more fierce than our own mastiffs, (which now comes in the fifth time, and will as oft again before we come to the end of your book,) without some such introduction. We are not so much more fierce than our own mastiffs, as you are more hungry than any dog whatsoever, who return so greedily to what you have vomited up so often. Then you tell us, that David commanded the Amalekite to be put to death, who pretended to have killed Saul. But that instance, neither in respect to the fact, nor the person, has any affinity with what we are discoursing of. I do not well understand what cause David had to be so severe upon that man, for pretending to have hastened the king's death, and in effect to have put him out of his pain, when he was dying; unless it were to take away from the Israelites all suspicion of his own having been instrumental in it, whom they might look upon as one that had revolted to the Philistines, and was part of their army. Just such another action as this of David's do all men blame in Domitian, who put to death Epaphroditus, because he had helped Nero to kill himself. After all this, as another instance of your impudence, you call him not only the "anointed of the Lord," but "the Lord's Christ," who a little before you said was a tyrant, and acted by the impulse of some evil spirit. Such mean thoughts you have of that reverend name, that you are not ashamed to give it to a tyrant, whom you yourself confess to have been possessed with the devil. Now I come to that precedent, from which every man that is not blind, must needs infer the right of the people to be superiour to that of kings. When Solomon was dead, the people assembled themselves at Sichem to make Rehoboam king. Thither himself went, as one that stood for the place, that he might not seem to claim the succession as his inheritance, nor the same right over a freeborn people, that every man has over his father's sheep and oxen. The people propose conditions, upon which they were willing to admit him to the government. He desires three days' time to advise; he consults with the old men; they tell him no such thing, as that he had an absolute right to succeed, but persuade him to comply with the people, and speak them fair, it being in their power whether he should reign or not. Then he advises with the young men that were brought up with him; they, as if Salmasius's phrenzy had taken them, thunder this right of kings into his ears; persuade him to threaten the people with whips and scorpions: and he answered the people as they advised him. When all Israel saw, that the king hearkened not to them, then they openly protest the right of the people, and their own liberty; "What portion have we in David? To thy tents, O Israel! now look to thine own house, David." When the king sent Adoram to them, they stoned him with stones, and perhaps they would not have stuck to have served the king himself so, but he made haste and got out of the way. The next news is of a great army raised by Rehoboam, to reduce the Israelites to their allegiance. God forbids him to proceed, "Go not up," says he, "to war against your brethren the children of Israel; for this thing is of me." Now consider, heretofore the people had desired a king; God was displeased with them for it, but yet permitted them to make a king according to that right that all nations have to appoint their own governors. Now the people reject Rehoboam from ruling them; and this God not only suffers them to do, but forbids Rehoboam to make war against them for it, and stops him in his undertaking; and teaches him withal, that those that had revolted from him were not rebels in so doing; but that he ought to look upon them as brethren. Now recollect yourself: you say, that all kings are of God, and that therefore the people ought not to resist them, be they never such tyrants. I answer you, the convention of the people, their votes, their acts, are likewise of God, and that by the testimony of God himself in this place; and consequently ac-

cording to your argument, by the authority of God himself, princes ought not to resist the people. For as certain as it is, that kings are of God, and whatever argument you may draw from thence to enforce a subjection and obedience to them: so certain is it, that free assemblies of the body of the people are of God, and that naturally affords the same argument for their right of restraining princes from going beyond their bounds, and rejecting them if there be occasion; nor is their so doing a justifiable cause of war, any more than the people of Israel's rejecting Rehoboam was. You ask why the people did not revolt from Solomon? Who but you would ask such an impertinent question? You see they did revolt from a tyrant, and were neither punished nor blamed for it. It is true, Solomon fell into some vices, but he was not therefore a tyrant; he made amends for his vices by many excellent virtues, that he was famous for, by many benefits which accrued to the nation of the Jews by his government. But admit that he had been a tyrant: many times the circumstances of a nation are such that the people will not, and many times such that they cannot, depose a tyrant. You see they did it when it was in their power. "But," say you, "Jeroboam's act was ever had in detestation; it was looked upon as an unjust revolt from a lawful prince; he and his successors were accounted rebels." I confess we find his revolt from the true worship of God often found fault with; but I no where find him blamed for revolting from Rehoboam; and his successors are frequently spoken of as wicked princes, but not as rebels. "Acting contrary to law and right," say you, "cannot introduce or establish a right." I pray, what becomes then of your right of kings? Thus do you perpetually baffle yourself. You say, "Adulteries, murders, thefts are daily committed with impunity." Are you not aware, that here you give an answer to your own question, how it comes to pass, that tyrants do so often escape unpunished? You say, "Those kings were rebels, and yet the prophets do no where dissuade the people from their allegiance." And why do you, you rascally false prophet, endeavour to persuade the people of England not to yield obedience to their present magistrates, though in your opinion they are rebels? "This English faction of robbers," say you, "allege for themselves, that by some immediate voice from Heaven, they were put upon their bloody enterprise." It is notoriously evident, that you were distracted when you wrote these lines; for as you have put the words together, they are neither Latin, nor sense. And that the English pretend to any such warrant, as a justification of their actions, is one of those many lies and fictions, that your book is full of. But I proceed to urge you with examples. Libna, a great city, revolted from Joram, because he had forsaken God: it was the king therefore that was guilty, not the city, nor is the city blamed for it. He that considers the reason that is given why that city rejected his government, must conclude, that the Holy Ghost rather approves of what they did than condemns them for it. "These kind of revolts are no precedents," say you. But why were you then so vain, as to promise in the beginning of this chapter, that you would argue from examples, whereas all the examples that you allege, are mere negatives, which prove nothing? and when we urge examples that are solid and positive, you say they are no precedents. Who would endure such a way of arguing? You challenged us at precedents; we produced them; and what do you do? you hang back, and get out of the way. I proceed: Jehu, at the command of a prophet, slew a king; nay, he ordered the death of Ahaziah, his own liege prince. If God would not have tyrants put to death by their own subjects, if it were a wicked thing so to do, a thing of a bad example; why did God himself command it? If he commanded it, it was a lawful, commendable, and a praiseworthy action. It was not therefore lawful to kill a tyrant, because God commanded it; but God commanded it, because, antecedently to his command, it was a justifiable and a lawful action. Again, Jehoiada the high priest did not scruple to depose Athaliah, and kill her, though she had been seven years in actual possession of the crown. "But," say you, "she took upon her the government, when she had no right to it." And did not you say yourself, but a while ago, "that Tiberius assumed the sovereignty, when it belonged not at all to him?" And yet you then affirmed, that, according to our Saviour's doctrine, we ought to yield obedience to such tyrants as he was. It were a most ridiculous thing to imagine, that a prince, who gets in by usurpation, may lawfully be deposed; but one that rules tyrannically may not. "But," say you, "Athaliah could not possibly reign according to the law of the Jewish kingdom, 'Thou shalt set over thee a king,' says God Almighty; he does not say, Thou shalt set over thee a queen." If this argument have any weight, I may as well say, the command of God was, that the people should set over themselves a king, not a tyrant. So that I am even with you. Amazias was a slothful, idolatrous prince, and was put to death, not by a few conspirators; but rather, it should seem, by the nobility, and by the body of the people. For he fled from Jerusalem, had none to stand by him, and they pursued him to Lachish: they took counsel against him, says the history, because he had forsaken God: and we do not find that Azarias his son prosecuted those that had cut off his father. You quote a great many frivolous passages out of the rabbins, to prove that the kings of the Jews were superiour to the Sanhedrim. You do not consider Zedekiah's own words, Jer. xxxviii. "The king is not he that can do any thing against you." So that this was the prince's own style. Thus he confessed himself inferiour to the great council of the realm. "Perhaps," say you, "he meant, that he durst not deny them any thing for fear of sedition." But what does your perhaps signify, whose most positive asserting any thing is not worth a louse? For nothing in nature can be more fickle and inconsistent than you are. How oft you have appeared in this discourse inconsistent with yourself; unsaying with one breath what you have said with another? Here, again, you make com-

parisons betwixt King Charles, and some of the good kings of Judah. You speak contemptibly of David, as if he were not worthy to come in competition with him. "Consider David," say you, "an adulterer, a murderer; King Charles was guilty of no such crimes. Solomon his son, who was accounted wise," &c. Who can with patience hear this filthy, rascally fool, speak so irreverently of persons eminent both in greatness and piety? Dare you compare King David with King Charles; a most religious king and prophet, with a superstitious prince, and who was but a novice in the christian religion; a most prudent wise prince with a weak one; a valiant prince with a cowardly one; finally, a most just prince with a most unjust one? Have you the impudence to commend his chastity and sobriety, who is known to have committed all manner of lewdness in company with his confident the duke of Buckingham? It were to no purpose to inquire into the private actions of his life, who publicly at plays would embrace and kiss the ladies lasciviously, and handle virgins' and matrons' breasts, not to mention the rest. I advise you therefore, you counterfeit Plutarch, to abstain from such like parallels, lest I be forced to publish those things concerning King Charles, which I am willing to conceal. Hitherto we have entertained ourselves with what the people of the Jews have acted or attempted against tyrants, and by what right they did it in those times, when God himself did immediately, as it were, by his voice from heaven govern their commonwealth. The ages that succeeded, do not afford us any authority, as from themselves, but confirm us in our opinion by their imitating the actions of their forefathers. For after the Babylonish captivity, when God did not give any new command concerning the crown, though the royal line was not extinct, we find the people return to the old mosaical form of government again. They were one while tributaries to Antiochus, king of Syria; yet when he enjoined them things that were contrary to the law of God, they resisted him, and his deputies, under the conduct of their priests, the Maccabees, and by force regained their former liberty. After that, whoever was accounted most worthy of it, had the principality conferred upon him. Till at last, Harcanus the son of Simon, the brother of Judah, the Maccabee, having spoiled David's sepulchre, entertained foreign soldiers, and began to invest the priesthood with a kind of regal power. After whose time his son Aristobulus was the first that assumed the crown; he was a tyrant indeed, and yet the people stirred not against him, which is no great wonder, for he reigned but one year. And he himself being overtaken with a grievous disease, and repenting of his own cruelty and wickedness, desired nothing more than to die, and had his wish. His brother Alexander succeeded him; "and against him," you say, "the people raised no insurrection, though he were a tyrant too." And this lie might have gone down with us, if Josephus's history had not been extant. We should then have had no memory of those times, but what your Josippus would afford us, out of whom you transcribe a few senseless and useless apophthegms of the Pharisees. The history is thus: Alexander administered the public affairs ill, both in war and peace; and though he kept in pay great numbers of Pisidians and Cilicians, yet could he not protect himself from the rage of the people: but whilst he was sacrificing they fell upon him, and had almost smothered him with boughs of palm trees and citron trees. Afterward the whole nation made war upon him six years, during which time, when many thousands of the Jews had been slain, and he himself being at length desirous of peace, demanded of them, what they would have him to do to satisfy them; they told him nothing could do that but his blood, nay, that they should hardly pardon him after his death. This history you perceived was not for your purpose, and so you put it off with a few pharisaical sentences; when it had been much better, either to have let it quite alone, or to have given a true relation of it: but you trust to lies more than to the truth of your cause. Even those eight hundred Pharisees, whom he commanded to be crucified, were of their number that had taken up arms against him. And they with the rest of the people had solemnly protested, that if they could subdue the king's forces, and get his person into their power, they would put him to death. After the death of Alexander, his wife Alexandra took the government upon her, as Athaliah had formerly done, not according to law, (for you have confessed, that the laws of the Jews admitted not a female to wear the crown,) but she got it partly by force, for she maintained an army of foreigners; and partly by favour, for she had brought over the Pharisees to her interest, which sort of men were of the greatest authority with the people. Them she had made her own, by putting the power into their hands, and retaining to herself only the name. Just as the Scotch presbyterians lately allowed Charles the name of king, but upon condition, that he would let them be king in effect. After the death of Alexandra, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, her sons, contended for the sovereignty; Aristobulus was more industrious, and having a greater party, forced his elder brother out of the kingdom. A while after, when Pompey passed through Syria, in his return from the Mithridatic war; the Jews, supposing they had now an opportunity of regaining their liberty, by referring their cause to him, dispatch an embassy to him in their own names; they renounce both the brothers; complain that they had enslaved them. Pompey deposed Aristobulus, leaves the priesthood, and such a principality as the laws allowed, to Hyrcanus the elder. From that time forward he was called high priest, and Ethnarcha. After these times in the reign of Archelaus, the son of Herod, the Jews sent fifty ambassadors to Augustus Cæsar; accused Herod that was dead, and Archelaus his son, that then reigned; they deposed him as much as in them lay, and petitioned the emperor, that the people of the Jews might be governed without a king. Cæsar was moved at their entreaty, and did not appoint a king over them, but a governor, whom they called an ethnarch. When that governor had presided ten years over Judea, the people sent ambassadors again to Rome, and accused him of tyranny. Cæsar heard

them graciously; sent for the governor, condemned him to perpetual exile, and banished him to Vienna. Answer me, now, that people that accused their own princes, that desired their condemnation, that desired their punishment, would not they themselves rather, if it had been in their power, and that they might have had their choice; would not they, I say, rather have put them to death themselves; you do not deny, but that the people and the nobles often took up arms against the Roman deputies, when by their avarice, or their cruelty, their government was burdensome and oppressive. But you give a ridiculous reason for this, as all the rest of yours are. You say, "they were not yet accustomed to the yoke;" very like they were not, under Alexander, Herod, and his son. "But," say you, "they would not raise war against Caius Cæsar, nor Petronius." I confess they did not, and they did very prudently in abstaining, for they were not able. Will you hear their own words, on that occasion? "We will not make war," say they, "because we cannot." That thing, which they themselves acknowledge they refrained from for want of ability, you, false hypocrite, pretend they refrained from out of religion. Then with a great deal of toil you do just nothing at all; for you endeavour to prove out of the fathers, (though you had done it as superficially before,) that kings are to be prayed for. That good kings are to be prayed for, no man denies; nay, and bad ones too, as long as there are any hopes of them: so we ought to pray for highwaymen, and for our enemies. But how? not that they may plunder, spoil, and murder us; but that they may repent. We pray both for thieves and enemies; and yet who ever dreamt, but that it was lawful to put the laws in execution against one, and to fight against the other? I value not the Egyptian liturgy that you quote; but the priest that you mention, who prayed that Commodus might succeed his father in the empire, did not pray for any thing in my opinion, but imprecated all the mischiefs imaginable to the Roman state. You say, "that we have broken our faith, which we engaged more than once, in solemn assemblies, to preserve the authority and majesty of the king." But because hereafter you are more large upon that subject, I shall pass it by in this place; and talk with you when you come to it again. You return then to the fathers; concerning whom take this in short. Whatever they say, which is not warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, or by good reason, shall be of no more regard with me, than if any other ordinary man had said it. The first that you quote is Tertullian, who is no orthodox writer, notorious for many errours; whose authority, if he were of your opinion, would stand you in no stead. But what says he? He condemns tumults and rebellions. So do we. But in saying so, we do not mean to destroy all the people's rights and privileges, all the authority of senates, the power of all magistrates, the king only excepted. The fathers declaim against seditions rashly raised by the giddy heat of the multitude; they speak not of the inferiour magistrates, of senates, of parliaments encouraging the people to a lawful opposing of a tyrant. Hence Ambrose, whom you quote; "Not to resist," says he, "but to weep and to sigh, these are the bulwarks of the priesthood; what one is there of our little number, who dare say to the emperor, I do not like your laws? This is not allowed the priests, and shall laymen pretend to it?" It is evident of what sort of persons he speaks, viz. of the priests, and such of the people as are private men, not of the magistrates. You see by how weak and preposterous a reason he lighted a torch as it were to the dissensions, that were afterwards to arise betwixt the laity and the clergy concerning even civil or temporal laws. But because you think you pressed hardest upon us with the examples of the primitive Christians; who though they were harassed as much as a people could be, yet, you say, "they never took up arms against the emperor:" I will make it appear, in the first place, that for the most part they could not: secondly, that whenever they could, they did: and thirdly, that whether they did or did not, they were such a sort of people, as that their example deserves to have little sway with us. First therefore, no man can be ignorant of this, that when the commonwealth of Rome expired, the whole and sovereign power in the empire was settled in the emperor; that all the soldiers were under his pay; insomuch that if the whole body of the senate, the equestrian order, and all the common people, had endeavoured to work a change, they might have made way for a massacre of themselves, but could not in any probability retrieve their lost liberty: for the empire would still have continued, though they might perhaps have been so lucky as to have killed the emperor. This being so, what could the Christians do? It is true, there were a great many of them; but they were dispersed, they were generally persons of mean quality, and but of small interest in the world. How many of them would one legion have been able to keep in awe? Could so inconsiderable a body of men as they were in those days ever expect to accomplish an enterprise that many famous generals, and whole armies of tried soldiers, had lost their lives in attempting? When about 300 years after our Saviour's nativity, which was near upon 20 years before the reign of Constantine the Great, when Dioclesian was emperor, there was but one Christian legion in the whole Roman empire; which legion, for no other reason than because it consisted of christians, was slain by the rest of the army at a town in France called Octodurum. "The Christians," say you, "conspired not with Cassius, with Albinus, with Niger;" and does Tertullian think they merited by not being willing to lose their lives in the quarrels of infidels? It is evident therefore, that the Christians could not free themselves from the yoke of the Roman emperors; and it could be no ways advantageous to their interest to conspire with infidels, as long as heathen emperors reigned. But that afterwards the Christians made war upon tyrants, and defended themselves by force of arms when there was occasion, and many times revenged upon tyrants their enormities, I am now about to make appear. In the first place, Constantine, being a chris-

tian, made war upon Licinius, and cut him off, who was his partner in the sovereign power, because he molested the eastern Christians; by which act of his he declared thus much at least, that one magistrate might punish another: for he for his subjects' sake punished Licinius, who to all intents was as absolute in the empire as himself, and did not leave the vengeance to God alone: Licinius might have done the same to Constantine, if there had been the like occasion. So then, if the matter be not wholly reserved to God's own tribunal, but that men have something to do in the case, why did not the parliament of England stand in the same relation to King Charles, that Constantine did to Licinius? The soldiers made Constantine what he was: but our laws have made our parliaments equal, nay, superiour, to our kings. The inhabitants of Constantinople resisted Constantius an Arian emperor, by force of arms, as long as they were able; they opposed Hermogenes whom he had sent with a military power to depose Paul an orthodox bishop; the house whither he had betaken himself for security they fired about his ears, and at last killed him right out. Constans threatened to make war upon his brother Constantius, unless he would restore Paul and Athanasius to their bishoprics. You see those holy fathers, when their bishoprics were in danger, were not ashamed to stir up their prince's own brother to make war upon him. Not long after, the christian soldiers, who then made whom they would emperors, put to death Constans the son of Constantinus, because he behaved himself dissolutely and proudly in the government, and translated the empire to Magnentius. Nay, those very persons that saluted Julian by the name of emperor, against Constantius's will, who was actually in possession of the empire, (for Julian was not then an apostate, but a virtuous and valiant person,) are they not amongst the number of those primitive Christians, whose example you propose to us for our imitation? Which action of theirs, when Constantius by his letters to the people very sharply and earnestly forbad, (which letters were openly read to them,) they all cried out unanimously, that themselves had but done what the provincial magistrates, the army, and the authority of the commonwealth had decreed. The same persons declared war against Constantius, and contributed as much as in them lay, to deprive him both of his government and his life. How did the inhabitants of Antioch behave themselves, who were none of the worst sort of Christians? I will warrant you they prayed for Julian, after he became an apostate, whom they used to rail at in his own presence, and scoffing at his long beard bid him make ropes of it: upon the news of whose death they offered public thanksgivings, made feasts, and gave other public demonstrations of joy. Do you think they used, when he was alive, to pray for the continuance of his life and health? Nay, is it not reported, that a christian soldier, in his own army, was the author of his death? Sozomen, a writer of ecclesiastical history, does not deny it, but commends him that did it, if the fact were so. "For it is no wonder," says he, "that some of his own soldiers might think within himself, that not only the Greeks, but all mankind hitherto had agreed, that it was a commendable action to kill a tyrant; and that they deserve all men's praise, who are willing to die themselves to procure the liberty of all others: so that that soldier ought not rashly to be condemned, who in the cause of God and of religion, was so zealous and valiant." These are the words of Sozomen, a good and religious man of that age. By which we may easily apprehend what the general opinion of pious men in those days was upon this point. Ambrose himself being commanded by the emperor Valentinian the younger, to depart from Milan, refused to obey him, but defended himself and the palace by force of arms against the emperor's officers, and took upon him, contrary to his own doctrine, to resist the higher powers. There was a great sedition raised at Constantinople against the emperor Arcadius, more than once, by reason of Chrysostom's exile. Hitherto I have shewn how the primitive Christians behaved themselves towards tyrants; how not only the christian soldiers, and the people, but the fathers of the church themselves, have both made war upon them, and opposed them with force, and all this before St. Austin's time: for you yourself are pleased to go down no lower; and therefore I make no mention of Valentinian the son of Placidia, who was slain by Maximus a senator, for committing adultery with his wife; nor do I mention Avitus the emperor, whom, because he disbanded the soldiers, and betook himself wholly to a luxurious life, the Roman senate immediately deposed; because these things came to pass some years after St. Austin's death. But all this I give you: suppose I had not mentioned the practice of the primitive Christians; suppose they never had stirred in opposition to tyrants; suppose they had accounted it unlawful so to do; I will make it appear, that they were not such persons, as that we ought to rely upon their authority, or can safely follow their example. Long before Constantine's time the generality of Christians had lost much of the primitive sanctity and integrity both of their doctrine and manners. Afterwards, when he had vastly enriched the church, they began to fall in love with honour and civil power, and then the christian religion went to wreck. First luxury and sloth, and then a great drove of heresies and immoralities, broke loose among them; and these begot envy, hatred, and discord, which abounded every where. At last, they that were linked together into one brotherhood by that holy band of religion, were as much at variance and strife among themselves as the most bitter enemies in the world could be. No reverence for, no consideration of, their duty was left among them: the soldiers and commanders of the army, as oft as they pleased themselves, created new emperors, and sometimes killed good ones as well as bad. I need not mention such as Verannio, Maximus, Eugenius, whom the soldiers all of a sudden advanced and made them emperors; nor Gratian, an excellent prince; nor Valentinian the younger, who was none of the worst, and yet were put to death by them. It is true, these things were acted by the soldiers, and soldiers in the field; but those soldiers were

christians, and lived in that age which you call evangelical, and whose example you propose to us for our imitation. Now you shall hear how the clergy managed themselves: pastors and bishops, and sometimes those very fathers whom we admire and extol to so high a degree, every one of whom was a leader of their several flocks; those very men, I say, fought for their bishoprics, as tyrants did for their sovereignty; sometimes throughout the city, sometimes in the very churches, sometimes at the altar, clergymen and laymen fought promiscuously; they slew one another, and great slaughters were made on both sides. You may remember Damasus and Urcisinus, who were contemporaries with Ambrose. It would be too long to relate the tumultuary insurrections of the inhabitants of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, especially those under the conduct and management of Cyrillus, whom you extol as a preacher up of obedience; when the monks in that fight, within the city, had almost slain Orestes, Theodosius's deputy. Now who can sufficiently wonder at your impudence, or carelessness and neglect? "Till St. Austin's time, say you, and lower down than the age that he lived in, there is not any mention extant in history, of any private person, of any commander, or of any number of conspirators, that have put their prince to death, or taken up arms against him." I have named to you, out of known and approved histories, both private persons and magistrates, that with their own hands have slain not only bad but very good princes: whole armies of Christians, many bishops among them, that have fought against their own emperors. You produce some of the fathers, that with a great flourish of words, persuade or boast of obedience to princes: and I, on the other side, produce both those same fathers, and others besides them, that by their actions have declined obedience to their princes, even in lawful things; have defended themselves with a military force against them; others that have opposed forcibly, and wounded their deputies; and others that, being competitors for bishoprics, have maintained civil wars against one another: as if it were lawful for Christians to wage war with Christians for a bishopric, and citizens with citizens; but unlawful to fight against a tyrant, in defence of our liberty, of our wives and children, and of our lives themselves. Who would own such fathers as these? You produce St. Austin, who, you say, asserts, that "the power of a master over his servants, and a prince over his subjects, is one and the same thing." But I answer; if St. Austin assert any such thing, he asserts what neither our Saviour, nor any of his apostles ever asserted; though for the confirmation of that assertion, than which nothing can be more false, he pretends to rely wholly upon their authority. The three or four last pages of this fourth chapter, are stuffed with mere lies, or things carelessly and loosely put together, that are little to the purpose: and that every one that reads them, will discover by what has been said already. For what concerns the pope, against whom you disclaim so loudly, I am content you should bawl at him, till you are hoarse. But whereas you endeavour to persuade the ignorant, that "all that called themselves Christians, yielded an entire obedience to princes, whether good or bad, till the papal power grew to that height, that it was acknowledged superiour to that of the civil magistrate, and till he took upon him to absolve subjects from their allegiance:" I have sufficiently proved by many examples before and since the age that St. Augustine lived in, that nothing can be more false. Neither does that seem to have much more truth in it, which you say in the last place; viz. that pope Zachary absolved the Frenchmen from their oath of allegiance to their king. For Francis Hottoman, who was both a Frenchman and a lawyer, and a very learned man, in the 13th chapter of his Francogallia, denies that either Chilperic was deposed, or the kingdom translated to Pepin, by the pope's authority; and he proves out of very ancient chronicles of that nation, that the whole affair was transacted in the great council of the kingdom, according to the original constitution of that government. Which being once done, the French histories, and pope Zachary himself, deny that there was any necessity of absolving his subjects from their allegiance. For not only Hottoman, but Guiccard, a very eminent historian of that nation, informs us, that the ancient records of the kingdom of France testify, that the subjects of that nation upon the first institution of kingship amongst them, reserved a power to themselves, both of choosing their princes, and of deposing them again, if they thought fit: and that the oath of allegiance, which they took, was upon this express condition; to wit, that the king should likewise perform what at his coronation he swore to do. So that if kings, by misgoverning the people committed to their charge, first broke their own oath to their subjects, there needs no pope to dispense with the people's oaths; the kings themselves by their own perfidiousness having absolved their subjects. And finally, pope Zachary himself, in a letter of his to the French, which you yourself quote, renounces, and ascribes to the people that authority, which you say he assumes to himself: for, if a prince be accountable to the people, being beholden to them for his royalty; if the people, since they make kings, have the same right to depose them, as the very words of that pope are; it is not likely that the Frenchmen would by any oath depart in the least from that ancient right, or ever tie up their own hands, so as not to have the same right that their ancestors always had, to depose bad princes, as well as to honour and obey good ones; nor is it likely that they thought themselves obliged to yield that obedience to tyrants, which they swore to yield only to good princes. A people obliged to obedience by such an oath is discharged of that obligation, when a lawful prince becomes a tyrant, or gives himself over to sloth and voluptuousness; the rule of justice, the very law of nature, dispenses with such a people's allegiance. So that even by the pope's own opinion, the people were under no obligation to yield obedience to Chilperic, and consequently had no need of a dispensation.

CHAP. V.

Though I am of opinion, Salmasius, and always was, that the law of God does exactly agree with the law of nature; so that having shewn what the law of God is, with respect to princes, and what the practice has been of the people of God, both Jews and Christians, I have at the same time, and by the same discourse, made appear what is most agreeable to the law of nature: yet because you pretend "to confute us most powerfully by the law of nature," I will be content to admit that to be necessary, which before I had thought would be superfluous; that in this chapter I may demonstrate, that nothing is more suitable to the law of nature, than that punishment be inflicted upon tyrants. Which if I do not evince, I will then agree with you, that likewise by the law of God they are exempt. I do not purpose to frame a long discourse of nature in general, and the original of civil societies; that argument has been largely handled by many learned men, both Greek and Latin. But I shall endeavour to be as short as may be; and my design is not so much to confute you, (who would willingly have spared this pains,) as to shew that you confute yourself, and destroy your own positions. I will begin with that first position, which you lay down as a fundamental, and that shall be the groundwork of my ensuing discourse. "The law of nature," say you, "is a principle imprinted on all men's minds, to regard the good of all mankind, considering men as united together in societies. But this innate principle cannot procure that common good, unless, as there are people that must be governed, so that very principle ascertain who shall govern them." To wit, lest the stronger oppress the weaker, and those persons, who for their mutual safety and protection have united themselves together, should be disunited and divided by injury and violence, and reduced to a bestial savage life again. This I suppose is what you mean. "Out of the number of those that united into one body," you say, "there must needs have been some chosen, who excelled the rest in wisdom and valour; that they, either by force or by persuasion, might restrain those that were refractory, and keep them within due bounds. Sometimes it would so fall out, that one single person, whose conduct and valour was extraordinary, might be able to do this, and sometimes more assisted one another with their advice and counsel. But since it is impossible, that any one man should order all things himself, there was a necessity of his consulting with others, and taking some into part of the government with himself; so that whether a single person reign, or whether the supreme power reside in the body of the people, since it is impossible, that all should administer the affairs of the commonwealth, or that one man should do all, the government does always lie upon the shoulders of many. And afterwards you say, "both forms of government, whether by many or a few, or by a single person, are equally according to the law of nature, viz. That it is impossible for any single person so to govern alone, as not to admit others into a share of the government with himself." Though I might have taken all this out of the third book of Aristotle's Politics, I chose rather to transcribe it out of your own book; for you stole it from him, as Prometheus did fire from Jupiter, to the ruin of monarchy, and overthrow of yourself, and your own opinion. For inquire as diligently as you can for your life into the law of nature, as you have described it, you will not find the least footstep in it of kingly power, as you explain it. "The law of nature," say you, "in ordering who should govern others, respected the universal good of all mankind." It did not then regard the private good of any particular person, not of a prince; so that the king is for the people, and consequently the people superiour to him: which being allowed, it is impossible that princes should have any right to oppress or enslave the people; that the inferiour should have right to tyrannize over the superiour. So that since kings cannot pretend to any right to do mischief, the right of the people must be acknowledged, according to the law of nature, to be superiour to that of princes; and therefore, by the same right, that before kingship was known, men united their strength and counsels for their mutual safety and defence; by the same right, that for the preservation of all men's liberty, peace, and safety, they appointed one or more to govern the rest; by the same right they may depose those very persons whom for their valour or wisdom they advanced to the government, or any others that rule disorderly, if they find them, by reason of their slothfulness, folly, or impiety, unfit for government: since nature does not regard the good of one, or of a few, but of all in general For what sort of persons were they whom you suppose to have been chosen? You say, "they were such as excelled in courage and conduct," to wit, such as by nature seemed fittest for government; who by reason of their excellent wisdom and valour, were enabled to undertake so great a charge. The consequence of this I take to be, that right of succession is not by the law of nature; that no man by the law of nature has right to be king, unless he excel all others in wisdom and courage; that all such as reign and want these qualifications, are advanced to the government by force or faction; have no right by the law of nature to be what they are, but ought rather to be slaves than princes. For nature appoints that wise men should govern fools, not that wicked men should rule over good men, fools over wise men: and consequently they that take the government out of such men's hands, act according to the law of nature. To what end nature directs wise men should bear the rule, you shall hear in your own words; viz. "That by force or by persuasion, they may keep such as are unruly within due bounds." But how should he keep others within the bounds of their duty, that neglects, or is ignorant of, or wilfully acts contrary to, his own? Allege now, if you can, any dictate of nature by which we are enjoined to neglect the wise institutions of the law of nature, and have no regard to them in civil and public concerns, when we see what great and admirable things nature herself

effects in things that are inanimate and void of sense, rather than lose her end. Produce any rule of nature, or natural justice, by which inferiour criminals ought to be punished, but kings and princes to go unpunished; and not only so, but though guilty of the greatest crimes imaginable, be had in reverence and almost adored. You agree, That "all forms of government, whether by many, or few, or by a single person, are equally agreeable to the law of nature." So that the person of a king is not by the law of nature more sacred than a senate of nobles, or magistrates, chosen from amongst the common people, who you grant may be punished, and ought to be if they offend; and consequently, kings ought to be so too, who are appointed to rule for the very same end and purpose that other magistrates are. "For," say you, "nature does not allow any single person to rule so entirely, as not to have partners in the government." It does not therefore allow of a monarch; it does not allow one single person to rule so, as that all others should be in a slavish subjection to his commands only. You that give princes such partners in the government, "as in whom," to use your own words, "the government always resides," do at the same time make others colleagues with them, and equal to them; nay, and consequently you settle a power in those colleagues of punishing and of deposing them. So that while you yourself go about, not to extol a kingly government, but to establish it by the law of nature, you destroy it; no greater misfortune could befall sovereign princes, than to have such an advocate as you are. Poor unhappy wretch! what blindness of mind has seized you, that you should unwittingly take so much pains to discover your knavery and folly, and make it visible to the world, (which before you concealed in some measure, and disguised,) that you should be so industrious to heap disgrace and ignominy upon yourself? What offence does Heaven punish you for, in making you appear in public, and undertake the defence of a desperate cause, with so much impudence and childishness, and instead of defending it, to betray it by your ignorance? What enemy of yours would desire to see you in a more forlorn, despicable condition than you are, who have no refuge left from the depth of misery, but in your own imprudence and want of sense, since by your unskilful and silly defence, you have rendered tyrants the more odious and detestable, by ascribing to them an unbounded liberty of doing mischief with impunity; and consequently have created them more enemies than they had before? But I return to your contradictions. When you had resolved with yourself to be so wicked, as to endeavour to find out a foundation for tyranny in the law of nature, you saw a necessity of extolling monarchy above other sorts of government; which you cannot go about to do, without doing as you use to do, that is, contradicting yourself. For having said but a little before, "That all forms of government, whether by more or fewer, or by a single person, are equally according to the law of nature," now you tell us, "that of all these sorts of government, that of a single person is most natural:" nay, though you had said in express terms but lately, "that the law of nature does not allow, that any government should reside entirely in one man." Now upbraid whom you will with the putting of tyrants to death; since you yourself, by your own folly, have cut the throats of all monarchs, nay even of monarchy itself. But it is not to the purpose for us here to dispute which form of government is best, by one single person, or by many. I confess many eminent and famous men have extolled monarchy; but it has always been upon this supposition, that the prince was a very excellent person, and one that of all others deserved best to reign; without which supposition, no form of government can be so prone to tyranny as monarchy is. And whereas you resemble a monarchy to the government of the world by one Divine Being, I pray answer me, whether you think that any other can deserve to be invested with a power here on earth, that shall resemble his power that governs the world, except such a person as does infinitely excel all other men, and both for wisdom and goodness in some measure resemble the Deity? and such a person, in my opinion, none can be but the Son of God himself.—And whereas you make a kingdom to be a kind of family, and make a comparison betwixt a prince and the master of a family; observe how lame the parallel is. For a master of a family begot part of his household, at least he feeds all those that are of his house, and upon that account deserves to have the government; but the reason holds not in the case of a prince; nay, it is quite contrary. In the next place, you propose to us for our imitation the example of inferiour creatures, especially of birds, and amongst them of bees, which according to your skill in natural philosophy, are a sort of birds too; "The bees have a king over them." The bees of Trent you mean; do not you remember? all other bees you yourself confess to be commonwealths. But leave off playing the fool with bees; they belong to the Muses, and hate, and (you see) confute, such a beetle as you are. "The quails are under a captain." Lay such snares for your own bitterns; you are not fowler good enough to catch us. Now you begin to be personally concerned. Gallus Gallinaceus, a cock, say you, "has both cocks and hens under him." How can that be, since you yourself that are Gallus, and but too much Gallinaceus, by report cannot govern your own single hen, but let her govern you? So that if a Gallinaceus be a king over many hens, you that are a slave to one, must own yourself not to be so good as a Gallinaceus, but some Stercorarius Gallus, some dunghill-cock or other. For matter of books, there is no body publishes huger dunghills than you, and you disturb all people with your shitten cock-crow; that is the only property in which you resemble a true cock. I will throw you a great many barley-corns, if in ransacking this dung-hill book of yours, you can shew me but one jewel. But why should I promise you barley, that never pecked at corn, as that honest plain cock that we read of in Æsop, but at gold, as that roguey cock in Plautus, though with a different event; for you found a hundred Jacobusses, and he was struck dead with Euclio's club, which you deserve more than

he did. But let us go on: "That same natural reason that designs the good and safety of all mankind, requires, that whoever be once promoted to the sovereignty, be preserved in the possession of it." Whoever questioned this, as long as his preservation is consistent with the safety of all the rest? But is it not obvious to all men, that nothing can be more contrary to natural reason, than that any one man should be preserved and defended, to the utter ruin and destruction of all others? But yet (you say) "it is better to keep and defend a bad prince, nay one of the worst that ever was, than to change him for another; because his ill government cannot do the commonwealth so much harm as the disturbances will occasion, which must of necessity be raised before the people can get rid of him." But what is this to the right of kings by the law of nature? If nature teaches me rather to suffer myself to be robbed by highwaymen, or if I should be taken captive by such, to purchase my liberty with all my estate, than to fight with them for my life, can you infer from thence, that they have a natural right to rob and spoil me? Nature teaches men to give way sometimes to the violence and outrages of tyrants, the necessity of affairs sometimes enforces a toleration with their enormities; what foundation can you find in this forced patience of a nation, in this compulsory submission, to build a right upon, for princes to tyrannize by the law of nature? That right which nature has given the people for their own preservation, can you affirm that she has invested tyrants with for the people's ruin and destruction? Nature teaches us, of two evils to choose the least; and to bear with oppression, as long as there is a necessity of so doing; and will you infer from hence, that tyrants have some right by the law of nature to oppress their subjects, and go unpunished, because, as circumstances may fall out, it may sometimes be a less mischief to bear with them than to remove them? Remember what yourself once wrote concerning bishops against a jesuit; you were then of another opinion than you are now: I have quoted your words formerly; you there affirm "that seditious civil dissensions and discords of the nobles and common people against and amongst one another are much more tolerable, and less mischievous, than certain misery and destruction under the government of a single person, that plays the tyrant." And you said very true. For you had not then run mad; you had not then been bribed with Charles his Jacobusses. You had not got the Kings'-evil. I should tell you perhaps, if I did not know you, that you might be ashamed thus to prevaricate. But you can sooner burst than blush, who have cast off all shame for a little profit. Did you not remember, that the commonwealth of the people of Rome flourished and became glorious when they had banished their kings? Could you possibly forget that of the Low Countries? which, after it had shook off the yoke of the king of Spain, after long and tedious wars, but crowned with success, obtained its liberty, and feeds such a pitiful grammarian as yourself with a pension: but not with a design that their youth might be so infatuated by your sophistry, as to choose rather to return to their former slavery, than to inherit the glorious liberty which their ancestors purchased for them. May those pernicious principles of yours be banished with yourself into the most remote and barbarous corners of the world. And last of all, the commonwealth of England might have afforded you an example, in which Charles, who had been their king, after he had been taken captive in war, and was found incurable, was put to death. But "they have defaced and impoverished the island with civil broils and discords, which under its kings was happy, and swam in luxury." Yea, when it was almost buried in luxury and voluptuousness, and the more inured thereto, that it might be enthralled the more easily; when its laws were abolished, and its religion agreed to be sold, they delivered it from slavery. You are like him that published Simplicius and Epictetus in the same volume; a very grave stoic, "who call an island happy, because it swims in luxury." I am sure no such doctrine ever came out of Zeno's school. But why should not you, who would give kings a power of doing what they list, have liberty yourself to broach what new philosophy you please? Now begin again to act your part. "There never was in any king's reign so much blood spilt, so many families ruined." All this is to be imputed to Charles, not to us, who first raised an army of Irishmen against us; who by his own warrant authorized the Irish nation to conspire against the English; who by their means slew two hundred thousand of his English subjects in the province of Ulster, besides what numbers were slain in other parts of that kingdom; who solicited two armies towards the destruction of the parliament of England, and the city of London; and did many other actions of hostility before the parliament and people had listed one soldier for the preservation and defence of the government. What principles, what law, what religion ever taught men rather to consult their ease, to save their money, their blood, nay their lives themselves, than to oppose an enemy with force? for I make no difference between a foreign enemy and another, since both are equally dangerous and destructive to the good of the whole nation. The people of Israel saw very well, that they could not possibly punish the Benjamites for murdering the Levite's wife, without the loss of many men's lives: and did that induce them to sit still? Was that accounted a sufficient argument why they should abstain from war, from a very bloody civil war? Did they therefore suffer the death of one poor woman to be unrevenged? Certainly if nature teaches us rather to endure the government of a king, though he be never so bad, than to endanger the lives of a great many men in the recovery of our liberty; it must teach us likewise not only to endure a kingly government, which is the only one that you argue ought to be submitted to, but even an aristocracy and a democracy: nay, and sometimes it will persuade us, to submit to a multitude of highwaymen, and to slaves that mutiny. Fulvius and Rupilius, if your principles had been received in their days, must not have engaged in the servile war (as their writers call it) after the Prætorian armies were slain: Crassus must not

have marched against Spartacus, after the rebels had destroyed one Roman army, and spoiled their tents: nor must Pompey have undertaken the Piratic war. But the state of Rome must have pursued the dictates of nature, and must have submitted to their own slaves, or to the pirates, rather than run the hazard of losing some men's lives. You do not prove at all, that nature has imprinted any such notion as this of yours on the minds of men: and yet you cannot forbear boding us ill luck, and denouncing the wrath of God against us, (which may Heaven divert, and inflict it upon yourself, and all such prognosticators as you,) who have punished, as he deserved, one that had the name of our king, but was in fact our implacable enemy; and we have made atonement for the death of so many of our countrymen, as our civil wars have occasioned, by shedding his blood, that was the author and cause of them. Then you tell us, that a kingly government appears to be more according to the laws of nature, because more nations, both in our days, and of old, have submitted to that form of government than ever did to any other." I answer, if that be so, it was neither the effect of any dictate of the law of nature, nor was it in obedience to any command from God. God would not suffer his own people to be under a king; he consented at last, but unwillingly; what nature and right reason dictates, we are not to gather from the practice of most nations, but of the wisest and most prudent. The Grecians, the Romans, the Italians, and Carthaginians, with many other, have of their own accord, out of choice, preferred a commonwealth to a kingly government; and these nations that I have named, are better instances than all the rest. Hence Sulpitius Severus says, "That the very name of a king was always very odious among a free-born people." But these things concern not our present purpose, nor many other impertinences that follow over and over again. I will make haste to prove that by examples, which I have proved already by reason; viz. that it is very agreeable to the law of nature, that tyrants should be punished; and that all nations, by the instinct of nature, have punished them; which will expose your impudence, and make it evident, that you take a liberty to publish palpable downright lies. You begin with the Egyptians; and indeed, who does not see, that you play the gipsy yourself throughout? "Amongst them," say you, "there is no mention extant of any king, that was ever slain by the people in a popular insurrection, no war made upon any of their kings by their subjects, no attempt made to depose any of them." What think you then of Osiris, who perhaps was the first king that the Egyptians ever had? Was not he slain by his brother Typhon, and five and twenty other conspirators? And did not a great part of the body of the people side with them, and fight a battle with Isis and Orus, the late king's wife and son? I pass by Sesostris, whom his brother had well nigh put to death, and Chemmis and Cephrenes, against whom the people were deservedly enraged; and because they could not do it while they were alive, they threatened to tear them in pieces after they were dead. Do you think that a people that durst lay violent hands upon good kings, had any restraint upon them, either by the light of nature or religion, from putting bad ones to death? Could they that threatened to pull the dead bodies of their princes out of their graves, when they ceased to do mischief, (though by the custom of their own country the corpse of the meanest person was sacred and inviolable,) abstain from inflicting punishment upon them in their lifetime, when they were acting all their villanies, if they had been able, and that upon some maxim of the law of nature? I know you would not stick to answer me in the affirmative, how absurd soever it be; but that you may not offer at it, I will pull out your tongue. Know then, that some ages before Cephrenes's time, one Ammosis was king of Egypt, and was as great a tyrant, as who has been the greatest; him the people bore with. This you are glad to hear; this is what you would be at. But hear what follows, my honest Telltruth. I shall speak out of Diodorus, "They bore with him for some while, because he was too strong for them." But when Actisanes king of Ethiopia made war upon him, they took that opportunity to revolt, so that being deserted, he was easily subdued, and Egypt became an accession to the kingdom of Ethiopia. You see the Egyptians, so soon as they could, took up arms against a tyrant; they joined forces with a foreign prince, to depose their own king, and disinherit his posterity; they chose to live under a moderate and good prince, as Actisanes was, though a foreigner, rather than under a tyrant of their own. The same people with a very unanimous consent took up arms against Apries, another tyrant, who relied upon foreign aids that he had hired to assist him. Under the conduct of Amasis their general they conquered, and afterwards strangled him, and placed Amasis in the throne. And observe this circumstance in the history; Amasis kept the captive king a good while in the palace, and treated him well: at last, when the people complained that he nourished his own and their enemy; he delivered him into their hands, who put him to death in the manner I have mentioned. These things are related by Herodotus and Diodorus. Where are you now? do you think that any tyrant would not choose a hatchet rather than a halter? "Afterwards," say you, "when the Egyptians were brought into subjection by the Persians, they continued faithful to them;" which is most false; they never were faithful to them: for in the fourth year after Cambyses had subdued them, they rebelled. Afterwards, when Xerxes had tamed them, within a short time they revolted from his son Artaxerxes, and set up one Inarus to be their king. After his death they rebelled again, and created one Tachus king, and made war upon Artaxerxes Mnemon. Neither were they better subjects to their own princes, for they deposed Tachus, and conferred the government upon his son Nectanebus, till at last Artaxerxes Ochus brought them the second time under subjection to the Persian empire. When they were under the Macedonian empire, they declared by their actions, that tyrants ought to be under some restraint: they threw down the statues and images of

Ptolemæus Physco, and would have killed him, but that the mercenary army, that he commanded, was too strong for them. His son Alexander was forced to leave his country by the mere violence of the people, who were incensed against him for killing his mother: and the people of Alexandria dragged his son Alexander out of the palace, whose insolent behaviour gave just offence, and killed him in the theatre: and the same people deposed Ptolemæus Auletes for his many crimes. Now since it is impossible, that any learned man should be ignorant of these things that are so generally known; and since it is an inexcusable fault in Salmasius to be ignorant of them, whose profession it is to teach them others, and whose very asserting things of this nature ought to carry in itself an argument of credibility; it is certainly a very scandalous thing (I say) either that so ignorant, illiterate a blockhead, should, to the scandal of all learning, profess himself, and be accounted a learned man, and obtain salaries from princes and states; or that so impudent and notorious a liar should not be branded with some particular mark of infamy, and for ever banished from the society of learned and honest men. Having searched among the Egyptians for examples, let us now consider the Ethiopians their neighbours. They adore their kings, whom they suppose God to have appointed over them, even as if they were a sort of gods: and yet whenever the priests condemn any of them, they kill themselves: and on that manner, says Diodorus, they punish all their criminals; they put them not to death, but send a minister of justice to command them to destroy their own persons. In the next place, you mention the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, who of all others were most observant of their princes: and you affirm, contrary to all historians that have wrote any thing concerning those nations, that "the regal power there had an unbounded liberty annexed to it, of doing what the king listed." In the first place, the prophet Daniel tells us, how the Babylonians expelled Nebuchadnezzar out of human society, and made him graze with the beasts, when his pride grew to be insufferable. The laws of those countries were not entitled the laws of their kings, but the laws of the Medes and Persians; which laws were irrevocable, and the kings themselves were bound by them: insomuch that Darius the Mede, though he earnestly desired to have delivered Daniel from the hands of the princes, yet could not effect it. "Those nations," say you, "thought it no sufficient pretence to reject a prince, because he abused the right that was inherent in him as he was sovereign." But in the very writing of these words you are so stupid, as that with the same breath that you commend the obedience and submissiveness of those nations, of your own accord you make mention of Sardanapalus's being deprived of his crown by Arbaces. Neither was it he alone that accomplished that enterprize; for he had the assistance of the priests (who of all others were best versed in the law) and of the people; and it was wholly upon this account that he deposed him, because he abused his authority and power, not by giving himself over to cruelty, but to luxury and effeminacy. Run over the histories of Herodotus Ctesias, Diodorus, and you will find things quite contrary to what you assert here; you will find that those kingdoms were destroyed for the most part by subjects, and not by foreigners; that the Assyrians were brought down by the Medes, who then were their subjects, and the Medes by the Persians, who at that time were likewise subject to them. You yourself confess, that "Cyrus rebelled, and that at the same time in divers parts of the empire little upstart governments were formed by those that shook off the Medes." But does this agree with what you said before? Does this prove the obedience of the Medes and Persians to their princes, and that Jus Regium which you had asserted to have been universally received amongst those nations? What potion can cure this brainsick frenzy of yours? You say, "it appears by Herodotus how absolute the Persian kings were." Cambyses being desirous to marry his sisters, consulted with the judges, who were the interpreters of the laws, to whose decision all difficult matters were to be referred. What answer had he from them? They told him, they knew no law which permitted a brother to marry his sister; but another law they knew, that the kings of Persia might do what they listed. Now to this I answer, if the kings of Persia were really so absolute, what need was there of any other to interpret the laws, besides the king himself? Those superfluous unnecessary judges would have had their abode and residence in any other place rather than in the palace, where they were altogether useless. Again, if those kings might do whatever they would, it is not credible, that so ambitious a prince as Cambyses, should be so ignorant of that grand prerogative, as to consult with the judges, whether what he desired were according to law. What was the matter then? either they designed to humour the king, as you say they did, or they were afraid to cross his inclination, which is the account that Herodotus gives of it; and so told him of such a law, as they knew would please him, and in plain terms made a fool of him, which is no new thing with judges and lawyers now-a-days. "But," say you, "Artabanus a Persian told Themistocles, that there was no better law in Persia, than that by which it was enacted, that kings were to be honoured and adored." An excellent law that was without doubt, which commanded subjects to adore their princes! but the primitive fathers have long ago damned it; and Artabanus was a proper person to recommend such a law, who was the very man that a little while after slew Xerxes with his own hand. You quote regicides to assert royalty. I am afraid you have some design upon kings. In the next place, you quote the poet Claudian, to prove how obedient the Persians were. But I appeal to their histories and annals, which are full of the revolts of the Persians, the Medes, the Bactrians, and Babylonians, and give us frequent instances of the murders of their princes. The next person whose authority you cite, is Otanes the Persian, who likewise killed Smerdis then king of Persia, to whom, out of the hatred which he bore to a kingly government, he

reckons up the impieties and injurious actions of kings, their violation of all laws, their putting men to death without any legal conviction, their rapes and adulteries; and all this you will have called the right of kings, and slander Samuel again as a teacher of such doctrines. You quote Homer, who says that kings derive their authority from Jupiter; to which I have already given an answer. For King Philip of Macedon, whose asserting the right of kings you make use of; I will believe that Charles his description of it, as soon as his. Then you quote some sentences out of a fragment of Diogenes a Pythagorean; but you do not tell us what sort of a king he speaks of. Observe therefore how he begins that discourse; for whatever follows must be understood to have relation to it. "Let him be king," says he, "that of all others is most just, and so he is that acts most according to law; for no man can be king that is not just; and without laws there can be no justice." This is directly opposite to that regal right of yours. And Ecphantas, whom you likewise quote, is of the same opinion: "Whosoever takes upon him to be a king, ought to be naturally most pure and clear from all imputation." And a little after, "Him," says he, "we call a king, that governs well, and he only is properly so." So that such a king as you speak of, according to the philosophy of the Pythagoreans, is no king at all. Hear now what Plato says in his Eighth Epistle: "Let kings," says he, "be liable to be called to account for what they do: Let the laws control not only the people but kings themselves, if they do any thing not warranted by law." I will mention what Aristotle says in the Third Book of his Politics; "It is neither for the public good, nor is it just," says he, "seeing all men are by nature alike and equal, that any one should be lord and master over all the rest, where there are no laws; nor is it for the public good, or just, that one man should be a law to the rest, where there are laws; nor that any one, though a good man, should be lord over other good men, nor a bad man, over bad men." And in the Fifth Book, says he, "That king whom the people refuse to be governed by, is no longer a king, but a tyrant." Hear what Xenophon says in Hiero: "People are so far from revenging the deaths of tyrants, that they confer great honour upon him that kills one, and erect statues in their temples to the honour of tyrannicides." Of this I can produce an eye-witness, Marcus Tullius, in his oration pro Milone; "The Grecians," says he, "ascribe divine worship to such as kill tyrants: what things of this nature have I myself seen at Athens, and in the other cities of Greece! how many religious observances have been instituted in honour of such men! how many hymns! They are consecrated to immortality and adoration, and their memory endeavoured to be perpetuated." And lastly, Polybius, an historian of great authority and gravity, in the Sixth Book of his History, says thus: "When princes began to indulge their own lusts and sensual appetites, then kingdoms were turned into so many tyrannies, and the subjects began to conspire the death of their governors; neither was it the profligate sort that were the authors of those designs, but the most generous and magnanimous." I could quote many such like passages, but I shall instance in no more. From the philosophers you appeal to the poets; and I am very willing to follow you thither. Æschylus is enough to inform us, that the power of the kings of Greece was such, as not to be liable to the censure of any laws, or to be questioned before any human judicature; for he in that tragedy that is called, The Suppliants, calls the king of the Argives, "a governor not obnoxious to the judgment of any tribunal." But you must know, (for the more you say, the more you discover your rashness and want of judgment,) you must know, I say, that one is not to regard what the poet says, but what person in the play speaks, and what that person says; for different persons are introduced, sometimes good, sometimes bad; sometimes wise men, sometimes fools; and such words are put into their mouths, as it is most proper for them to speak; not such as the poet would speak, if he were to speak in his own person. The fifty daughters of Danaus, being banished out of Egypt, became suppliants to the king of the Argives; they begged of him, that he would protect them from the Egyptians, who pursued them with a fleet of ships. The king told them he could not undertake their protection, till he had imparted the matter to the people; "For," says he, "if I should make a promise to you, I should not be able to perform it, unless I consult with them first." The women being strangers and suppliants, and fearing the uncertain suffrages of the people, tell him, "That the power of all the people resides in him alone; that he judges all others, but is not judged himself by any." He answers: "I have told you already, That I cannot do this thing that you desire of me, without the people's consent; nay, and though I could, I would not." At last he refers the matter to the people; "I will assemble the people," says he, "and persuade them to protect you." The people met, and resolved to engage in their quarrel; insomuch that Danaus their father bids his daughters "be of good cheer, for the people of the country, in a popular convention, had voted their safeguard and defence." If I had not related the whole thing, how rashly would this impertinent Ignoramus have determined concerning the right of kings among the Grecians, out of the mouths of a few women that were strangers and suppliants, though the king himself, and the history, be quite contrary! The same thing appears by the story of Orestes in Euripides, who after his father's death was himself king of the Argives, and yet was called in question by the people for the death of his mother, and made to plead for his life, and by the major suffrage was condemned to die. The same poet, in his play called "The Suppliants," declares, That at Athens the kingly power was subject to the laws; where Theseus then king of that city is made to say these words: "This is a free city, it is not governed by one man; the people reigns here." And his son Demophoon, who was king after him, in another tragedy of the same poet, called Heraclidæ; "I do not exercise a tyrannical power over them, as if they were Barbarians:

I am upon other terms with them; but if I do them justice, they will do me the like." Sophocles in his Œdipus shews, That anciently in Thebes the kings were not absolute neither: hence says Tiresias to Œdipus, "I am not your slave." And Creon to the same king, "I have some right in this city," says he, "as well as you." And in another tragedy of the same poet, called Antigone, Æmon tells the king, "That the city of Thebes is not governed by a single person." All men know, that the kings of Lacedæmon have been arraigned, and sometimes put to death judicially. These instances are sufficient to evince what power the kings in Greece had. Let us consider now the Romans: You betake yourself to that passage of C. Memmius in Sallust, of kings having a liberty to do what they list, and go unpunished; to which I have given an answer already. Sallust himself says in express words, "That the ancient government of Rome was by their laws, though the name and form of it was regal: which form of government, when it grew into a tyranny, you know they put down and changed." Cicero, in his oration against Piso, "Shall I," says he, "account him a consul, who would not allow the senate to have any authority in the commonwealth? Shall I take notice of any man as consul, if at the same time there be no such thing as a senate; when of old the city of Rome acknowledged not their kings, if they acted without or in opposition to the senate?" Do you hear; the very kings themselves at Rome signified nothing without the senate. "But," say you, "Romulus governed as he listed;" and for that you quote Tacitus. No wonder: the government was not then established by law; they were a confused multitude of strangers, more likely than a regulated state; and all mankind lived without laws, before governments were settled. But when Romulus was dead, though all the people were desirous of a king, not having yet experienced the sweetness of liberty, yet, as Livy informs us, "The sovereign power resided in the people; so that they parted not with more right than they retained." The same author tells us, "That the same power was afterwards extorted from them by their emperors." Servius Tullius at first reigned by fraud, and as it were a deputy to Tarquinius Priscus; but afterward he referred it to the people, Whether they would have him reign or no? At last, says Tacitus, he became the author of such laws as the kings were obliged to obey. Do you think he would have done such an injury to himself and his posterity, if he had been of opinion, that the right of kings had been above all laws? Their last king, Tarquinius Superbus, was the first that put an end to that custom of consulting the senate concerning all public affairs: for which very thing, and other enormities of his, the people deposed him, and banished him and his family. These things I have out of Livy and Cicero, than whom you will hardly produce any better expositors of the right of kings among the Romans. As for the dictatorship, that was but temporary, and was never made use of, but in great extremities, and was not to continue longer than six months. But that which you call the right of the Roman emperors, was no right, but a plain downright force; and was gained by war only. "But Tacitus," say you, "that lived under the government of a single person, writes thus; the gods have committed the sovereign power in human affairs to princes only, and have left to subjects the honour of being obedient." But you tell us not where Tacitus has these words, for you were conscious to yourself, that you imposed upon your readers in quoting them; which I presently smelt out, though I could not find the place of a sudden: for that expression is not Tacitus's own, who is an approved writer, and of all others the greatest enemy to tyrants; but Tacitus relates that of M. Terentius, a gentleman of Rome, being accused for a capital crime, amongst other things that he said to save his life, flattered Tiberius on this manner. It is in the Sixth Book of his Annals "The gods have entrusted you with the ultimate judgment in all things; they have left us the honour of obedience." And you cite this passage as if Tacitus had said it himself; you scrape together whatever seems to make for your opinion, either out of ostentation, or out of weakness; you would leave out nothing that you could find in a baker's or a barber's shop; nay, you would be glad of any thing that looked like an argument, from the very hangman. If you had read Tacitus himself, and not transcribed some loose quotations out of him by other authors, he would have taught you whence that imperial right had its original. "After the conquest of Asia," says he, "the whole state of our affairs was turned upside down; nothing of the ancient integrity of our forefathers was left amongst us; all men shook off that former equality which had been observed, and began to have reverence for the mandates of princes." This you might have learned out of the Third Book of his Annals, whence you have all your regal right. "When that ancient equality was laid aside, and instead thereof ambition and violence took place, tyrannical forms of government started up, and fixed themselves in many countries." The same thing you might have learned out of Dio, if your natural levity and unsettledness of judgment would have suffered you to apprehend any thing that is solid. He tells us in the Fifty-third Book of his History, out of which book you have made some quotation already, That Octavius Cæsar, partly by force, and partly by fraud, brought things to that pass, that the emperors of Rome became no longer fettered by laws. For he, though he promised to the people in public that he would lay down the government, and obey the laws, and become subject to others; yet under pretence of making war in several provinces of the empire, still retained the legions, and so by degrees invaded the government, which he pretended he would refuse. This was not regularly getting from under the law, but breaking forcibly through all laws, as Spartacus the gladiator might have done, and then assuming to himself the style of prince or emperor, as if God or the law of nature had put all men and all laws into subjection under him. Would you inquire a little further into the original of the right of the Roman emperors? Marcus Antonius, whom Cæsar (when by taking up arms against the

commonwealth he had got all the power into his hands) had made consul, when a solemnity called the Lupercalia was celebrated at Rome, as had been contrived beforehand, that he should set a crown upon Cæsar's head, though the people sighed and lamented at the sight, caused it to be entered upon record, that Marcus Antonius, at the Lupercalia, made Cæsar king at the instance of the people. Of which action Cicero in his second Philippic says, "was Lucius Tarquinius therefore expelled, Spurius Cassius, Sp. Melius, and Marcus Manilius put to death, that after many ages Marcus Antonius should make a king in Rome, contrary to law?" But you deserve to be tortured, and loaded with everlasting disgrace, much more than Mark Antony; though I would not have you proud because he and yourself are put together; for I do not think so despicable a wretch as you fit to be compared with him in any thing but his impiety; you that in those horrible Lupercalia of yours set not a crown upon one tyrant's head, but upon all, and such a crown as you would have limited by no laws, nor liable to any. Indeed if we must believe the oracles of the emperors themselves, (for so some christian emperors, as Theodosius and Valens, have called their edicts, Cod. lib. 1. tit. 14.) the authority of the emperors depends upon that of the law. So that the majesty of the person that reigns, even by the judgment, or call it the oracle, of the emperors themselves, must submit to the laws, on whose authority it depends. Hence Pliny tells Trajan in his Panegyric, when the power of the emperors was grown to its height, "A principality and an absolute sovereignty are quite different things. Trajan puts down whatever looks like a kingdom; he rules like a prince, that there may be no room for a magisterial power." And afterwards, "whatever I have said of other princes, I said that I might shew how our prince reforms and corrects the manners of princes, which by long custom have been corrupted and depraved." Are you not ashamed to call that the right of kings, that Pliny calls the corrupt and depraved customs of princes? But let this suffice to have been said in short of the right of kings, as it was taken at Rome. How they dealt with their tyrants, whether kings or emperors, is generally known. They expelled Tarquin. "But," say you, "how did they expel him? Did they proceed against him judicially? No such matter: when he would have come into the city, they shut the gates against him." Ridiculous fool; what could they do but shut the gates, when he was hastening to them with part of the army? And what great difference will there be, whether they banished him or put him to death, so they punished him one way or other? The best men of that age killed Cæsar the tyrant in the very senate. Which action of theirs, Marcus Tullius, who was himself a very excellent man, and publicly called the father of his country, both elsewhere, and particularly in his second Philippic, extols wonderfully. I will repeat some of his words: "All good men killed Cæsar as far as in them lay. Some men could not advise in it, others wanted courage to act in it, others an opportunity, all had a good will to it." And afterwards, "what greater and more glorious action (ye holy gods!) ever was performed, not in this city only, but in any other country? what action more worthy to be recommended to everlasting memory? I am not unwilling to be included within the number of those that advised it, as within the Trojan horse." The passage of Seneca may relate both to the Romans and the Grecians: "there cannot be a greater nor more acceptable sacrifice offered up to Jupiter, than a wicked prince." For if you consider Hercules, whose words these are, they shew what the opinion was of the principal men amongst the Grecians in that age. If the poet, who flourished under Nero, (and the most worthy persons in plays generally express the poet's own sense,) then this passage shews us what Seneca himself, and all good men, even in Nero's time, thought was fit to be done to a tyrant; and how virtuous an action, how acceptable to God, they thought it to kill one. So every good man of Rome, as far as in him lay, killed Domitian. Pliny the second owns it openly in his Panegyric to Trajan the emperor, "we took pleasure in dashing those proud looks against the ground, in piercing him with our swords, in mangling him with axes, as if he had bled and felt pain at every stroke: no man could so command his passion of joy, but that he counted it a piece of revenge to behold his mangled limbs, his members torn asunder, and after all, his stern and horrid statues thrown down and burnt." And afterwards, "they cannot love good princes enough, that cannot hate bad ones as they deserve." Then amongst other enormities of Domitian, he reckons this for one, that he put to death Epaphroditus, that had killed Nero: "Had we forgotten the avenging Nero's death? Was it likely that he would suffer his life and actions to be ill spoken of, whose death he revenged?" He seems to have thought it almost a crime not to kill Nero, that counts it so great a one to punish him that did it. By what has been said, it is evident, that the best of the Romans did not only kill tyrants, as oft as they could, and howsoever they could; but that they thought it a commendable and a praiseworthy action so to do, as the Grecians had done before them. For when they could not proceed judicially against a tyrant in his lifetime, being inferiour to him in strength and power, yet after his death they did it, and condemned him by the Valerian law. For Valerius Publicola, Junius Brutus his colleague, when he saw that tyrants, being guarded with soldiers, could not be brought to a legal trial, he devised a law to make it lawful to kill them any way, though uncondemned; and that they that did it, should afterwards give an account of their so doing. Hence, when Cassius had actually run Caligula through with a sword, though every body else had done it in their hearts, Valerius Asiaticus, one that had been consul, being present at that time, cried out to the soldiers, that began to mutiny because of his death, "I wish I myself had killed him." And the senate at the same time was so far from being displeased with Cassius for what he had done, that they resolved to extirpate the

memory of the emperors, and to raze the temples that had been erected in honour of them. When Claudius was presently saluted emperor by the soldiers, they forbad him by the tribune of the people to take the government upon him; but the power of the soldiers prevailed. The senate declared Nero an enemy, and made inquiry after him, to have punished him according to the law of their ancestors; which required, that he should be stripped naked, and hung by the neck upon a forked stake, and whipped to death. Consider now, how much more mildly and moderately the English dealt with their tyrant, though many are of opinion, that he caused the spilling of more blood than ever Nero himself did. So the senate condemned Domitian after his death; they commanded his statues to be pulled down and dashed in pieces, which was all they could do. When Commodus was slain by his own officers, neither the senate nor the people punished the fact, but declared him an enemy, and inquired for his dead corpse, to have made it an example. An act of the senate made upon that occasion is extant in Lampridius: "Let the enemy of his country be deprived of all his titles; let the parricide be drawn, let him be torn in pieces in the Spoliary, let the enemy of the gods, the executioner of the senate, be dragged with a hook," &c. The same persons in a very full senate condemned Didus Julianus to death, and sent a tribune to slay him in the palace. The same senate deposed Maximinus, and declared him an enemy. Let us hear the words of the decree of the senate concerning him, as Capitolinus relates it: "The consul put the question, 'Conscript fathers, what is your pleasure concerning the Maximines?' They answered, 'They are enemies, they are enemies, whoever kills them shall be rewarded.'" Would you know now, whether the people of Rome, and the provinces of the empire, obeyed the senate, or Maximine the emperor? Hear what the same author says, the senate wrote letters into all the provinces, requiring them to take care of their common safety and liberty; the letters were publicly read. And the friends, the deputies, the generals, the tribunes, the soldiers of Maximine, were slain in all places; very few cities were found, that kept their faith with the public enemy. Herodian relates the same thing. But what need we give any more instances out of the Roman histories? Let us now see what manner of thing the right of kings was in those days, in the nations that bordered upon the empire. Ambiorix, a king of the Gauls, confesses "the nature of his dominion to be such, that the people have as great power over him, as he over them." And consequently, as well as he judged them, he might be judged by them. Vercingetorix, another king in Gaul, was accused of treason by his own people. These things Cæsar relates in his history of the Gallic wars. "Neither is the regal power among the Germans absolute and uncontrollable; lesser matters are ordered and disposed by the princes; greater affairs by all the people. The king or prince is more considerable by the authority of his persuasions, than by any power that he has of commanding. If his opinion be not approved of, they declare their dislike of it by a general murmuring noise." This is out of Tacitus. Nay, and you yourself now confess, that what but of late you exclaimed against as an unheard-of thing, has been often done, to wit, that "no less than fifty Scottish kings have been either banished, or imprisoned, or put to death, nay, and some of them publicly executed." Which having come to pass in our very island; why do you, as if it were your office to conceal the violent deaths of tyrants, by burying them in the dark, exclaim against it as an abominable and unheard of thing? You proceed to commend the Jews and Christians for their religious obedience even to tyrants, and to heap one lie upon another; in all which I have already confuted you. Lately you made large encomiums on the obedience of the Assyrians and Persians, and now you reckon up their rebellions; and though but of late you said they never had rebelled at all, now you give us a great many reasons why they rebelled so often. Then you resume the narrative of the manner of our king's death, which you had broken off so long since; that if you had not taken care sufficiently to appear ridiculous and a fool then, you may do it now. You said, "he was led through the members of his own court." What you mean by the members of the court, I would gladly know. You enumerate the calamities that the Romans underwent by changing their kingdom into a commonwealth. In which I have already shewn how grossly you give yourself the lie. What was it you said, when you wrote against the Jesuit? You demonstrated, that "in an aristocracy, or a popular state, there could but be seditions and tumults, whereas under a tyrant nothing was to be looked for, but certain ruin and destruction;" and dare you now say, you vain corrupt mortal, that "those seditions were punishments inflicted upon them for banishing their kings?" Forsooth, because King Charles gave you a hundred Jacobusses, therefore the Romans shall be punished for banishing their kings. But "they that killed Julius Cæsar, did not prosper afterwards." I confess, if I would have had any tyrant spared, it should have been him. For although he introduced a monarchical government into a free state by force of arms, yet perhaps himself deserved a kingdom best; and yet I conceive that none of those that killed him can be said to have been punished for so doing, any more than Caius Antonius, Cicero's colleague, for destroying Catiline, who when he was afterward condemned for other crimes, says Cicero in his oration pro Flacco, "Catiline's sepulchre was adorned with flowers." For they that favoured Catiline, they rejoiced; they gave out then, that what Catiline did was just, to increase the people's hatred against those that had cut him off. These are artifices, which wicked men make use off, to deter the best of men from punishing tyrants, and flagitious persons, I might as easily say the quite contrary, and instance in them that have killed tyrants, and prospered afterwards; if any certain inference might be drawn in such cases from the events of things. You object further, "that the English did not put their hereditary king to death in like manner, as tyrants used to be slain, but as robbers and traitors are exe-

cuted." In the first place I do not, nor can any wise man, understand what a crown's being hereditary should contribute to a king's crimes being unpunishable. What you ascribe to the barbarous cruelty of the English, proceeded rather from their clemency and moderation, and as such, deserves commendation; who, though the being a tyrant is a crime that comprehends all sorts of enormities, such as robberies, treasons, and rebellions against the whole nation, yet were contented to inflict no greater punishment upon him for being so, than they used of course to do upon any common highwayman, or ordinary traitor. You hope "some such men as Harmodius and Thrasibulus will rise up against us, and make expiation for the king's death, by shedding their blood that were the authors of it." But you will run mad with despair, and be detested by all good men, and put an end to that wretched life of yours, by hanging yourself, before you see men like Harmodius avenging the blood of a tyrant upon such as have done no other than what they did themselves. That you will come to such an end is most probable, nor can any other be expected of so great a rogue; but the other thing is an utter impossibility. You mention thirty tyrants that rebelled in Gallienus's time. And what if it fall out, that one tyrant happens to oppose another, must therefore all they that resist tyrants be accounted such themselves? You cannot persuade men into such a belief, you slave of a knight; nor your author Trebellius Pollio, the most inconsiderable of all historians that have writ. "If any of the emperors were declared enemies by the senate," you say, "it was done by faction, but could not have been by law." You put us in mind what it was that made emperors at first: it was faction and violence, and to speak plainer, it was the madness of Antony, that made generals at first rebel against the senate, and the people of Rome; there was no law, no right for their so doing. "Galba," you say, "was punished for his insurrection against Nero." Tell us likewise how Vespasian was punished for taking up arms against Vitellius. "There was as much difference, you say, "betwixt Charles and Nero, as betwixt those English butchers, and the Roman senators of that age." Despicable villain! by whom it is scandalous to be commended, and a praise to be evil spoken of: but a few periods before, discoursing of this very thing, you said, "that the Roman senate under the emperors was in effect but an assembly of slaves in robes:" and here you say, "that very senate was an assembly of kings;" which if it be allowed, then are kings, according to your own opinion, but slaves with robes on. Kings are blessed, that have such a fellow as you to write in their praise, than whom no man is more a rascal, no beast more void of sense, unless this one may be said to be peculiar to you, that none ever brayed so learnedly. You make the parliament of England more like to Nero, than to the Roman senate. This itch of yours of making similitudes enforces me to rectify you, whether I will or no: and I will let you see how like King Charles was to Nero; Nero, you say, "commanded his own mother to be run through with a sword." But Charles murdered both his prince, and his father, and that by poison. For to omit other evidences; he that would not suffer a duke that was accused for it, to come to his trial, must needs have been guilty of it himself. Nero slew many thousands of Christians; but Charles slew many more. There were those, says Suetonius, that praised Nero after he was dead, that longed to have had him again, "that hung garlands of flowers upon his sepulchre," and gave out that they would never prosper, that had been his enemies. And some there are transported with the like phrensy, that wish for King Charles again, and extol him to the highest degree imaginable, of whom you, a knight of the halter, are a ringleader. "The English soldiers, more savage than their own mastiffs, erected a new and unheard of court of justice." Observe this ingenious symbol, or adage of Salmasius, which he has now repeated six times over, "more savage than their own mastiffs." Take notice, orators and schoolmasters; pluck, if you are wise, this elegant flower, which Salmasius is so very fond of: commit this flourish of a man, that is so much a master of words, to your desks for safe custody, lest it be lost. Has your rage made you forget words to that degree, that like a cuckoo, you must needs say the same thing over and over again? What strange thing has befallen you? The poet tells us, that spleen and rage turned Hecuba into a dog; and it has turned you, the lord of St. Lupus, into a cuckoo. Now you come out with fresh contradictions. You had said before, page 113, that "princes were not bound by any laws, neither coercive, nor directory; that they were bound by no law at all." Now you say, that "you will discourse by and by of the difference betwixt some kings and others, in point of power; some having had more, some less." You say, "you will prove that kings cannot be judged, nor condemned by their own subjects, by a most solid argument;" but you do it by a very silly one, and it is this: You say, "There was no other difference than that betwixt the judges, and the kings of the Jews; and yet the reason why the Jews required to have kings over them, was because they were weary of their judges, and hated their government." Do you think, that, because they might judge and condemn their judges, if they misbehaved themselves in the government, they therefore hated and were weary of them, and would be under kings, whom they should have no power to restrain and keep within bounds, though they should break through all laws? Who but you ever argued so childishly? So that they desired a king for some other reason, than that they might have a master over them, whose power should be superiour to that of the law; which reason, what it was, it is not to our present purpose to make a conjecture. Whatever it was, both God and his prophets tell us, it was no piece of prudence in the people to desire a king. And now you fall foul upon your rabbins, and are very angry with them for saying, that a king might be judged and condemned to undergo stripes; out of whose writings you said before you had proved, that the kings of the Jews could not be judged. Wherein you confess, that you told a lie when you said you had proved any such

thing out of their writings. Nay, you come at last to forget the subject you were upon, of writing in the king's defence, and raise little impertinent controversies about Solomon's stables, and how many stalls he had for his horses. Then of a jockey you become a ballad-singer again, or rather, as I said before, a raving distracted cuckoo. You complain, that in these latter ages, discipline has been more remiss, and the rule less observed and kept up to; viz. because one tyrant is not permitted, without a check from the law, to let loose the reins of all discipline, and corrupt all men's manners. This doctrine, you say, the Brownists introduced amongst those of the reformed religion; so that Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer, and all the most celebrated orthodox divines, are Brownists in your opinion. The English have the less reason to take your reproaches ill, because they hear you belching out the same slanders against the most eminent doctors of the church, and in effect against the whole reformed church itself.

CHAP. VI.

After having discoursed upon the law of God and of nature, and handled both so untowardly, that you have got nothing by the bargain but a deserved reproach of ignorance and knavery; I cannot apprehend what you can have further to allege in defence of your royal cause, but mere trifles. I for my part hope I have given satisfaction already to all good and learned men, and done this noble cause right, should I break off here; yet lest I should seem to any to decline your variety of arguing and ingenuity, rather than your immoderate impertinence, and tittle-tattle, I will follow you wherever you have a mind to go; but with such brevity as shall make it appear, that after having performed whatever the necessary defence of the cause required, if not what the dignity of it merited, I now do but comply with some men's expectation, if not their curiosity. "Now," say you, "I shall allege other and greater arguments." What! greater arguments than what the law of God and nature afforded? Help, Lucina! the mountain Salmasius is in labour! It is not for nothing that he has got a she-husband. Mortals, expect some extraordinary birth. "If he that is, and is called a king, might be accused before any other power, that power must of necessity be greater than that of the king; and if so, then must that power be indeed the kingly power, and ought to have the name of it: for a kingly power is thus defined; to wit, the supreme power in the state residing in a single person, and which has no superiour." O ridiculous birth! a mouse crept out of the mountain! help grammarians! one of your number is in danger of perishing! the law of God and of nature are safe; but Salmasius's dictionary is undone. What if I should answer you thus? That words ought to give place to things; that we having taken away kingly government itself, do not think ourselves concerned about its name and definition; let others look to that, who are in love with kings: we are contented with the enjoyment of our liberty; such an answer would be good enough for you. But to let you see that I deal fairly with you throughout, I will answer you, not only from my own, but from the opinion of very wise and good men, who have thought, that the name and power of a king are very consistent with a power in the people and the law superiour to that of the king himself. In the first place, Lycurgus, a man very eminent for wisdom, designing, as Plato says, to secure a kingly government as well as it was possible, could find no better expedient to preserve it, than by making the power of the senate, and of the Ephori, that is, the power of the people, superiour to it. Theseus, in Euripides, king of Athens, was of the same opinion; for he to his great honour restored the people to their liberty, and advanced the power of the people above that of the king, and yet left the regal power in that city to his posterity. Whence Euripides in his play called the "Suppliants," introduces him speaking on this manner: "I have advanced the people themselves into the throne, having freed the city from slavery, and admitted the people to a share in the government, by giving them an equal right of suffrage." And in another place to the herald of Thebes, "in the first place," says he, "you begin your speech, friend, with a thing that is not true, in styling me a monarch: for this city is not governed by a single person, but is a free state; the people reigns here." These were his words, when at the same time he was both called and really was king there. The divine Plato likewise, in his eighth epistle, "Lycurgus," says he, "introduced the power of the senate and of the Ephori, a thing very preservative of kingly government, which by this means has honourably flourished for so many ages, because the law in effect was made king. Now the law cannot be king, unless there be some, who, if there should be occasion, may put the law in execution against the king. A kingly government so bounded and limited, he himself commends to the Sicilians: "Let the people enjoy their liberty under a kingly government; let the king himself be accountable; let the law take place even against kings themselves, if they act contrary to law." Aristotle likewise, in the third book of his Politics, "of all kingdoms," says he, "that are governed by laws, that of the Lacedemonians seems to be most truly and properly so." And he says, all forms of kingly governments are according to settled and established laws, but one, which he calls παμβασιλεία, or Absolute Monarchy, which he does not mention ever to have obtained in any nation. So that Aristotle thought such a kingdom, as that of the Lacedemonians was to be and deserve the name of a kingdom more properly than any other; and consequently that a king, though subordinate to his own people, was nevertheless actually a king, and properly so called. Now since so many and so great authors assert, that a kingly government both in name and thing may very well subsist even where the people, though they do not ordinarily exer-

one the supreme power, yet have it actually residing in them, and exercise it upon occasion; be not you of so mean a soul as to fear the downfall of grammar, and the confusion of the signification of words to that degree, as to betray the liberty of mankind, and the state, rather than your glossary should not hold water. And know for the future, that words must be conformable to things, not things to words. By this means you will have more wit, and not run on in infinitum, which now you are afraid of. "It was to no purpose then for Seneca," you say, "to describe those three forms of government, as he has done." Let Seneca do a thing to no purpose, so we enjoy our liberty. And if I mistake us not, we are other sort of men, than to be enslaved by Seneca's flowers. And yet Seneca, though he says, that the sovereign power in a kingly government resides in a single person, says withal, that "the power is the people's," and by them committed to the king for the welfare of the whole, not for their ruin and destruction; and that the people has not given him a propriety in it, but the use of it. "Kings at this rate," you say, "do not reign by God but by the people." As if God did not so overrule the people, that they set up such kings, as it pleases God. Since Justinian himself openly acknowledges, that the Roman emperors derived their authority from that "royal law, whereby the people granted to them and vested in them all their own power and authority." But how oft shall we repeat these things over and over again? Then you take upon you to intermeddle with the constitution of our government, in which you are no way concerned, who are both a stranger and a foreigner; but it shews your sauciness, and want of good manners. Come then, let us hear your solecisms, like a busy coxcomb as you are. You tell us, but it is in false Latin, "that what those desperadoes say, is only to deceive the people." You rascal! was it not for this that you, a renegado grammarian, were so forward to intermeddle with the affairs of our government, that you might introduce your solecisms and barbarisms amongst us? But say, how have we deceived the people? "The form of government which they have set up, is not popular, but military." This is what that herd of fugitives and vagabonds hired you to write. So that I shall not trouble myself to answer you, who bleat what you know nothing of, but I will answer them that hired you. "Who excluded the lords from parliament, was it the people?" Ay, it was the people; and in so doing they threw an intolerable yoke of slavery from off their necks. Those very soldiers, who you say did it, were not foreigners, but our own countrymen, and a great part of the people; and they did it with the consent, and at the desire, of almost all the rest of the people, and not without the authority of the parliament neither. "Was it the people that cut off part of the house of commons, forcing some away?" &c. Yes, I say it was the people. For whatever the better and sounder part of the senate did, in which the true power of the people resided, why may not the people be said to have done it? What if the greater part of the senate should choose to be slaves, or to expose the government to sale, ought not the lesser number to interpose, and endeavour to retain their liberty, if it be in their power? "But the officers of the army and their soldiers did it." And we are beholden to those officers for not being wanting to the state, but repelling the tumultuary violence of the citizens and mechanics of London, who, like that rabble that appeared for Clodius, had but a little before beset the very parliament house? Do you therefore call the right of the parliament, to whom it properly and originally belongs, to take care of the liberty of the people both in peace and war, a military power? But it is no wonder that those traitors that have dictated these passages to you, should talk at that rate; so that profligate faction of Antony and his adherents used to call the senate of Rome, when they armed themselves against the enemies of their country, The camp of Pompey. And now I am glad to understand, that they of your party envy Cromwell, that most valiant general of our army, for undertaking that expedition in Ireland, (so acceptable to Almighty God,) surrounded with a joyful crowd of his friends, and prosecuted with the well-wishes of the people, and the prayers of all good men: for I question not but at the news of his many victories there, they are by this time burst with spleen. I pass by many of your impertinencies concerning the Roman soldiers. What follows is most notoriously false: "The power of the people," say you, "ceases where there is a king." By what law of right is that? Since it is known that almost all kings, of what nations soever, received their authority from the people upon certain conditions; which if the king do not perform, I wish you would inform us, why that power, which was but a trust, should not return to the people, as well from a king, as from a consul, or any other magistrate. For when you tell us, that it is necessary for the public safety, you do but trifle with us; for the safety of the public is equally concerned, whether it be from a King, or from a Senate, or from a Triumvirate, that the power wherewith they were entrusted reverts to the people, upon their abuse of it; and yet you yourself grant, that it may so revert from all sorts of magistrates, a king only excepted. Certainly, if no people in their right wits ever committed the government either to a king, or other magistrates, for any other purpose than for the common good of them all, there can be no reason why, to prevent the utter ruin of them all, they may not as well take it back again from a king, as from other governors; nay, and it may with far greater ease be taken from one, than from many. And to invest any mortal creature with a power over themselves, on any other terms than upon trust, were extreme madness; nor is it credible that any people since the creation of the world, who had freedom of will, were ever so miserably silly, as either to part with the power for ever, and to all purposes, or to revoke it from those whom they had entrusted with it, but upon most urgent and weighty reasons. If dissensions, if civil wars, are occasioned thereby, there cannot any right accrue from thence to the king, to retain that power by force of arms, which the people challenge from him as their own. Whence

it follows, that what you say, and we do not deny, that "governors are not likely to be changed," is true with respect to the people's prudence, not the king's right; but that therefore they ought never to be changed, upon no occasion whatsoever, that does not follow by no means; nor have you hitherto alleged any thing, or made appear any right of kings to the contrary, but that all the people concurring, they may lawfully be deposed, when unfit for government; provided it may be done, as it has been often done in your own country of France, without any tumults or civil wars. Since therefore the safety of the people, and not that of a tyrant, is the supreme law; and consequently ought to be alleged on the people's behalf against a tyrant, and not for him against them: you that go about to pervert so sacred and so glorious a law, with your fallacies and jugglings; you who would have this supreme law, and which of all others is most beneficial to mankind, to serve only for the impunity of tyrants; let me tell you, (since you call us Englishmen so often inspired, and enthusiasts, and prophets,) let me, I say, be so far a prophet, as to tell you, that the vengeance of God and man hangs over your head for so horrid a crime; although your subjecting all mankind to tyranny, as far as in you lies, which in effect is no better than condemning them to be devoured by wild beasts, is in itself part of its own vengeance; and whithersoever you fly, and wheresoever you wander, will first or last pursue you with its furies, and overtake you, and cause you to rave worse than you do at present. I come now to your second argument, which is not unlike the first: If the people may resume their liberty, "there would be no difference," say you, "betwixt a popular state and a kingdom; but that in a kingdom one man rules, and in a popular state many." And what if that were true; would the state have any prejudice by it? But you yourself tell us of other differences that would be notwithstanding; to wit, of "Time and succession; for in popular states, the magistrates are generally chosen yearly;" whereas kings, if they behave themselves well, are perpetual; and in most kingdoms there is a succession in the same family. But let them differ from one another, or not differ, I regard not those petty things: in this they agree, that when the public good requires it, the people may, without doing injury to any, resume that power for the public safety, which they committed to another for that end and purpose. "But according to the royal law, by the Romans so called, which is mentioned in the institutes, the people of Rome granted all their power and authority to the prince." They did so by compulsion; the emperor being willing to ratify their tyranny by the authority of a law. But of this we have spoken before; and their own lawyers, commenting upon this place in the institutes, confess as much. So that we make no question but the people may revoke what they were forced to grant, and granted against their wills. But most rational it is to suppose, that the people of Rome transferred no other power to the prince, than they had before granted to their own magistrates; and that was a power to govern according to law, and a revocable, not an absurd, tyrannical power. Hence it was, that the emperors assumed the consular dignity, and that of the tribunes of the people; but after Julius Cæsar, not one of them pretended to the dictatorship: in the Circus Maximus they used to adore the people, as I have said already out of Tacitus and Claudian. But "as heretofore many private persons have sold themselves into slavery, so a whole nation may." Thou jailbird of a knight, thou day-spirit, thou everlasting scandal to thy native country! The most despicable slaves in the world ought to abhor and spit upon such a factor for slavery, such a public pander as thou art. Certainly if people had so enslaved themselves to kings, then might kings turn them over to other masters, or sell them for money, and yet we know that kings cannot so much as alienate the demesnes of the crown: and shall he, that has but the crown, and the revenues that belong to it, as an usufructuary, and those given him by the people, can he be said to have, as it were, purchased the people, and made them his propriety? Though you were bored through both ears, and went barefoot, you would not be so vile and despicable, so much more contemptible than all slaves, as the broaching such a scandalous doctrine as this makes you. But go on, and punish yourself for your rogueries as now you do, though against your will. You frame a long discourse of the law of war; which is nothing to the purpose in this place: for neither did Charles conquer us; and for his ancestors, if it were never so much granted that they did, yet have they often renounced their title as conquerors. And certain it is, That we were never so conquered, but that as we swore allegiance to them, so they swore to maintain our laws, and govern by them: which laws, when Charles had notoriously violated, taken in what capacity you will, as one who had formerly been a conquerer or was now a perjured king, we subdued him by force, he himself having begun with us first. And according to your own opinion, "Whatever is acquired by war, becomes his property that acquired it." So that how full soever you are of words, how impertinent soever a babbler, whatever you prate, how great a noise soever you make, what quotations soever out of the rabbins, though you make yourself never so hoarse, to the end of this chapter, assure yourself, That nothing of it makes for the king, he being now conquered, but all for us, who by God's assistance are conquerors.

CHAP. VII.

To avoid two very great inconveniencies, and, considering your own weight, very weighty ones indeed, you denied in the foregoing chapter, that the people's power was superior to that of the king; for if that should be granted, kings must provide themselves of some other name, because the people would indeed be king, and some divisions in your system of politics would be confounded: the first of which inconveni-

encies would thwart with your dictionary, and the latter overthrow your politics. To these I have given such an answer as shews, that though our own safety and liberty were the principal things I aimed the preservation of, yet withal, I had some consideration of salving your dictionary, and your politics. "Now," say you, "I will prove by other arguments, That a king cannot be judged by his own subjects; of which arguments this shall be the greatest and most convincing, that a king has no peer in his kingdom." What! Can a king have no peer in his kingdom? What then is the meaning of those twelve ancient peers of the kings of France? Are they fables and trifles? Are they called so in vain, and in mock only? Have a care how you affront those principal men of that kingdom; who if they are not the king's peers, as they are called, I am afraid your dictionary, which is the only thing you are concerned for, will be found more faulty in France than in England. But go to, let us hear your demonstration, that a king has no peer in his own kingdom. "Because," say you, "the people of Rome, when they had banished their king, appointed not one, but two consuls: and the reason was, That if one of them should transgress the laws, his colleague might be a check to him." There could hardly have been devised any thing more silly: how came it to pass then, that but one of the consuls had the bundles of rods carried before him, and not both, if two were appointed, that each might have a power over the other? And what if both had conspired against the commonwealth? Would not the case then be the very same that it would have been, if one consul only had been appointed without a colleague? But we know very well, that both consuls, and all other magistrates, were bound to obey the senate, whenever the senate and the people saw, that the interest of the commonwealth so required. We have a famous instance of that in the decemvirs, who though they were invested with the power of consuls, and were the chief magistrates, yet the authority of the senate reduced them all, though they struggled to retain their government. Nay, we read that some consuls, before they were out of office, had been declared enemies, and arms have been taken up against them; for in those days no man looked upon him as a consul, who acted as an enemy. So war was waged against Antony, though a consul, by authority of the senate; in which being worsted, he would have been put to death, but that Octavius, affecting the empire, sided with him to subvert the commonwealth. Now whereas you say, "that it is a property peculiar to kingly majesty, that the power resides in a single person;" that is but a loose expression, like the rest of what you say, and is contradicted by yourself a little after: "for the Hebrew judges," you say, "ruled as long as they lived, and there was but one of them at a time; the Scripture also calls them kings: and yet they were accountable to the great council." Thus we see, that an itch of vain glory, in being thought to have said all that can be said, makes you hardly say any thing but contradictions. Then I ask, what kind of government that was in the Roman empire, when sometimes two, sometimes three emperors, reigned all at once? Do you reckon them to have been emperors, that is, kings, or was it an aristocracy, or a triumvirate? Or will you deny, that the Roman empire under Antoninus and Verus, under Dioclesian and Maximian, under Constantine and Licinius, was still but one entire empire? If these princes were not kings, your three forms of government will hardly hold; if they were, then it is not an essential property of a kingly government, to reside in a single person. "If one of these offend," say you, "then may the other refer the matter to the senate, or the people, where he may be accused and condemned." And does not the senate and the people then judge, when the matter is so referred to them? So that if you will give any credit to yourself, there needs not one colleague to judge another. Such a miserable advocate as you, if you were not so wretched a fellow as you are, would deserve compassion; you lie every way so open to blows, that if one were minded for sport's sake to make a pass at any part of you, he could hardly miss, let him aim where he would. "It is ridiculous," say you, "to imagine, that a king will ever appoint judges to condemn himself." But I can tell you of an emperor, that was no ridiculous person, but an excellent prince, and that was Trajan, who when he delivered a dagger to a certain Roman magistrate, as the custom was, that being the badge of his office, frequently thus admonished him, "Take this sword, and use it for me, if I do as I ought; if otherwise, against me: for miscarriages in the supreme magistrate are less excusable." This Dion and Aurelius Victor say of him. You see here, that a worthy emperor appointed one to judge himself, though he did not make him equal. Tiberius perhaps might have said as much out of vanity and hypocrisy; but it is almost a crime to imagine, that so good and virtuous a prince as Trajan, did not really speak as he thought, and according to what he apprehended right and just. How much more reasonable was it, that though he were superiour to the senate in power, and might, if he would, have refused to yield them any obedience, yet he actually did obey them, as by virtue of his office he ought to do, and acknowledged their right in the government to be superiour to his own! For so Pliny tells us in his Panegyric, "The senate both desired and commanded you to be consul a fourth time; you may know by the obedience you pay them, that this is no word of flattery, but of power." And a little after, "This is the design you aim at, to restore our lost liberty." And Trajan was not of that mind alone; the senate thought so too, and were of opinion, that their authority was indeed supreme: for they that could command their emperor, might judge him. So the emperor Marcus Aurelius, when Cassius governor of Syria endeavoured to get the empire from him, referred himself either to the senate, or the people of Rome, and declared himself ready to lay down the government, if they would have it so. Now how should a man determine of the right of kings better, and more truly, than out of the very mouths of the best of kings? Indeed every good king accounts

either the senate, or the people, not only equal, but superiour to himself by the law of nature. But a tyrant being by nature inferiour to all men, every one that is stronger than he, ought to be accounted not only his equal, but superiour: for as heretofore nature taught men from force and violence to betake themselves to laws; so wherever the laws are set at naught, the same dictate of nature must necessarily prompt us to betake ourselves to force again. "To be of this opinion," says Cicero pro Sestio, "is a sign of wisdom; to put it in practice, argues courage and resolution; and to do both, is the effect of virtue in its perfection." Let this stand then as a settled maxim of the law of nature, never to be shaken by any artifices of flatterers, that the senate, or the people, are superiour to kings, be they good or bad: which is but what you yourself do in effect confess, when you tell us, that the authority of kings was derived from the people. For that power, which they transferred to princes, doth yet naturally, or, as I may say, virtually reside in themselves notwithstanding: for so natural causes, that produce any effect by a certain eminency of operation, do always retain more of their own virtue and energy than they impart; nor do they, by communicating to others, exhaust themselves. You see, the closer we keep to nature, the more evidently does the people's power appear to be above that of the prince. And this is likewise certain, that the people do not freely, and of choice, settle the government in the king absolutely, so as to give him a propriety in it, nor by nature can do so; but only for the public safety and liberty, which, when the king ceases to take care of, then the people in effect have given him nothing at all: for nature says, the people gave it him to a particular end and purpose; which end, if neither nature nor the people can attain, the people's gift becomes no more valid than any other void covenant or agreement. These reasons prove very fully, that the people are superiour to the king; and so your "greatest and most convincing argument, that a king cannot be judged by his people, because he has no peer in his kingdom," nor any superiour, falls to the ground. For you take that for granted, which we by no means allow. "In a popular state," say you, "the magistrates being appointed by the people, may likewise be punished for their crimes by the people: in an aristocracy the senators may be punished by their colleagues: but it is a prodigious thing to proceed criminally against a king in his own kingdom, and make him plead for his life." What can you conclude from hence, but that they who set up kings over them, are the most miserable and most silly people in the world? But, I pray, what is the reason why the people may not punish a king that becomes a malefactor, as well as they may popular magistrates and senators in an aristocracy? Do you think that all they who live under a kingly government, were so strangely in love with slavery, as when they might be free, to choose vassalage, and to put themselves all and entirely under the dominion of one man, who often happens to be an ill man, and often a fool, so as whatever cause might be, to leave themselves no refuge in, no relief from, the laws nor the dictates of nature, against the tyranny of a most outrageous master, when such a one happens? Why do they then tender conditions to their kings, when they first enter upon their government, and prescribe laws for them to govern by? Do they do this to be trampled upon the more, and be the more laughed to scorn? Can it be imagined, that a whole people would ever so vilify themselves, depart from their own interest to that degree, be so wanting to themselves, as to place all their hopes in one man, and he very often the most vain person of them all? To what end do they require an oath of their kings, not to act any thing contrary to law? We must suppose them to do this, that (poor creatures!) they may learn to their sorrow, that kings only may commit perjury with impunity. This is what your own wicked conclusions hold forth. "If a king, that is elected, promise any thing to his people upon oath, which, if he would not have sworn to, perhaps they would not have chose him, yet if he refuse to perform that promise, he falls not under the people's censure. Nay, though he swear to his subjects at his election, that he will administer justice to them according to the laws of the kingdom; and that if he do not, they shall be discharged of their allegiance, and himself ipso facto cease to be their king; yet if he break this oath, it is God and not man that must require it of him." I have transcribed these lines, not for their elegance, for they are barbarously expressed; nor because I think there needs any answer to them, for they answer themselves, they explode and damn themselves by their notorious falsehood and loathsomeness: but I did it to recommend you to kings for your great merits; that among so many places as there are at a court, they may put you into some preferment or office that may be fit for you. Some are princes' secretaries, some their cup-bearers, some masters of the revels: I think you had best be master of the perjuries to some of them. You shall not be master of the ceremonies, you are too much a clown for that; but their treachery and perfidiousness shall be under your care. But that men may see you are both a fool and a knave to the highest degree, let us consider these last assertions of yours a little more narrowly: "A king," say you, "though he swear to his subjects at his election, that he will govern according to law, and that if he do not, they shall be discharged of their allegiance, and he himself ipso facto cease to be their king; yet can he not be deposed or punished by them." Why not a king, I pray, as well as popular magistrates? because in a popular state, the people do not transfer all their power to the magistrates. And do they, in the case that you have put, vest it all in the king, when they place him in the government upon those terms expressly, to hold it no longer than he uses it well? Therefore it is evident, that a king sworn to observe the laws, if he transgress them, may be punished and deposed, as well as popular magistrates. So that you can make no more use of that invincible argument of the people's transferring all their right and power to the prince; you yourself have battered it down with your own engines. Hear now another most powerful

and invincible argument of his, why subjects cannot judge their kings, "because he is bound by no law, being himself the sole lawgiver." Which having been proved already to be most false, this great reason comes to nothing, as well as the former. But the reason why princes have but seldom been proceeded against for personal and private crimes, as whoredom, and adultery, and the like, is not because they could not justly be punished even for such, but lest the people should receive more prejudice through disturbances that might be occasioned by the king's death, and the change of affairs, than they would be profited by the punishment of one man or two. But when they begin to be universally injurious and insufferable, it has always been the opinion of all nations, that then, being tyrants, it is lawful to put them to death any how, condemned or uncondemned. Hence Cicero, in his Second Philippic, says thus of those that killed Cæsar, "they were the first that ran through with their swords, not a man who affected to be king, but who was actually settled in the government; which, as it was a worthy and godlike action, so it is set before us for our imitation." How unlike are you to him! "Murder, adultery, injuries, are not regal and public, but private and personal crimes." Well said, parasite! you have obliged all pimps and profligates in courts by this expression. How ingeniously do you act both the parasite and the pimp with the same breath! "A king that is an adulterer, or a murderer, may yet govern well, and consequently ought not to be put to death, because, together with his life, he must lose his kingdom; and it was never yet allowed by God's laws, or man's, that for one and the same crime, a man was to be punished twice." Infamous foulmouth wretch! By the same reason the magistrates in a popular state, or in an aristocracy, ought never to be put to death, for fear of double punishment; no judge, no senator must die, for they must lose their magistracy too, as well as their lives. As you have endeavoured to take all power out of the people's hands, and vest it in the king, so you would all majesty too: a delegated translatitious majesty we allow, but that majesty does chiefly and primarily reside in him, you can no more prove, than you can, that power and authority does. "A king," you say, "cannot commit treason against his people, but a people may against their king." And yet a king is what he is for the people only, not the people for him. Hence I infer, that the whole body of the people, or the greater part of them, must needs have greater power than the king. This you deny, and begin to cast up accounts. "He is of greater power than any one, than any two, than any three, than any ten, than any hundred, than any thousand, than any ten thousand:" be it so, "he is of more power than half the people." I will not deny that neither; "add now half of the other half, will he not have more power than all those?" Not at all. Go on, why do you take away the board? Do you not understand progression in arithmetic? He begins to reckon after another manner. "Has not the king, and the nobility together, more power?" No, Mr. Changeling, I deny that too. If by the nobility, whom you style optimates, you mean the peers only; for it may happen that amongst the whole number of them, there may not be one man deserving that appellation: for it often falls out, that there are better and wiser men than they amongst the commons, whom in conjunction with the greater or the better part of the people, I should not scruple to call by the name of, and take them for, all the people. "But if the king is not superiour in power to all the people together, he is then a king but of single persons, he is not the king of the whole body of the people." You say well, no more he is, unless they are content he should be so. Now, balance your accounts, and you will find that by miscasting, you have lost your principal. "The English say, that the right of majesty originally and principally resides in the people; which principle would introduce a confusion of all states." What, of an aristocracy and democracy? But let that pass. What if it should overthrow a gynæocracy too? (*i. e.* a government of one or more women,) under which state, or form of government, they say, you are in danger of being beaten at home; would not the English do you a kindness in that, you sheepish fellow, you? But there is no hope of that. For it is most justly so ordered, since you would subject all mankind to tyranny abroad, that you yourself should live in a scandalous most unmanlike slavery at home. "We must tell you," you say, "what we mean by the word People." There are a great many other things, which you stand more in need of being told: for of things that more immediately concern you, you seem altogether ignorant, and never to have learnt any thing but words and letters, not to be capable of any thing else. But this you think you know, that by the word people we mean the common people only, exclusive of the nobility, because we have put down the House of Lords. And yet that very thing shews, that under the word people we comprehend all our natives, of what order and degree soever; in that we have settled one supreme senate only, in which the nobility also, as a part of the people, (not in their own right, as they did before; but representing those boroughs or counties, for which they may be chose,) may give their votes. Then you inveigh against the common people, as being "blind and brutish, ignorant of the art of governing;" you say there is "nothing more empty, more vain, more inconstant, more uncertain than they." All which is very true of yourself, and it is true likewise of the rabble, but not of the middle sort, amongst whom the most prudent men, and most skilful in affairs, are generally found; others are most commonly diverted either by luxury and plenty, or by want and poverty, from virtue, and the study of laws and government. "There are many ways," you say, "by which kings come to the crown, so as not to be beholden to the people at all for it;" and especially, "those that inherit a kingdom." But those nations must certainly be slaves, and born to slavery, that acknowledge any one to be their lord and master so absolutely, as that they are his inheritance, and come to him by descent, without any consent of their own; they deserve not the appellation of subjects, nor of freemen, nor can they

justly be reputed such; nor are they to be accounted as a civil society, but must be looked on as the possessions and estate of their lord, and his family: for I see no difference as to the right of ownership betwixt them, and slaves, or beasts. Secondly, "they that come to the crown by conquest, cannot acknowledge themselves to have received from the people the power to usurp." We are not now discoursing of a conqueror, but of a conquered king; what a conqueror may lawfully do, we will discourse elsewhere; do you keep to your subject. But whereas you ascribe to kings that ancient right, that masters of families have over their households, and take an example from thence of their absolute power; I have shewn already over and over, that there is no likeness at all betwixt them. And Aristotle (whom you name so often) if you had read him, would have taught you as much in the beginning of his Politics, where he says they judge amiss, that think there is but little difference betwixt a king, and a master of a family: "For that there is not a numerical, but a specifical difference betwixt a kingdom and a family." For when villages grew to be towns and cities, that regal domestic right vanished by degrees, and was no more owned. Hence Diodorus, in his first book, says, that anciently kingdoms were transmitted not to the former kings' sons, but to those that had best deserved of the people. And Justin, "Originally," says he, "the government of nations, and of countries, was by kings, who were exalted to that height of majesty, not by popular ambition, but for their moderation, which commended them to good men." Whence it is manifest, that, in the very beginning of nations, that fatherly and hereditary government gave way to virtue, and the people's right: which is the most natural reason and cause, and was the true rise of kingly government. For at first men entered into societies, not that any one might insult over all the rest, but that in case any should injure another, there might be laws and judges to protect them from wrong, or at least to punish the wrong doers. When men were at first dispersed and scattered asunder, some wise and eloquent man persuaded them to enter into civil societies; "that he himself," say you, "might exercise dominion over them, when so united." Perhaps you meant this of Nimrod, who is said to have been the first tyrant. Or else it proceeds from your own malice only, and certainly it cannot have been true of those great and generous spirited men, but is a fiction of your own, not warranted by any authority that I ever heard of. For all ancient writers tell us, that those first instituters of communities of men had a regard to the good and safety of mankind only, and not to any private advantages of their own, or to make themselves great or powerful. One thing I cannot pass by, which I suppose you intended for an emblem, to set off the rest of this chapter: "If a consul," say you, "had been to be accused before his magistracy expired, there must have been a dictator created for that purpose;" though you had said before, "that for that very reason there were two of them." Just so your positions always agree with one another, and almost every page declares how weak and frivolous whatever you say or write upon any subject is. "Under the ancient Saxon kings," you say, "the people were never called to parliaments." If any of our own countrymen had asserted such a thing, I could easily have convinced him that he was in an errour. But I am not so much concerned at your mistaking our affairs, because you are a foreigner. This in effect is all you say of the right of kings in general. Many other things I omit, for you use many digressions, and put things down that either have no ground at all, or are nothing to the purpose, and my design is not to vie with you in impertinence.

CHAP. VIII.

If you had published your own opinion, Salmasius, concerning the right of kings in general, without affronting any persons in particular, notwithstanding this alteration of affairs in England, as long as you did but use your own liberty in writing what yourself thought fit, no Englishman could have had any cause to have been displeased with you, nor would you have made good the opinion you maintain ever a whit the less. For if it be a positive command both of Moses and of Christ himself, "That all men whatsoever, whether Spaniards, French, Italians, Germans, English, or Scots, should be subject to their princes, be they good or bad," which you asserted, p. 127, to what purpose was it for you, who are a foreigner, and unknown to us, to be tampering with our laws, and to read us lectures out of them as out of your own papers and miscellanies, which, be they how they will, you have taught us already in a great many words, that they ought to give way to the laws of God? But now it is apparent, that you have undertaken the defence of this royal cause, not so much out of your own inclination, as partly because you were hired, and that at a good round price too, considering how things are with him that set you on work; and partly, it is like, out of expectation of some greater reward hereafter; to publish a scandalous libel against the English, who are injurious to none of their neighbours, and meddle with their own matters only. If there were no such thing as that in the case, is it credible, that any man should be so impudent or so mad, as though he be a stranger, and at a great distance from us, yet of his own accord to intermeddle with our affairs, and side with a party? What the devil is it to you, what the English do amongst themselves? What would you have, pragmatical puppy? What would you be at? Have you no concerns of your own at home? I wish you had the same concerns that that famous Olus, your fellow-busybody in the Epigram, had; and perhaps so you have; you deserve them, I am sure. Or did that hotspur your wife, who encouraged you to write what you have done for outlawed Charles's sake, promise you some profitable professor's place in England, and God

knows what gratifications at Charles's return? But assure yourselves, my mistress and my master, that England admits neither of wolves, nor owners of wolves: so that it is no wonder you spit so much venom at our English mastiffs. It were better for you to return to those illustrious titles of yours in France; first to that hungerstarved lordship of yours at *St. Lou; and in the next place to the sacred consistory of the most christian king. Being a counsellor to the prince, you are at too great a distance from your own country. But I see full well, that she neither desires you, nor your counsel; nor did it appear she did, when you were there a few years ago, and began to lick a cardinal's trencher: she is in the right, by my troth, and can very willingly suffer such a little fellow as you, that are but one half of a man, to run up and down with your mistress of a wife, and your desks full of trifles and fooleries, till you light somewhere or other upon a stipend, large enough for a knight of the grammar, or an illustrious critic on horseback, if any prince or state has a mind to hire a vagabond doctor, that is to be sold at a good round price. But here is one that will bid for you; whether you are a merchantable commodity or not, and what you are worth, we shall see by and by. You say, "the parricides assert, that the government of England is not merely kingly, but that it is a mixed government." Sir Thomas Smith, a countryman of ours in Edward the Sixth's days, a good lawyer, and a statesman, one whom you yourself will not call a parricide, in the beginning of a book which he wrote "of the commonwealth of England," asserts the same thing, and not of our government only, but of almost all others in the world, and that out of Aristotle; and he says it is not possible, that any government should otherwise subsist. But as if you thought it a crime to say any thing, and not unsay it again, you repeat your former threadbare contradictions. You say, "there neither is nor ever was any nation, that did not understand by the very name of a king, a person whose authority is inferiour to God alone, and who is accountable to no other." And yet a little after you confess, "that the name of a king was formerly given to such powers and magistrates, as had not a full and absolute right of themselves, but had a dependence upon the people, as the suffetes among the Carthaginians, the Hebrew judges, the kings of the Lacedemonians, and of Arragon." Are you not very consistent with yourself? Then you reckon up five several sorts of monarchies out of Aristotle; in one of which only that right obtained, which you say is common to all kings. Concerning which I have said already more than once, that neither doth Aristotle give an instance of any such monarchy, nor was there ever any such in being: the other four he clearly demonstrates that they were bounded by established laws, and the king's power subject to those laws. The first of which four was that of the Lacedemonians, which in his opinion did of all others best deserve the name of a kingdom. The second was such as obtained among barbarians, which was lasting, because regulated by laws, and because the people willingly submitted to it; whereas by the same author's opinion in his third book, what king soever retains the sovereignty against the people's will, is no longer to be accounted a king, but a downright tyrant; all which is true likewise of his third sort of kings, which he calls Æsymnetes, who were chosen by the people, and most commonly for a certain time only, and for some particular purposes, such as the Roman dictators were. The fourth sort he makes of such as reigned in the heroical days, upon whom for their extraordinary merits the people of their own accord conferred the government, but yet bounded by laws; nor could these retain the sovereignty against the will of the people; nor do these four sorts of kingly governments differ, he says, from tyranny in any thing else, but only in that these governments are with the good liking of the people, and that against their will. The fifth sort of kingly government, which he calls παμβασιλεια, or absolute monarchy, in which the supreme power resides in the king's person, which you pretend to be the right of all kings, is utterly condemned by the philosopher, as neither for the good of mankind, nor consonant to justice or nature, unless some people should be content to live under such a government, and withal confer it upon such as excel all others in virtue. These things any man may read in the third book of his Politics. But you, I believe, that once in your life you might appear witty and florid, pleased yourself with making a comparison "betwixt these five sorts of kingly government, and the five zones of the world; betwixt the two extremes of kingly power, there are three more temperate species interposed, as there lie three zones betwixt the torrid and the frigid." Pretty rogue! what ingenious comparisons he always makes us! may you for ever be banished whither you yourself condemn an absolute kingdom to be, that is, to the frigid zone, which when you are there, will be doubly cold to what it was before. In the mean while we shall expect that new-fashioned sphere which you describe, from you our modern Archimedes, in which there shall be two extreme zones, one torrid, and the other frigid, and three temperate ones lying betwixt. "The kings of the Lacedemonians, you say, might lawfully be imprisoned, but it was not lawful to put them to death." Why not? Because the ministers of justice, and some foreign soldiers, being surprised at the novelty of the thing, thought it not lawful to lead Agis to his execution, though condemned to die? And the people of Lacedemon were displeased at his death, not because condemned to die, though a king, but because he was a good man and popular, and had been circumvented by a faction of the great ones. Says Plutarch, "Agis was the first king, that was put to death by the ephori;" in which words he does not pretend to tell us what lawfully might be done, but what actually was done. For to imagine that such as may lawfully accuse a king, and imprison him, may not also lawfully put him to death, is a childish

* St. Lou, in Latin, Sanctus Lupus Saint Wolf, is the name of a place in France, where Salmasius had some small estate, and was called so from St. Lupus, a German bishop, who with St. German came over into England, Anno Dom. 429.

conceit. At last you betake yourself to give an account of the right of English kings. "There never was," you say, "but one king in England." This you say, because you had said before, "unless a king be sole in the government, he cannot be a king." Which if it be true, some of them, who I had thought had been kings of England, were not really so; for to omit many of our Saxon kings, who had either their sons or their brothers partners with them in the government, it is known that King Henry II, of the Norman race, reigned together with his son. "Let them shew," say you, "a precedent of any kingdom under the government of a single person, who has not an absolute power: though in some kingdoms more remiss, in others more intense." Do you shew any power that is absolute, and yet remiss, you ass? is not that power that is absolute, the supreme power of all? How can it then be both supreme and remiss? Whatsoever kings you shall acknowledge to be invested with a remiss (or a less) power, those I will easily make appear to have no absolute power; and consequently to be inferiour to a people, free by nature, who is both its own lawgiver, and can make the regal power more or less intense or remiss; that is, greater or less. Whether the whole island of Britain was anciently governed by kings, or no, is uncertain. It is most likely, that the form of their government changed according to the exigencies of the times. Whence Tacitus says, "the Britains anciently were under kings; now the great men amongst them divide them into parties and factions." When the Romans left them, they were about forty years without kings; they were not always therefore under a kingly government, as you say they were. But when they were so, that the kingdom was hereditary, I positively deny; which that it was not, is evident both from the series of their kings, and their way of creating them; for the consent of the people is asked in express words. When the king has taken the accustomed oath, the archbishop stepping to every side of the stage erected for that purpose, asks the people four several times in these words, "Do you consent to have this man to be your king?" Just as if he spoke to them in the Roman style, Vultis, Jubetis hunc Regnare? "Is it your pleasure, do you appoint this man to reign?" Which would be needless, if the kingdom were by the law hereditary. But with kings, usurpation passes very frequently for law and right. You go about to ground Charles's right to the crown, who was so often conquered himself, upon the right of conquest. William, surnamed the conqueror, forsooth, subdued us. But they who are not strangers to our history, know full well, that the strength of the English nation was not so broken in that one fight at Hastings, but that they might easily have renewed the war. But they chose rather to accept of a king, than to be under a conqueror and a tyrant: they swear therefore to William, to be his liegemen, and he swears to them at the altar, to carry himself towards them as a good king ought to do in all respects. When he broke his word, and the English betook themselves again to their arms, being diffident of his strength, he renewed his oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to observe the ancient laws of England. And therefore, if after that he miserably oppressed the English, (as you say he did,) he did it not by right of conquest, but by right of perjury. Besides, it is certain, that many ages ago, the conquerors and conquered coalesced into one and the same people: so that that right of conquest, if any such ever were, must needs have been antiquated long ago. His own words at his death, which I give you out of a French manuscript written at Caen, put all out of doubt, "I appoint no man (says he) to inherit the kingdom of England." By which words, both his pretended right of conquest, and the hereditary right, were disclaimed at his death, and buried together with him. I see now that you have gotten a place at court, as I foretold you would; you are made the king's chief treasurer and steward of his court craft: and what follows, you seem to write ex officio, as by virtue of your office, magnificent Sir. "If any preceding kings, being thereunto compelled by factions of great men, or seditions amongst the common people, have receded in some measure from their right, that cannot prejudice the successor; but that he is at liberty to resume it." You say well; if therefore at any time our ancestors have through neglect lost any thing that was their right, why should that prejudice us their posterity? If they would promise for themselves to become slaves, they could make no such promise for us; who shall always retain the same right of delivering ourselves out of slavery, that they had of enslaving themselves to any whomsoever. You wonder how it comes to pass that a king of Great Britain must now-a-days be looked upon as one of the magistrates of the kingdom only; whereas in all other kingly governments in christendom, kings are invested with a free and absolute authority. For the Scots, I remit you to Buchanan: for France, your own native country, to which you seem to be a stranger, to Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, and Girardus a French historian: for the rest, to other authors, of whom none that I know of were Independants: out of whom you might have learned a quite other lesson concerning the right of kings, than what you teach. Not being able to prove, that a tyrannical power belongs to the kings of England by right of conquest, you try now to do it by right of perjury. Kings profess themselves to reign "by the grace of God:" what if they had professed themselves to be gods? I believe if they had, you might easily have been brought to become one of their priests. So the archbishops of Canterbury pretended to archbishop it by "Divine Providence." Are you such a fool, as to deny the pope's being a king in the church, that you may make the king greater than a pope in the state? But in the statutes of the realm the king is called our Lord. You are become of a sudden a wonderful Nomenclator of our statutes: but you know not that many are called lords and masters who are not really so: you know not how unreasonable a thing it is to judge of truth and right by titles of honour, not to say of flattery. Make the same inference, if you will, from the parliament's being called the king's parliament; for it is called the king's bridle too,

or a bridle to the king: and therefore the king is no more lord or master of his parliament, than a horse is of his bridle. But why not the king's parliament, since the king summons them?" I will tell you why; because the consuls used to indict a meeting of the senate, yet were they not lords over that council. When the king therefore summons or calls together a parliament, he does it by virtue and in discharge of that office, which he has received from the people, that he may advise with them about the weighty affairs of the kingdom, not his own particular affairs. Or when at any time the parliament debated of the king's own affairs, if any could properly be called his own, they were always the last things they did; and it was in their choice when to debate of them, and whether at all or no, and depended not upon the king's pleasure. And they whom it concerns to know this, know very well, that parliaments anciently, whether summoned or not, might by law meet twice a year: but the laws are called too, "the king's laws." These are flattering ascriptions; a king of England can of himself make no law; for he was not constituted to make laws, but to see those laws kept, which the people made. And you yourself here confess, that "parliaments meet to make laws;" wherefore the law is also called the law of the land, and the people's law. Whence King Ethelstane in the preface to his laws, speaking to all the people, "I have granted you every thing," says he, "by your own law." And in the form of the oath, which the kings of England used to take before they were made kings, the people stipulate with them thus; "Will you grant those just laws, which the people shall choose?" The king answers, "I will." And you are infinitely mistaken in saying, that "when there is no parliament sitting, the king governs the whole state of the kingdom, to all intents and purposes, by a regal power." For he can determine nothing of any moment, with respect to either peace or war: nor can he put any stop to the proceedings of the courts of justice. And the judges therefore swear, that they will do nothing judicially, but according to law, though the king by word, or mandate, or letters under his own seal, should command the contrary. Hence it is that the king is often said in our law to be an infant; and to possess his rights and dignities, as a child or a ward does his: see the Mirror, Cap. 4. Sect. 22. And hence is that common saying amongst us, that "the king can do no wrong:" which you, like a rascal, interpret thus, "Whatever the king does, is no injury, because he is not liable to be punished for it." By this very comment, if there were nothing else, the wonderful impudence and villany of this fellow discovers itself sufficiently. "It belongs to the head," you say, "to command, and not to the members: the king is the head of the parliament." You would not trifle thus, if you had any guts in your brains. You are mistaken again (but there is no end of your mistakes) in not distinguishing the king's counsellors from the states of the realm: for neither ought he to make choice of all of them, nor of any of them, which the rest do not approve of; but for electing any member of the house of commons, he never so much as pretended to it. Whom the people appointed to that service, they were severally chosen by the votes of all the people in their respective cities, towns, and counties. I speak now of things universally known, and therefore I am the shorter. But you say, "it is false that the parliament was instituted by the people, as the worshippers of saint Independency assert." Now I see why you took so much pains in endeavouring to subvert the papacy; you carry another pope in your belly, as we say. For what else should you be in labour of, the wife of a woman, a he-wolf, impregnated by a she-wolf, but either a monster, or some new sort of papacy? You now make he-saints and she-saints, at your pleasure, as if you were a true genuine pope. You absolve kings of all their sins, and as if you had utterly vanquished and subdued your antagonist the pope, you adorn yourself with his spoils. But because you have not yet profligated the pope quite, till the second and third, and perhaps the fourth and fifth part of your book of his supremacy come out, which book will nauseate a great many readers to death, sooner than you will get the better of the pope by it; let it suffice you in the mean time, I beseech you, to become some antipope or other. There is another she-saint, besides that Independency that you deride, which you have canonized in good earnest; and that is, the tyranny of kings: you shall therefore by my consent be the high priest of tyranny; and that you may have all the pope's titles, you shall be a "servant of the servants," not of God, but of the court. For that curse pronounced upon Canaan seems to stick as close to you, as your shirt. You call the people "a beast." What are you then yourself? For neither can that sacred consistory, nor your lordship of St. Lou, exempt you its master from being one of the people, nay, of the common people; nor can make you other than what you really are, a most loathsome beast. Indeed, the writings of the prophets shadow out to us the monarchy and dominion of great kings by the name, and under the resemblance, of a great beast. You say, that "there is no mention of parliaments held under our kings, that reigned before William the Conqueror." It is not worth while to jangle about a French word: the thing was always in being; and you yourself allow that in Saxon times, Concilia Sapientum, Wittena-gemots, are mentioned. And there are wise men among the body of the people, as well as amongst the nobility. But "in the statute of Merton made in the twentieth year of King Henry the third, the earls and barons are only named." Thus you are always imposed upon by words, who yet have spent your whole life in nothing else but words; for we know very well that in that age, not only the guardians of the cinque-ports, and magistrates of cities, but even tradesmen are sometimes called barons; and without doubt, they might much more reasonably call every member of parliament, though never so much a commoner, by the name of baron. For that in the fifty-second year of the same king's reign, the commoners as well as the lords were summoned, the statute of Marlbridge, and most other statutes, declare in ex-

press words; which commoners King Edward the third, in the preface to the statute-staple, calls, "Magnates Comitatum, the great men of the counties," as you very learnedly quote it for me; those to wit, "that came out of several counties, and served for them;" which number of men constituted the house of commons, and neither were lords, nor could be. Besides, a book more ancient than those statutes, called, "Modus habendi Parliamenta, *i. e.* the manner of holding parliaments," tells us, that the king and the commons may hold a parliament, and enact laws, though the lords, the bishops are absent; but that with the lords, and the bishops, in the absence of the commons, no parliament can be held. And there is a reason given for it, viz. because kings held parliaments and councils with their people before any lords or bishops were made; besides, the lords serve for themselves only, the commons each for the county, city, or borough that sent them. And that therefore the commons in parliament represent the whole body of the nation; in which respect they are more worthy, and every way preferable to the house of peers. "But the power of Judicature," you say, "never was invested in the house of commons." Nor was the king ever possessed of it: remember though, that originally all power proceeded, and yet does proceed, from the people. Which Marcus Tullius excellently well shews in his oration, "De lege Agraria, of the Agrarian law:" "As all powers, authorities, and public administrations ought to be derived from the whole body of the people; so those of them ought in an especial manner so to be derived, which are ordained and appointed for the common benefit and interest of all, to which employments every particular person may both give his vote for the choosing such persons, as he thinks will take most care of the public, and withal by voting and making interest for them, lay such obligations upon them, as may entitle them to their friendship and good offices in time to come." Here you see the true rise and original of parliaments, and that it was much ancienter than the Saxon chronicles. Whilst we may dwell in such a light of truth and wisdom, as Cicero's age afforded, you labour in vain to blind us with the darkness of obscurer times. By the saying whereof I would not be understood to derogate in the least from the authority and prudence of our ancestors, who most certainly went further in the enacting of good laws, than either the ages they lived in, or their own learning or education seem to have been capable of; and though sometimes they made laws that were none of the best, yet as being conscious to themselves of the ignorance and infirmity of human nature, they have conveyed this doctrine down to posterity, as the foundation of all laws, which likewise all our lawyers admit, that if any law, or custom, be contrary to the law of God, of nature, or of reason, it ought to be looked upon as null and void. Whence it follows, that though it were possible for you to discover any statute, or other public sanction, which ascribed to the king a tyrannical power, since that would be repugnant to the will of God, to nature and to right reason, you may learn from that general and primary law of ours, which I have just now quoted, that it will be null and void. But you will never be able to find, that any such right of kings has the least foundation in our law. Since it is plain therefore, that the power of judicature was originally in the people themselves, and that the people never did by any royal law part with it to the king, (for the kings of England neither used to judge any man, nor can by the law do it, otherwise than according to laws settled and agreed to: Fleta, Book I. Cap. 17.) it follows, that this power remains yet whole and entire in the people themselves. For that it was either never committed to the house of peers, or if it were, that it may lawfully be taken from them again, you yourself will not deny. But, "It is in the king's power," you say, "to make a village into a borough, and that into a city; and consequently, the king does in effect create those that constitute the Commons House of Parliament." But, I say, that even towns and boroughs are more ancient than kings; and that the people is the people, though they should live in the open fields. And now we are extremely well pleased with your Anglicisms, COUNTY COURT, THE TURNE, HUNDREDA: You have quickly learnt to count your hundred Jacobusses in English.

Quis expeduit Salmasio suam HUNDREDAM?
Picamque docuit verba nostra conari?
Magister artis venter, et Jacobæi
Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii Regis
Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,
Ipse Antichristi modò qui Primatum Papæ
Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,
Cantabit ultrò Cardinalitium melos.

Who taught Salmasius, that French chatt'ring pie,
To aim at English, and HUNDREDA cry?
The starving rascal, flush'd with just a Hundred
English Jacobusses, HUNDREDA blunder'd.
An outlaw'd king's last stock.—A hundred more,
Would make him pimp for th' Antichristian whore;
And in Rome's praise employ his poison'd breath,
Who threat'ned once to stink the Pope to death.

The next thing you do is to trouble us with a long discourse of the earls and the barons, to shew that the king made them all; which we readily grant, and for that reason they were most commonly at the king's beck; and therefore we have done well to take care, that for the future they shall not be judges of a free people. You affirm, that "the power of calling parliaments as often as he pleases, and of dissolving them when he pleases, has belonged to the king time out of mind." Whether such a vile, mercenary foreigner as you, who transcribe what some fugitives dictate to you, or the express letter of our own laws, are more to be credited in this matter, we shall inquire hereafter. But say you, "there is another argument, and an invincible one, to prove the power of the kings of England superior to that of the parliament; the king's power is perpetual and of course, whereby he administers the government singly without the parliament; that of the parliament is extraordinary, or out of course,

and limited to particulars only, nor can they enact any thing so as to be binding in law, without the king." Where does the great force of this argument lie? In the words "of course and perpetual?" Why, many inferiour magistrates have an ordinary and perpetual power, those whom we call justices of the peace. Have they therefore the supreme power? And I have said already, that the king's power is committed to him, to take care, by interposing his authority, that nothing be done contrary to law, and that he may see to the due observation of our laws, not to top his own upon us: and consequently that the king has no power out of his courts; nay, all the ordinary power is rather the people's, who determine all controversies themselves by juries of twelve men. And hence it is, that when a malefactor is asked at his arraignment, "How will you be tried?" he answers always, according to law and custom, "by God and my country;" not by God and the king, or the king's deputy. But the authority of the parliament, which indeed and in truth is the supreme power of the people committed to that senate, if it may be called extraordinary, it must be by reason of its eminence and superiority; else it is known they are called ordines, and therefore cannot properly be said to be extra ordinem, out of order; and if not actually, as they say, yet virtually they have a perpetual power and authority over all courts and ordinary magistrates, and that without the king. And now it seems our barbarous terms grate upon your critical ears, forsooth! whereas, if I had leisure, or that it were worth my while, I could reckon up so many barbarisms of yours in this one book, as, if you were to be chastized for them as you deserve, all the schoolboys' ferulas in christendom would be broken upon you; nor would you receive so many pieces of gold as that wretched poet did of old, but a great many more boxes on the ear. You say, "It is a prodigy more monstrous than all the most absurd opinions in the world put together, that the Bedlams should make a distinction betwixt the king's power and his person." I will not quote what every author has said upon this subject; but if by the words Personam Regis, you mean what we call in English, the person of the king; Chrysostom, who was no Bedlam, might have taught you, that it is no absurd thing to make a distinction betwixt that and his power; for that further explains the apostle's command of being subject to the higher powers, to be meant of the thing, the power itself, and not of the persons of the magistrates. And why may not I say that a king, who acts any thing contrary to law, acts so far forth as a private person, or a tyrant, and not in the capacity of a king invested with a legal authority? If you do not know, that there may be in one and the same man more persons or capacities than one, and that those capacities may in thought and conception be severed from the man himself, you are altogether ignorant both of Latin and common sense. But this you say to absolve kings from all sin and guilt; and that you may make us believe, that you are gotten into the chair yourself, which you have pulled the pope out of. "The king," you say, "is supposed not capable of committing any crime, because no punishment is consequential upon any crime of his." Whoever therefore is not punished, offends not; it is not the theft, but the punishment, that makes the thief. Salmasius the Grammarian commits no solecisms now, because he is from under the ferula; when you have overthrown the pope, let these, for God's sake, be the canons of your pontificate, or at least your indulgencies, whether you shall choose to be called the high priest St. Tyranny, or St. Slavery. I pass by the reproachful language, which towards the latter end of the chapter you give the state of the commonwealth, and the church of England; it is common to such as you are, you contemptible varlet, to rail at those things most that are most praiseworthy. But that I may not seem to have asserted any thing rashly concerning the right of the kings of England, or rather concerning the people's right with respect to their princes; I will now allege out of our ancient histories a few things indeed of many, but such as will make it evident, that the English lately tried their king according to the settled laws of the realm, and the customs of their ancestors. After the Romans quitted this island, the Britains for about forty years were sui juris, and without any kings at all. Of whom those they first set up, some they put to death. And for that, Gildas reprehends them, not as you do, for killing their kings, but for killing them uncondemned, and (to use his own words) "non pro veri examinatione," without inquiring into the matter of fact. Vortigern was for his incestuous marriage with his own daughter condemned (as Nennius informs us, the most ancient of all our historians next to Gildas) by St. German, "and a general council of the Britains," and his son Vortimer set up in his stead. This came to pass not long after St. Augustine's death, which is enough to discover how futilous you are, to say, as you have done, that it was a Pope, and Zachary by name, who first held the lawfulness of judging kings. About the year of our Lord 600, Morcantius, who then reigned in Wales, was by Oudeceus, bishop of Llandaff, condemned to exile, for the murder of his uncle, though he got the sentence off by bestowing some lands upon the church. Come we now to the Saxons, whose laws we have, and therefore I shall quote none of their precedents. Remember, that the Saxons were of a German extract, who never invested their kings with any absolute, unlimited power, but consulted in a body of the more weighty affairs of government; whence we may perceive, that in the time of our Saxon ancestors parliaments (the name itself only excepted) had the supreme authority. The name they gave them, was "councils of wise men;" and this in the reign of Ethelbert, of whom Bede says, "that he made laws in imitation of the Roman laws, cum concilio sapientum; by the advice, or in a council of his wise men." So Edwin king of Northumberland, and Ina king of the west Saxons, "having consulted with their wise men, and the elders of the people," made new laws. Other laws King Alfred made, "by the advice" in like manner of "his wise men;" and he says himself, "that it was by the consent of them all, that they were

commanded to be observed." From these and many other like places, it is as clear as the sun, that chosen men even from amongst the common people, were members of the supreme councils, unless we must believe, that no men are wise but the nobility. We have likewise a very ancient book, called the "Mirror of Justice," in which we are told, that the Saxons, when they first subdued the Britains, and chose themselves kings, required an oath of them, to submit to the judgment of the law, as much as any of their subjects, Cap. 1. Sect. 2. In the same place it is said, that it is but just that the king have his peers in parliament, to take cognizance of wrongs done by the king, or the queen; and that there was a law made in King Alfred's time, that parliaments should be holden twice a year at London, or oftener, if need were: which law, when through neglect it grew into disuse, was revived by two statutes in King Edward the Third's time. And in another ancient manuscript, called "Modus tenendi Parliamenta," we read thus, "If the king was summoned, he is guilty of perjury; and shall be reputed to have broken his coronation oath." For how can he be said to grant those good laws, which the people choose, as he is sworn to do, if he hinders the people from choosing them, either by summoning parliaments seldomer, or by dissolving them sooner, than the public affairs require, or admit? And that oath which the kings of England take at their coronation, has always been looked upon by our lawyers as a most sacred law. And what remedy can be found to obviate the great dangers of the whole state, (which is the very end of summoning parliaments,) if that great and august assembly may be dissolved at the pleasure many time of a silly, headstrong king? To absent himself from them, is certainly less than to dissolve them; and yet by our laws, as that Modus lays them down, the king neither can nor ought to absent himself from his parliament, unless he be really indisposed in health; nor then neither, till twelve of the peers have been with him to inspect his body, and give the parliament an account of his indisposition. Is this like the carriage of servants to a master? On the other hand the house of commons, without whom there can be no parliament held, though summoned by the king, may withdraw, and having made a secession, expostulate with the king concerning maleadministration, as the same book has it. But, which is the greatest thing of all, amongst the laws of King Edward, commonly called the Confessor, there is one very excellent, relating to the kingly office; which office, if the king do not discharge as he ought, then, says the law, "he shall not retain so much as the name of a king." And lest these words should not be sufficiently understood, the example of Chilperic king of France is subjoined, whom the people for that cause deposed. And that by this law a wicked king is liable to punishment, that sword of King Edward, called Curtana, denotes to us, which the earl of Chester used to carry in the solemn procession at a coronation; "a token," says Matthew Paris, "that he has authority by law to punish the king, if he will not do his duty:" and the sword is hardly ever made use of but in capital punishments. This same law, together with other laws of that good King Edward, did William the Conqueror ratify in the fourth year of his reign, and in a very full council held at Verulam, confirmed it with a most solemn oath: and by so doing, he not only extinguished his right of conquest, if he ever had any over us, but subjected himself to be judged according to the tenour of this very law. And his son Henry swore to the observance of King Edward's laws, and of this amongst the rest; and upon those only terms it was that he was chosen king, while his elder brother Robert was alive. The same oath was taken by all succeeding kings, before they were crowned. Hence our ancient and famous lawyer Bracton, in his first book, Chap. viii, "There is no king in the case," says he, "where will rules the roast, and law does not take place." And in his third book, Chap. ix, "A king is a king so long as he rules well; he becomes a tyrant when he oppresses the people committed to his charge." And in the same chapter, "The king ought to use the power of law and right as God's minister and vicegerent; the power of wrong is the Devil's, and not God's; when the king turns aside to do injustice, he is the minister of the Devil." The very same words almost another ancient lawyer has, who was the author of the book called "Fleta;" both of them remembered that truly royal law of King Edward, that fundamental maxim in our law, which I have formerly mentioned, by which nothing is to be accounted a law, that is contrary to the laws of God, or of reason; no more than a tyrant can be said to be a king, or a minister of the Devil a minister of God. Since therefore the law is chiefly right reason, if we are bound to obey a king, and a minister of God; by the very same reason, and the very same law, we ought to resist a tyrant, and a minister of the Devil. And because controversies arise oftener about names than things, the same authors tell us, that a king of England, though he have not lost the name of a king, yet is as liable to be judged, and ought so to be, as any of the common people. Bracton, Book I. Chap. viii; Fleta, Book I. Chap. xvii; "No man ought to be greater than the king in the administration of justice; but he himself ought to be as little as the least in receiving justice, si peccat, if he offend." Others read it, si petat. Since our kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether by the name of tyrants, or of kings, it must not be difficult to assign their legal judges. Nor will it be amiss to consult the same authors upon that point. Bracton, Book I. Chap. xvi; Fleta, Book I. Chap. 17; "The king has his superiours in the government; the law, by which he is made king; and his court, to wit, the earls, and the barons: comites (earls) are as much as to say, companions; and he that has a companion, has a master; and therefore, if the king will be without a bridle, that is, not govern by law, they ought to bridle him." That the commons are comprehended in the word barons, has been shewn already; and in the books of our ancient laws they are frequently said to have been called peers of parliament: and especially in the Modus tenendi, &c. "There shall be chosen," says that book, "out of all the peers

of the realm, five and twenty persons, of whom five shall be knights, five citizens, and five burgesses; and two knights of a county have a greater vote in granting and rejecting than the greatest earl in England." And it is but reasonable they should, for they vote for a whole county, &c. the earls for themselves only. And who can but perceive, that those patent earls, whom you call earls made by writ, (since we have now none that hold their earldoms by tenure,) are very unfit persons to try the king, who conferred their honours upon them? Since therefore by our law, as appears by that old book, called "the Mirror," the king has his peers, who in parliament have cognizance of wrongs done by the king to any of his people; and since it is notoriously known, that the meanest man in the kingdom may even in inferiour courts have the benefit of the law against the king himself, in case of any injury, or wrong sustained; how much more consonant to justice, how much more necessary is it, that in case the king oppress all his people, there should be such as have authority not only to restrain him, and keep him within bounds, but to judge and punish him! for that government must needs be very ill, and most ridiculously constituted, in which remedy is provided in case of little injuries, done by the prince to private persons, and no remedy, no redress for greater, no care taken for the safety of the whole; no provision made to the contrary, but that the king may, without any law, ruin all his subjects, when at the same time he cannot by law so much as hurt any one of them. And since I have shewn, that it is neither good manners, nor expedient, that the lords should be the king's judges; it follows, that the power of judicature in that case does wholly, and by very good right, belong to the commons, who are both peers of the realm, and barons, and have the power and authority of all the people committed to them. For since (as we find it expressly in our written law, which I have already cited) the commons together with the king made a good parliament without either lords or bishops, because before either lords or bishops had a being, kings held parliaments with their commons only; by the very same reason the commons apart must have the sovereign power without the king, and a power of judging the king himself; because before there ever was a king, they in the name of the whole body of the nation held councils and parliaments, had the power of judicature, made laws, and made the kings themselves, not to lord it over the people, but to administer their public affairs. Whom if the king, instead of so doing, shall endeavour to injure and oppress, our law pronounces him from time forward not so much as to retain the name of a king, to be no such thing as a king: and if he be no king, what need we trouble ourselves to find out peers for him? For being then by all good men adjudged to be a tyrant, there are none but who are peers good enough for him, and proper enough to pronounce sentence of death upon him judicially. These things being so, I think I have sufficiently proved what I undertook, by many authorities, and written laws; to wit, that since the commons have authority by very good right to try the king, and since they have actually tried him, and put him to death, for the mischief he had done both in church and state, and without all hope of amendment, they have done nothing therein but what was just and regular, for the interest of the state, in discharging of their trust, becoming their dignity, and according to the laws of the land. And I cannot upon this occasion, but congratulate myself with the honour of having had such ancestors, who founded this government with no less prudence, and in as much liberty as the most worthy of the ancient Romans or Grecians ever founded any of theirs: and they must needs, if they have any knowledge of our affairs, rejoice over their posterity, who when they were almost reduced to slavery, yet with so much wisdom and courage vindicated and asserted the state, which they so wisely founded upon so much liberty, from the unruly government of a king.

CHAP. IX.

I THINK by this time it is sufficiently evident, that kings of England may be judged even by the laws of England; and that they have their proper judges, which was the thing to be proved. What do you do further? (for whereas you repeat many things that you have said before, I do not intend to repeat the answers that I have given them). "It is an easy thing to demonstrate, even from the nature of the things for which parliaments are summoned, that the king is above the parliament. The parliament (you say) is wont to be assembled upon weighty affairs, such as wherein the safety of the kingdom and of the people is concerned." If therefore the king call parliaments together, not for his own concerns, but those of the nation, nor to settle those neither, but by their own consent, at their own discretion, what is he more than a minister, and as it were an agent for the people? since without their suffrages that are chosen by the people, he cannot exact the least thing whatsoever, either with relation to himself, or any body else? Which proves likewise, that it is the king's duty to call parliaments whenever the people desire it; since the people's and not the king's concerns are to be treated of by that assembly, and to be ordered as they see cause. For although the king's assent be required for fashion sake, which in lesser matters, that concerned the welfare of private persons only, he might refuse, and use that form, "the king will advise;" yet in those greater affairs, that concerned the public safety, and liberty of the people in general, he had no negative voice: for it would have been against his coronation oath to deny his assent in such cases, which was as binding to him as any law could be, and against the chief article of Magna Charta, cap. 29. "We will not deny to any man, nor will we delay to render to every man, right and justice." Shall it not be in the king's power to deny justice, and shall it be in his power to deny the enacting of just

laws? Could he not deny justice to any particular person, and could he to all his people? Could he not do it in inferiour courts, and could he in the supreme court of all? Or, can any king be so arrogant as to pretend to know what is just and profitable better than the whole body of the people? Especially, since "he is created and chosen for this very end and purpose, to do justice to all," as Bracton says, lib, iii. c. 9, that is, to do justice according to such laws as the people agree upon. Hence is what we find in our records, 7 H. IV. Rott. Parl. num. 59, the king has no prerogative, that derogates from justice and equity. And formerly when kings have refused to confirm acts of parliament, to wit, Magna Charta and some others, our ancestors have brought them to it by force of arms. And yet our lawyers never were of opinion, that those laws were less valid, or less binding, since the king was forced to assent to no more than what he ought in justice to have assented to voluntarily, and without constraint. Whilst you go about to prove that kings of other nations have been as much under the power of their senates or councils, as our kings were, you do not argue us into slavery, but them into liberty. In which you do but that over again, that you have from the very beginning of your discourse, and which some silly Leguleians now and then do, to argue unawares against their own clients. But you say, "We confess that the king, wherever he be, yet is supposed still to be present in his parliament by virtue of his power; insomuch, that whatever is transacted there, is supposed to be done by the king himself:" and then as if you had got some pretty bribe or small morsel, and tickled with the remembrance of your purse of gold, "we take," say you, "what they give us;" and take a halter then, for I am sure you deserve it. But we do not give it for granted, which is the thing you thought would follow from thence, "that therefore that court acts only by virtue of a delegated power from the king." For when we say, that the regal power, be it what it will, cannot be absent from the parliament, do we thereby acknowledge that power to be supreme? Does not the king's authority seem rather to be transferred to the parliament, and, as being the lesser of the two, to be comprised in the greater? Certainly, if the parliament may rescind the king's acts whether he will or no, and revoke privileges granted by him, to whomsoever they be granted: if they may set bounds to his prerogative, as they see cause; if they may regulate his yearly revenue, and the expenses of his court, his retinue, and generally all the concerns of his household; if they may remove his most intimate friends and counsellors, and, as it were, pluck them out of his bosom, and bring them to condign punishment; finally, if any subject may by law appeal from the king to the parliament, (all which things, that they may lawfully be done, and have been frequently practised, both our histories and records, and the most eminent of our lawyers, assure us,) I suppose no man in his right wits will deny the authority of the parliament to be superiour to that of the king. For even in an interregnum the authority of the parliament is in being, and (than which nothing is more common in our histories) they have often made a free choice of a successor, without any regard to an hereditary descent. In short, the parliament is the supreme council of the nation, constituted and appointed by a most free people, and armed with ample power and authority, for this end and purpose; viz. to consult together upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom; the king was created to put their laws in execution. Which thing after the parliament themselves had declared in a public edict, (for such is the justice of their proceedings, that of their own accord they have been willing to give an account of their actions to other nations,) is it not prodigious, that such a pitiful fellow as you are, a man of no authority, of no credit, of no figure in the world, a mere Burgundian slave, should have the impudence to accuse the parliament of England, asserting by a public instrument their own and their country's right, "of a detestable and horrid imposture?" Your country may be ashamed, you rascal, to have brought forth a little inconsiderable fellow of such profligate impudence. But perhaps you have somewhat to tell us, that may be for our good: go on, we will hear you. "What laws," say you, "can a parliament enact, in which the bishops are not present?" Did you then, you madman, expel the order of bishops out of the church, to introduce them into the state? O wicked wretch! who ought to be delivered over to Satan, whom the church ought to forbid her communion, as being a hypocrite, and an atheist, and no civil society of men to acknowledge as a member, being a public enemy, and a plague-sore to the common liberty of mankind; who, where the gospel fails you, endeavour to prove out of Aristotle, Halicarnassæus, and then from some popish authorities of the most corrupt ages, that the king of England is the head of the church of England, to the end that you may, as far as in you lies, bring in the bishops again, his intimates and table-companions, grown so of late, to rob and tyrannize in the church of God, whom God himself has deposed and degraded, whose very order you had heretofore asserted in print that it ought to be rooted out of the world, as destructive of and pernicious to the christian religion. What apostate did ever so shamefully and wickedly desert as this man has done, I do not say his own, which indeed never was any, but the christian doctrine which he had formerly asserted? "The bishops being put down, who under the king, and by his permission, held plea of ecclesiastical causes, upon whom," say you, "will that jurisdiction devolve?" O villain! have some regard at least to your own conscience; remember before it be too late, if at least this admonition of mine come not too late, remember that this mocking the Holy Spirit of God is an inexpiable crime, and will not be left unpunished. Stop at last, and set bounds to your fury, lest the wrath of God lay hold upon you suddenly, for endeavouring to deliver the flock of God, his anointed ones that are not to be touched, to enemies and cruel tyrants, to be crushed and trampled on again, from whom himself by a high and stretched-out arm had so lately delivered them; and from whom you yourself maintained, that

they ought to be delivered, I know not whether for any good of theirs, or in order to the hardening of your own heart, and to further your own damnation. If the bishops have no right to lord it over the church, certainly much less have kings, whatever the laws of men may be to the contrary. For they that know any thing of the gospel know thus much, that the government of the church is altogether divine and spiritual, and no civil constitution. Whereas you say, that "in secular affairs, the kings of England have always had the sovereign power;" our laws do abundantly declare that to be false. Our courts of justice are erected and suppressed, not by the king's authority, but that of the parliament; and yet in any of them, the meanest subject might go to law with the king; nor is it a rare thing for the judges to give judgment against him, which if the king should endeavour to obstruct by any prohibition, mandate, or letters, the judges were bound by law, and by their oaths, not to obey him, but to reject such inhibitions as null and void in law. The king could not imprison any man, or seize his estate as forfeited; he could not punish any man, not summoned to appear in court, where not the king, but the ordinary judges give sentence; which they frequently did, as I have said, against the king. Hence our Bracton, lib. 3, cap. 9, "The regal power," says he, "is according to law; he has no power to do any wrong, nor can the king do any thing but what the law warrants." Those lawyers that you have consulted, men that have lately fled their country, may tell you another tale, and acquaint you with some statutes, not very ancient neither, but made in King Edward IV, King Henry VI, and King Edward VIth's days; but they did not consider, that what power soever those statutes gave the king, was conferred upon him by authority of parliament, so that he was beholden to them for it; and the same power that conferred it, might at pleasure resume it. How comes it to pass, that so acute a disputant as you, should suffer yourself to be imposed upon to that degree, as to make use of that very argument to prove the king's power to be absolute and supreme, than which nothing proves more clearly, that it is subordinate to that of the parliament? Our records of the greatest authority with us declare, that our kings owe all their power, not to any right of inheritance, of conquest, or succession, but to the people. So in the parliament rolls of King Henry IV, numb. 108, we read, that the kingly office and power was granted by the commons to King Henry IV, and before him, to his predecessor King Richard II, just as kings use to grant commissioners' places and lieutenantships to their deputies, by edicts and patents. Thus the house of commons ordered expressly to be entered upon record, "that they had granted to King Richard to use the same good liberty, that the kings of England before him had used:" which because that king abused to the subversion of the laws, and "contrary to his oath at his coronation," the same persons, that granted him that power, took it back again, and deposed him. The same men, as appears by the same record, declared in open parliament, "that having confidence in the prudence and moderation of King Henry the IVth, they will and enact, that he enjoy the same royal authority that his ancestors enjoyed." Which if it had been any other than in the nature of a trust, as this was, either those houses of parliament were foolish and vain, to give what was none of their own, or those kings that were willing to receive as from them, what was already theirs, were too injurious both to themselves and their posterity; neither of which is likely. "A third part of the regal power," say you, "is conversant about the militia; this the kings of England have used to order and govern, without fellow or competitor." This is as false as all the rest that you have taken upon the credit of fugitives: for in the first place, both our own histories, and those of foreigners, that have been any whit exact in the relation of our affairs, declare, that the making of peace and war always did belong to the parliament. And the laws of St. Edward, which our kings were bound to swear that they would maintain, make this appear beyond all exception, in the chapter "De Heretochiis," viz. "That there were certain officers appointed in every province and county throughout the kingdom, that were called Heretochs, in Latin, duces, commanders of armies, that were to command the forces of the several counties," not for the honour of the crown only, "but for the good of the realm. And they were chosen by the general council, and in the several counties at public assemblies of the inhabitants, as sheriffs ought to be chosen." Whence it is evident, that the forces of the kingdom, and the commanders of those forces, were anciently, and ought to be still, not at the king's command, but at the people's; and that this most reasonable and just law obtained in this kingdom of ours, no less than heretofore it did in the commonwealth of the Romans. Concerning which, it will not be amiss to hear what Cicero says, Philip. 1. "All the legions, all the forces of the commonwealth, wheresoever they are, are the people of Rome's; nor are those legions, that deserted the consul Antonius, said to have been Antony's, but the commonwealth's legions." This very law of St. Edward, together with the rest, did William the Conqueror, at the desire and instance of the people, confirm by oath, and added over and above, cap. 56, "That all cities, boroughs, castles, should be so watched every night, as the sheriffs, the aldermen, and other magistrates, should think meet for the safety of the kingdom." And in the 6th law, "Castles, boroughs, and cities, were first built for the defence of the people, and therefore ought to be maintained free and entire, by all ways and means." What then? Shall towns and places of strength in times of peace be guarded against thieves and robbers by common councils of the several places; and shall they not be defended in dangerous times of war, against both domestic and foreign hostility, by the common council of the whole nation? If this be not granted, there can be no freedom, no integrity, no reason, in the guarding of them: nor shall we obtain any of those ends, for which the law itself tells us, that towns and fortresses were at first founded. Indeed our ancestors were will-

ing to put any thing into the king's power, rather than their arms, and the garrisons of their towns; conceiving that to be neither better nor worse, than betraying their liberty to the fury and exorbitancy of their princes. Of which there are so very many instances in our histories, and those so generally known, that it would be superfluous to mention any of them here. But "the king owes protection to his subjects; and how can he protect them, unless he have men and arms at command?" But, say I, he had all this for the good of the kingdom, as has been said, not for the destruction of his people, and the ruin of the kingdom: which in King Henry the IIId's time, one Leonard, a learned man in those days, in an assembly of bishops, told Rustandus, the pope's nuncio and the king's procurator, in these words; "All churches are the pope's, as all temporal things are said to be the king's, for defence and protection, not his in propriety and ownership, as we say; they are his to defend, not to destroy." The aforementioned law of St. Edward is to the same purpose; and what does this import more than a trust? Does this look like absolute power? Such a kind of power a commander of an army always has, that is, a delegated power; and yet both at home and abroad he is never the less able to defend the people that choose him. Our parliaments would anciently have contended with our kings about their liberty and the laws of St. Edward, to very little purpose; and it would have been an unequal match betwixt the kings and them, if they had been of opinion, that the power of the sword belonged to them alone: for how unjust laws soever their kings would have imposed upon them, their charter, though never so great, would have been a weak defence against force. But say you, "What would the parliament be the better for the militia, since without the king's assent they cannot raise the least farthing from the people towards the maintaining it?" Take you no thought for that: for in the first place you go upon a false supposition, "that parliaments cannot impose taxes without the king's assent," upon the people that send them, and whose concerns they undertake. In the next place, you, that are so officious an inquirer into other men's matters, cannot but have heard, that the people of their own accord, by bringing in their plate to be melted down, raised a great sum of money towards the carrying on of this war against the king. Then you mention the largeness of our king's revenue: you mention over and over again five hundred and forty thousands: that "those of our kings that have been eminent for their bounty and liberality have used to give large boons out of their own patrimony." This you were glad to hear; it was by this charm, that those traitors to their country allured you, as Balaam the prophet was enticed of old, to curse the people of God, and exclaim against the judicial dispensations of his providence. You fool! what was that unjust and violent king the better for such abundance of wealth? What are you the better for it? Who have been no partaker of any part of it, that I can hear of, (how great hopes soever you may have conceived of being vastly enriched by it,) but only of a hundred pieces of gold, in a purse wrought with beads. Take that reward of thine iniquity, Balaam, which thou hast loved, and enjoy it. You go on to play the fool; "the setting up of a standard is a prerogative that belongs to the king only." How so? Why because Virgil tells us in his Æneis, "that Turnus set up a standard on the top of the tower at Laurentum, for an ensign of war." And do not you know, Grammarian, that every general of an army does the same thing? But, says Aristotle, "The king must always be provided of a military power, that he may be able to defend the laws; and therefore the king must be stronger than the whole body of the people." This man makes consequences just as Ocnus does ropes in hell; which are of no use but to be eaten by asses. For a number of soldiers given to the king by the people, is one thing, and the sole power of the militia is quite another thing; the latter, Aristotle does not allow that kings ought to be masters of, and that in this very place which you have quoted; "He ought," says he, "to have so many armed men about him, as to make him stronger than any one man, than many men got together; but he must not be stronger than all the people." Polit. lib. 3, cap. 4. Else instead of protecting them, it would be in his power to subject both people and laws to himself. For this is the difference betwixt a king and a tyrant: a king, by consent of the senate and people, has about him so many armed men, as to enable him to resist enemies, and suppress seditions. A tyrant, against the will both of senate and people, gets as great a number as he can, either of enemies, or profligate subjects, to side with him against the senate and the people. The parliament therefore allowed the king, as they did whatever he had besides, the setting up of a standard; not to wage war against his own people, but to defend them against such as the parliament should declare enemies to the state: if he acted otherwise, himself was to be accounted an enemy; since according to the very law of St. Edward, or according to a more sacred law than that, the law of nature itself, he lost the name of a king, and was no longer such. Whence Cicero in his Philip. "He forfeits his command in the army, and interest in his government, that employs them against the state." Neither could the king compel those that held of him by knight-service, to serve him in any other war, than such as was made by consent of parliament; which is evident by many statutes. So for customs and other subsidies for the maintenance of the navy, the king could not exact them without an act of parliament; as was resolved about twelve years ago, by the ablest of our lawyers, when the king's authority was at the height. And long before them, Fortescue, an eminent lawyer, and chancellor to King Henry the Sixth, "The king of England," says he, "can neither alter the laws, nor exact subsidies without the people's consent." Nor can any testimonies be brought from antiquity, to prove the kingdom of England to have been merely regal. "The king," says Bracton, "has a jurisdiction over all his subjects;" that is, in his courts of justice, where justice is administered in the king's

name indeed, but according to our own laws. "All are subject to the king;" that is, every particular man is; and so Bracton explains himself in the places that I have cited. What follows is but turning the same stone over and over again, (at which sport I believe you are able to tire Sisiphus himself,) and is sufficiently answered by what has been said already. For the rest, if our parliaments have sometimes complimented good kings with submissive expressions, though neither savouring of flattery nor slavery, those are not to be accounted due to tyrants, nor ought to prejudice the people's right: good manners and civility do not infringe liberty. Whereas you cite out of Sir Edward Coke and others, "that the kingdom of England is an absolute kingdom;" that is said with respect to any foreign prince, or the emperor: because as Camden says, "It is not under the patronage of the emperor:" but both of them affirm, that the government of England resides not in king alone, but in a body politic. Whence Fortescue, in his book de Laud. Leg. Ang. cap. 9, "The king of England," says he, "governs his people, not by a merely regal, but a political power; for the English are governed by laws of their own making." Foreign authors were not ignorant of this: hence Philip de Comines, a grave author, in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries, "Of all the kingdoms of the earth," says he, "that I have any knowledge of, there is none in my opinion where the government is more moderate, where the king has less power of hurting his people, than in England." Finally, "It is ridiculous," say you, "for them to affirm that kingdoms were ancienter than kings; which is as much as if they should say, that there was light before the sun was created." But with your good leave, Sir, we do not say that kingdoms, but that the people, were before kings. In the mean time, who can be more ridiculous than you, who deny there was light before the sun had a being? You pretend to a curios ty in other men's matters, and have forgot the very first things that were taught you. "You wonder how they that have seen the king sit upon his throne, at a session of parliament, (sub aureo et serico Cœlo, under a golden and silken heaven,) under a canopy of state, should so much as make a question, whether the majesty resided in him, or in the parliament?" They are certainly hard of belief, whom so lucid an argument, coming down from heaven, cannot convince. Which golden heaven, you, like a stoic, have so devoutly and seriously gazed upon, that you seem to have forgot what kind of heaven Moses and Aristotle describe to us; for you deny, that there was any light in Moses's heaven before the sun; and in Aristotle's you make three temperate zones. How many zones you observed in that golden and silken heaven of the king's, I know not; but I know you got one zone (a purse) well tempered with a hundred golden stars by your astronomy.

CHAP. X.

SINCE this whole controversy, whether concerning the right of kings in general, or that of the king of England in particular, is rendered difficult and intricate, rather by the obstinacy of parties, than by the nature of the thing itself; I hope they that prefer truth before the interest of a faction, will be satisfied with what I have alleged out of the law of God, the laws of nations, and the municipal laws of my own country, that a king of England may be brought to trial, and put to death. As for those whose minds are either blinded with superstition, or so dazzled with the splendour and grandeur of a court, that magnanimity and true liberty do not appear so glorious to them, as they are in themselves, it will be in vain to contend with them, either by reason and arguments, or examples. But you, Salmasius, seem very absurd, as in every other part of your book, so particularly in this, who though you rail perpetually at the Independents, and revile them with all the terms of reproach imaginable, yet assert to the highest degree that can be the independency of a king, whom you defend; and will not allow him to "owe his sovereignty to the people, but to his descent." And whereas in the beginning of your book you complained, that he was "put to plead for his life," here you complain "that he perished without being heard to speak for himself." But if you have a mind to look into the history of his trial, which is very faithfully published in French, it may be you will be of another opinion. Whereas he had liberty given him for some days together, to say what he could for himself, he made use of it not to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge, but to disprove the authority of his judges, and the judicature that he was called before. And whenever a criminal is either mute, or says nothing to the purpose, there is no injustice in condemning him without hearing him, if his crimes are notorious, and publicly known. If you say, that Charles died as he lived, I agree with you: if you say, that he died piously, holily, and at ease, you may remember that his grandmother Mary, Queen of Scots, an infamous woman, died on a scaffold with as much outward appearance of piety, sanctity, and constancy, as he did. And lest you should ascribe too much to that presence of mind, which some common malefactors have so great a measure of at their death; many times despair, and a hardened heart, puts on as it were a vizor of courage; and stupidity, a shew of quiet and tranquillity of mind: sometimes the worst of men desire to appear good, undaunted, innocent, and now and then religious, not only in their life, but at their death; and in suffering death for their villanies, use to act the last part of their hypocrisy and cheats, with all the shew imaginable; and like bad poets or stageplayers, are very ambitious at being clapped at the end of the play. "Now," you say, "you are come to inquire who they chiefly were, that gave sentence against the king." Whereas it ought first to be inquired into, how you, a foreigner, and a French vagabond, came to have any thing to

do to raise a question about our affairs, to which you are so much a stranger? And what reward induced you to it? But we know enough of that, and who satisfied your curiosity in these matters of ours; even those fugitives, and traitors to their country, that could easily hire such a vain fellow as you, to speak ill of us. Then an account in writing of the state of our affairs was put into your hands by some hairbrained, half protestant, half papist chaplain or other, or by some sneaking courtier, and you were put to translate it into Latin; out of that you took these narratives, which, if you please, we will examine a little: "Not the hundred thousandth part of the people consented to this sentence of condemnation." What were the rest of the people then, that suffered so great a thing to be transacted against their will? Were they stocks and stones, were they mere trunks of men only, or such images of Britains, as Virgil describes to have been wrought in tapestry?

Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.

And Britains interwove held up the purple hangings.

For you describe no true Britains, but painted ones, or rather needle-wrought men instead of them. Since therefore it is a thing so incredible, that a warlike nation should be subdued by so few, and those of the dregs of the people, (which is the first thing that occurs in your narrative,) that appears in the very nature of the thing itself to be most false. "The bishops were turned out of the house of lords by the parliament itself." The more deplorable is your madness, (for are not you yet sensible that you rave?) to complain of their being turned out of the parliament, whom you yourself in a large book endeavour to prove ought to be turned out of the church. "One of the states of parliament, to wit, the house of lords, consisting of dukes, earls, and viscounts, was removed." And deservedly were they removed; for they were not deputed to sit there by any town or county, but represented themselves only; they had no right over the people, but (as if they had been ordained for that very purpose) used frequently to oppose their rights and liberties. They were created by the king, they were his companions, his servants, and, as it were, shadows of him. He being removed, it was necessary they should be reduced to the same level with the body of the people, from amongst whom they took their rise. "One part of the parliament, and that the worst of all, ought not to have assumed that power of judging and condemning the king." But I have told you already, that the house of commons was not only the chief part of our parliament, while we had kings, but was a perfect and entire parliament of itself, without the temporal lords, much more without the bishops. But, "the whole house of commons themselves were not admitted to have to do with the trial of the king" To wit, that part of them was not admitted, that openly revolted to him in their minds and counsels; whom, though they styled him their king, yet they had so often acted against as an enemy. The parliament of England, and the deputies sent from the parliament of Scotland, on the 13th of January, 1645, wrote to the king, in answer to a letter of his, by which he desired a deceitful truce, and that he might treat with them at London; that they could not admit him into that city, till he had made satisfaction to the state for the civil war that he had raised in the three kingdoms, and for the deaths of so many of his subjects slain by his order; and till he had agreed to a true and firm peace upon such terms as the parliaments of both kingdoms had offered him so often already, and should offer him again. He on the other hand either refused to hear, or by ambiguous answers eluded, their just and equal proposals, though most humbly presented to him seven times over. The parliament at last, after so many years' patience, lest the king should overturn the state by his wiles and delays, when in prison, which he could not subdue in the field, and lest the vanquished enemy, pleased with our divisions, should recover himself, and triumph unexpectedly over his conquerors, vote that for the future they would have no regard to him, that they would send him no more proposals, nor receive any from him: after which vote, there were found even some members of parliament, who out of the hatred they bore that invincible army, whose glory they envied, and which they would have had disbanded, and sent home with disgrace, after they had deserved so well of their nation, and out of a servile compliance with some seditious ministers, finding their opportunity, when many, whom they knew to be otherwise minded than themselves, having been sent by the house itself to suppress the presbyterians, who began already to be turbulent, were absent in the several counties, with a strange levity, not to say perfidiousness, vote that that inveterate enemy of the state, who had nothing of a king but the name, without giving any satisfaction or security, should be brought back to London, and restored to his dignity and government, as if he had deserved well of the nation by what he had done. So that they preferred the king before their religion, their liberty, and that very celebrated covenant of theirs. What did they do in the mean time, who were sound themselves, and saw such pernicious councils on foot? Ought they therefore to have been wanting to the nation, and not provide for its safety, because the infection had spread itself even in their own house? But, who secluded those ill-affected members? "The English army," you say: so that it was not an army of foreigners, but of most valiant, and faithful, honest natives, whose officers for the most part were members of parliament; and whom those good secluded members would have secluded their country, and banished into Ireland; while in the mean time the Scots, whose alliance began to be doubtful, had very considerable forces in four of our northern counties, and kept garrisons in the best towns of those parts, and had the king himself in custody; whilst they likewise encouraged the tumultuating of those of their own faction, who did more than threaten the parliament, both in city and country, and through whose means not only a civil, but a war with Scotland too shortly after brake out. If it has been always counted praise-worthy in private men to assist the state, and promote the public good, whether by advice or action; our army sure

was in no fault, who being ordered by the parliament to come to town, obeyed and came, and when they were come, quelled with ease the faction and uproar of the king's party, who sometimes threatened the house itself. For things were brought to that pass, that of necessity either we must be run down by them, or they by us. They had on their side most of the shopkeepers and handicraftsmen of London, and generally those of the ministers, that were most factious. On our side was the army, whose fidelity, moderation, and courage were sufficiently known. It being in our power by their means to retain our liberty, our state, our common safety, do you think we had not been fools to have lost all by our negligence and folly? They who had had places of command in the king's army, after their party were subdued, had laid down their arms indeed against their wills, but continued enemies to us in their hearts: and they flocked to town, and were here watching all opportunities of renewing the war. With these men, though they were the greatest enemies they had in the world, and thirsted after their blood, d d the Presbyterians, because they were not permitted to exercise a civil as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all others, hold secret correspondence, and took measures very unworthy of what they had formerly both said and done; and they came to that spleen at last, that they would rather enthral themselves to the king again, than admit their own brethren to share in their liberty, which they likewise had purchased at the price of their own blood; they choose rather to be lorded over once more by a tyrant, polluted with the blood of so many of his own subjects, and who was enraged, and breathed out nothing but revenge, against those of them that were left, than endure their brethren and friends to be upon the square with them. The Independents, as they are called, were the only men, that from first to last kept to their point, and knew what use to make of their victory. They refused (and wisely, in my opinion) to make him king again, being then an enemy, who when he was their king, had made himself their enemy: nor were they ever the less averse to a peace, but they very prudently dreaded a new war, or a perpetual slavery under the name of a peace. To load our army with the more reproaches, you begin a silly confused narrative of our affairs; in which, though I find many things false, many things frivolous, many things laid to our charge for which we rather merit; yet I think it will be to no purpose for me to write a true relation, in answer to your false one. For you and I are arguing, not writing histories, and both sides will believe our reasons, but not our narrative; and indeed the nature of the things themselves is such, that they cannot be related as they ought to be, but in a set history; so that I think it better, as Sallust said of Carthage, rather to say nothing at all, than to say but a little of things of this weight and importance. Nay, and I scorn so much as to mention the praises of great men, and of Almighty God himself, (who in so wonderful a course of affairs ought to be frequently acknowledged,) amongst your slanders and reproaches. I will therefore only pick out such things as seem to have any colour of argument. You say, "the English and Scots promised by a solemn covenant, to preserve the majesty of the king." But you omit upon what terms they promised it; to wit, if it might consist with the safety of their religion and their liberty. To both which, religion and liberty, that king was so averse to his last breath, and watched all opportunities of gaining advantages upon them, that it was evident that his life was dangerous to their religion, and the certain ruin of their liberty. But then you fall upon the king's judges again: "If we consider the thing aright, the conclusion of this abominable action must be imputed to the Independents, yet so as the Presbyterians may justly challenge the glory of its beginning and progress." Hark, ye Presbyterians, what good has it done you? How is your innocence and loyalty the more cleared by your seeming so much to abhor the putting the king to death? You yourselves, in the opinion of this everlasting talkative advocate of the king your accuser, "went more than half-way towards it; you were seen acting the fourth act and more, in this tragedy; you may justly be charged with the king's death, since you shewed the way to it; it was you and only you that laid his head upon the block." Wo be to you in the first place, if ever Charles his posterity recover the crown of England; assure yourselves, you are like to be put in the black list. But pay your vows to God, and love your brethren who have delivered you, who have prevented that calamity from falling upon you, who have saved you from inevitable ruin, though against your wills. You are accused likewise for that "some years ago you endeavoured by sundry petitions to lessen the king's authority, that you published some scandalous expressions of the king himself in the papers you presented him with in the name of the parliament; to wit, in that declaration of the lords and commons of the 26th of May 1642, you declared openly in some mad positions that breathed nothing but rebellion, what your thoughts were of the king's authority: Hotham by order of parliament shut the gates of Hull against the king; you had a mind to make a trial by this first act of rebellion how much the king would bear." What could this man say more, if it were his design to reconcile the minds of all Englishmen to one another, and alienate them wholly from the king? for he gives them here to understand, that if ever the king be brought back, they must not only expect to be punished for his father's death, but for the petitions they made long ago, and some acts that past in full parliament, concerning the putting down the common-prayer and bishops, and that of the triennial parliament, and several other things that were enacted with the greatest consent and applause of all the people that could be; all which will be looked upon as the seditious and mad positions of the Presbyterians. But this vain fellow changes his mind all of a sudden; and what but of late, "when he considered it aright," he thought was to be imputed wholly to the Presbyterians, now that "he considers the same thing from first to last," he thinks the Independents were the sole actors of it. But even now

he told us, "the Presbyterians took up arms against the king, that by them he was beaten, taken captive, and put in prison:" now he says, "this whole doctrine of rebellion is the Independents' principle." O! the faithfulness of this man's narrative! how consistent he is with himself! what need is there of a counter-narrative to this of his, that cuts its own throat? But if any man should question whether you are an honest man or a knave, let him read these following lines of yours: "It is time to explain whence and at what time this sect of enemies to kingship first began. Why truly these rare puritans began in Queen Elizabeth's time to crawl out of hell, and disturb not only the church, but the state likewise; for they are no less plagues to the latter than to the former." Now your very speech bewrays you to be a right Balaam; for where you designed to spit out the most bitter poison you could, there unwittingly and against your will you have pronounced a blessing. For it is notoriously known all over England, that if any endeavoured to follow the example of those churches, whether in France or Germany, which they accounted best reformed, and to exercise the public worship of God in a more pure manner, which our bishops had almost universally corrupted with their ceremonies and superstitions; or if any seemed either in point of religion or morality to be better than others, such persons were by the favour of episcopacy termed Puritans. These are they whose principles you say are so opposite to kingship. Nor are they the only persons, "most of the reformed religion, that have not sucked in the rest of their principles, yet seem to have approved of those that strike at kingly government." So that while you inveigh bitterly against the Independents, and endeavour to separate them from Christ's flock, with the same breath you praise them; and those principles which almost every where you affirm to be peculiar to the Independents, here you confess have been approved of by most of the reformed religion. Nay, you are arrived to that degree of impudence, impiety, and apostacy, that though formerly you maintained bishops ought to be extirpated out of the church root and branch, as so many pests and limbs of antichrist, here you say the king ought to protect them, for the saving of his coronation oath. You cannot shew yourself a more infamous villain than you have done already, but by abjuring the protestant reformed religion, to which you are a scandal. Whereas you tax us with giving a "toleration of all sects and heresies," you ought not to find fault with us for that; since the church bears with such a profligate wretch as you yourself, such a vain fellow, such a liar, such a mercenary slanderer, such an apostate, one who has the impudence to affirm, that the best and most pious of Christians, and even most of those who profess the reformed religion, are crept out of hell, because they differ in opinion from you. I had best pass by the calumnies that fill up the rest of this chapter, and those prodigious tenets that you ascribe to the Independents, to render them odious; for neither do they at all concern the cause you have in hand, and they are such for the most part as deserve to be laughed at and despised, rather than receive a serious answer.

CHAP. XI.

You seem to begin this eleventh chapter, Salmasius, though with no modesty, yet with some sense of your weakness and trifling in this discourse. For whereas you proposed to yourself to inquire in this place, by what authority sentence was given against the king; you add immediately, which nobody expected from you, that "it is in vain to make any such inquiry; to wit, because the quality of the persons that did it leaves hardly any room for such a question." And therefore as you have been found guilty of a great deal of impudence and sauciness in the undertaking of this cause, so since you seem here conscious of your own impertinence, I shall give you the shorter answer. To your question then; by what authority the house of commons either condemned the king themselves, or delegated that power to others; I answer, they did it by virtue of the supreme authority on earth. How they come to have the supreme power, you may learn by what I have said already, when I have refuted your impertinencies upon that subject. If you believed yourself, that you could ever say enough upon any subject, you would not be so tedious in repeating the same thing so many times over. And the house of commons might delegate their judicial power by the same reason, by which you say the king may delegate his, who received all he had from the people. Hence in that solemn league and covenant that you object to us, the parliaments of England and Scotland solemnly protest and engage to each other, to punish the traitors in such manner as "the supreme, judicial authority in both nations, or such as should have a delegated power from them," should think fit. Now you hear the parliaments of both nations protest with one voice, that they may delegate their judicial power, which they call the supreme; so that you move a vain and frivolous controversy about delegating this power. "But," say you, "there were added to those judges, that were made choice of out of the house of commons, some officers of the army, and it never was known, that soldiers had any right to try a subject for his life." I will silence you in a very few words: you may remember, that we are not now discoursing of a subject, but of an enemy; whom if a general of an army, after he has taken him prisoner, resolves to dispatch, would he be thought to proceed otherwise than according to custom and martial law, if he himself with some of his officers should sit upon him, and try and condemn him? An enemy to a state, made a prisoner of war, cannot be looked upon to be so much as a member, much less a king in that state. This is declared by that sacred law of St. Edward, which denies that a bad king is a king at all, or ought to be called so. Whereas you say, it was "not the whole, but a part of the house of com-

mons, that tried and condemned the king," I give you this answer: the number of them, who gave their votes for putting the king to death, was far greater than is necessary, according to the custom of our parliaments, to transact the greatest affairs of the kingdom, in the absence of the rest; who since they were absent through their own fault, (for to revolt to the common enemy in their hearts, is the worst sort of absence,) their absence ought not to hinder the rest who continued faithful to the cause, from preserving the state; which when it was in a tottering condition, and almost quite reduced to slavery and utter ruin, the whole body of the people had at first committed to their fidelity, prudence, and courage. And they acted their parts like men; they set themselves in opposition to the unruly wilfulness, the rage, the secret designs of an inveterate and exasperated king; they preferred the common liberty and safety before their own; they outdid all former parliaments, they outdid all their ancestors, in conduct, magnanimity, and steadiness to their cause. Yet these very men did a great part of the people ungratefully desert in the midst of their undertaking, though they had promised them all fidelity, all the help and assistance they could afford them. These were for slavery and peace, with sloth and luxury, upon any terms: others demanded their liberty, nor would accept of a peace, that was not sure and honourable. What should the parliament do in this case? Ought they to have defended this part of the people, that was sound, and continued faithful to them and their country, or to have sided with those that deserted both? I know what you will say they ought to have done. You are not Eurylochus, but Elpenor, a miserable enchanted beast, a filthy swine, accustomed to a sordid slavery even under a woman; so that you have not the least relish of true magnanimity, nor consequently of liberty, which is the effect of it: you would have all other men slaves, because you find in yourself no generous, ingenuous inclinations; you say nothing, you breathe nothing, but what is mean and servile. You raise another scruple, to wit, "that he was the king of Scotland too, whom we condemned;" as if he might therefore do what he would in England. But that you may conclude this chapter, which of all others is the most weak and insipid, at least with some witty quirk, "there are two little words," say you, "that are made up of the same number of letters, and differ only in the placing of them, but whose significations are wide asunder, to wit, Vis and Jus, (might and right)." It is no great wonder, that such a three-lettered man as you, (fur, a thief,) should make such a witticism upon three letters: it is the greater wonder (which yet you assert throughout your book) that two things so directly opposite to one another as those two are, should yet meet and become one and the same thing in kings. For what violence was ever acted by kings, which you do not affirm to be their right? These are all the passages, that I could pick out of nine long pages, that I thought deserved an answer. The rest consists either of repetitions of things that have been answered more than once, or such as have no relation to the matter in hand. So that my being more brief in this chapter than in the rest is not to be imputed to want of diligence in me, which, how irksome soever you are to me, I have not slackened, but to your tedious impertinence, so void of matter and sense.

CHAP. XII.

I WISH, Salmasius, that you had left out this part of your discourse concerning the king's crime, which it had been more advisable for yourself and your party to have done; for I am afraid lest in giving you an answer to it, I should appear too sharp and severe upon him, now he is dead, and hath received his punishment. But since you choose rather to discourse confidently and at large upon that subject, I will make you sensible, that you could not have done a more inconsiderate thing, than to reserve the worst part of your cause to the last, to wit, that of ripping up and inquiring into the king's crimes; which when I shall have proved them to have been true and most exorbitant, they will render his memory unpleasant and odious to all good men, and imprint now in the close of the controversy a just hatred of you, who undertake his defence, on the reader's minds. Say you, "his accusation may be divided into two parts, one is conversant about his morals, the other taxeth him with such faults as he might commit in his public capacity." I will be content to pass by in silence that part of his life that he spent in banquetting, at plays, and in the conversation of women; for what can there be in luxury and excess worth relating? And what would those things have been to us, if he had been a private person? But since he would be a king, as he could not live a private life, so neither could his vices be like those of a private person. For in the first place, he did a great deal of mischief by his example: in the second place, all that time that he spent upon his lust, and his sports, which was a great part of his time, he stole from the state, the government of which he had undertaken: thirdly and lastly, he squandered away vast sums of money, which were not his own, but the public revenue of the nation, in his domestic luxury and extravagance. So that in his private life at home he first began to be an ill king. But let us rather pass over to those crimes, "that he is charged with on the account of misgovernment." Here you lament his being condemned as a tyrant, a traitor, and a murderer. That he had no wrong done him, shall now be made appear. But first let us define a tyrant, not according to vulgar conceits, but the judgment of Aristotle, and of all learned men. He is a tyrant who regards his own welfare and profit only, and not that of the people. So Aristotle defines one in the tenth book of his Ethics, and elsewhere, and so do very many others. Whether Charles regarded his own or the people's good, these few things of many, that I shall

but touch upon, will evince. When his rents and other public revenues of the crown would not defray the expenses of the court, he laid most heavy taxes upon the people; and when they were squandered away, he invented new ones; not for the benefit, honour, or defence of the state, but that he might hoard up, or lavish out in one house, the riches and wealth, not of one, but of three nations. When at this rate he broke lose, and acted without any colour of law to warrant his proceedings, knowing that the parliament was the only thing that could give him check, he endeavoured either wholly to lay aside the very calling of parliaments, or calling them just as often, and no oftener, than to serve his own turn, to make them entirely at his devotion. Which bridle when he had cast off himself, he put another bridle upon the people; he put garrisons of German horse and Irish foot in many towns and cities, and that in time of peace. Do you think he does not begin to look like a tyrant? In which very thing, as in many other particulars, which you have formerly given me occasion to instance, though you scorn to have Charles compared with so cruel a tyrant as Nero, he resembled him extremely much. For Nero likewise often threatened to take away the senate. Besides, he bore extreme hard upon the consciences of good men, and compelled them to the use of ceremonies and superstitious worship, borrowed from popery, and by him reintroduced into the church. They that would not conform, were imprisoned or banished. He made war upon the Scots twice for no other cause than that. By all these actions he has surely deserved the name of a tyrant once over at least. Now I will tell you why the word traitor was put into his indictment: when he assured his parliament by promises, by proclamations, by imprecations, that he had no design against the state, at that very time did he list Papists in Ireland, he sent a private embassy to the king of Denmark to beg assistance from him of arms, horses, and men, expressly against the parliament; and was endeavouring to raise an army first in England, and then in Scotland. To the English he promised the plunder of the city of London; to the Scots, that the four northern counties should be added to Scotland, if they would but help him to get rid of the parliament, by what means soever. These projects not succeeding, he sent over one Dillon, a traitor, into Ireland with private instructions to the natives, to fall suddenly upon all the English that inhabited there.—These are the most remarkable instances of his treasons, not taken up upon hearsay and idle reports, but discovered by letters under his own hand and seal. And finally I suppose no man will deny that he was a murderer, by whose order the Irish took arms, and put to death with most exquisite torments above a hundred thousand English, who lived peaceably by them, and without any apprehension of danger; and who raised so great a civil war in the other two kingdoms. Add to all this, that at the treaty in the Isle of Wight the king openly took upon himself the guilt of the war, and cleared the parliament in the confession he made there, which is publicly known. Thus you have in short why King Charles was adjudged a tyrant, a traitor, and a murderer. "But," say you, "why was he not declared so before, neither in that solemn league and covenant, nor afterwards when he was delivered to them, either by the Presbyterians or the Independents, but on the other hand was received as a king ought to be, with all reverence?" This very thing is sufficient to persuade any rational man, that the parliament entered not into any councils of quite deposing the king, but as their last refuge, after they had suffered and undergone all that possibly they could, and had attempted all other ways and means. You alone endeavour maliciously to lay that to their charge, which to all good men cannot but evidence their great patience, moderation, and perhaps a too long forbearing with the king's pride and arrogance. But "in the month of August, before the king suffered, the house of commons, which then bore the only sway, and was governed by the Independents, wrote letters to the Scots, in which they acquainted them, that they never intended to alter the form of government that had obtained so long in England under king, lords, and commons." You may see from hence, how little reason there is to ascribe the deposing of the king to the principles of the Independents. They, that never used to dissemble and conceal their tenets, even then, when they had the sole management of affairs, profess, "That they never intended to alter the government." But if afterwards a thing came into their minds, which at first they intended not, why might they not take such a course, though before not intended, as appeared most advisable, and most for the nation's inter[illegible] Especially when they found, that the king could not possibly be intreated or induced to assent to those just demands, that they had made from time to time, and which were always the same from first to last. He persisted in those perverse sentiments with respect to religion and his own right, which he had all along espoused, and which were so destructive to us; not in the least altered from the man that he was, when in peace and war he did us all so much mischief. If he assented to any thing, he gave no obscure hints, that he did it against his will, and that whenever he should come into power again, he would look upon such his assent as null and void. The same thing his son declared by writing under his hand, when in those days he ran away with part of the fleet, and so did the king himself by letters to some of his own party in London. In the mean time, against the avowed sense of the parliament, he struck up a private peace with the Irish, the most barbarous enemies imaginable to England, upon base dishonourable terms; but whenever he invited the English to treaties of peace, at those very times, with all the power he had, and interest he could make, he was preparing for war. In this case, what should they do, who were entrusted with the care of the government? Ought they to have betrayed the safety of us all to our most bitter adversary? Or would you have had them left us to undergo the calamities of another seven years' war, not to say worse? God put a better mind into them, of preferring, pursuant to that very solemn league and covenant, their religion and

liberties, before those thoughts they once had, of not rejecting the king; for they had not gone so far as to vote it; all which they saw at last, (though indeed later than they might have done,) could not possibly subsist, as long as the king continued king. The parliament ought and must of necessity be entirely free, and at liberty to provide for the good of the nation, as occasion requires; nor ought they so to be wedded to their first sentiments, as to scruple the altering their minds, for their own, or the nation's good, if God put an opportunity into their hands of procuring it. But "the Scots were of another opinion; for they, in a letter to Charles, the king's son, call his father a most sacred prince, and the putting him to death a most execrable villany." Do not you talk of the Scots, whom you know not; we know them well enough, and know the time when they called that same king a most execrable person, a murderer, and a traitor; and the putting a tyrant to death a most sacred action. Then you pick holes in the king's charge, as not being properly penned; and you ask "why we needed to call him a traitor and a murderer, after we had styled him a tyrant; since the word tyrant includes all the crimes that may be;" and then you explain to us grammatically and critically, what a tyrant is. Away with those trifles, you pedagogue, which that one definition of Aristotle's, that has lately been cited, will utterly confound; and teach such a doctor as you, that the word tyrant (for all your concern is barely to have some understanding of words) may be applied to one, who is neither a traitor nor a murderer. But "the laws of England do not make it treason in the king, to stir up sedition against himself or the people." Nor do they say, that the parliament can be guilty of treason by deposing a bad king, nor that any parliament ever was so, though they have often done it; but our laws plainly and clearly declare, that a king may violate, diminish, nay, and wholly lose his royalty. For that expression in the law of St. Edward, of "losing the name of a king," signifies neither more nor less, than being deprived of the kingly office and dignity; which befel Chilperic king of France, whose example for illustration sake is taken notice of in the law itself. There is not a lawyer amongst us, that can deny, but that the highest treason may be committed against the kingdom as well as against the king. I appeal to Glanville himself, whom you cite, "If any man attempt to put the king to death, or raise sedition in the realm, it is high treason." So that attempt of some papists to blow up the parliament-house, and the lords and commons there with gunpowder, was by King James himself, and both houses of parliament, declared to be high treason, not against the king only, but against the parliament and the whole kingdom. It would be to no purpose to quote more of our statutes, to prove so clear a truth; which yet I could easily do. For the thing itself is ridiculous, and absurd to imagine, that high treason may be committed against the king, and not against the people, for whose good, nay, and by whose leave, as I may say, the king is what he is: so that you babble over so many statutes of ours to no purpose; you toil and wallow in our ancient law-books to no purpose; for the laws themselves stand or fall by authority of parliament, who always had power to confirm or repeal them; and the parliament is the sole judge of what is rebellion, what high treason, (læsa majestas,) and what not. Majesty never was vested to that degree in the person of the king, as not to be more conspicuous and more august in parliament, as I have often shewn: but who can endure to hear such a senseless fellow, such a French mountebank, as you, declare what our laws are? And, you English fugitives! so many bishops, doctors, lawyers, who pretend that all learning and ingenuous literature is fled out of England with yourselves, was there not one of you that could defend the king's cause and your own, and that in good Latin also, to be submitted to the judgment of other nations, but that this brainsick, beggarly Frenchman must be hired to undertake the defence of a poor indigent king, surrounded with so many infant-priests and doctors? This very thing, I assure you, will be a great imputation to you amongst foreigners; and you will be thought deservedly to have lost that cause, you were so far from being able to defend by force of arms, as that you cannot so much as write in behalf of it. But now I come to you again, good man Goosecap, who scribble so finely; if at least you are come to yourself again: for I find you here towards the latter end of your book in a deep sleep, and dreaming of some voluntary death or other, that is nothing to the purpose. Then you "deny, that it is possible for a king in his right wits to embroil his people in seditions, to betray his own forces to be slaughtered by enemies, and raise factions against himself." All which things having been done by many kings, and particularly by Charles the late king of England, you will no longer doubt, I hope, especially being addicted to Stoicism, but that all tyrants, as well as profligate villains, are downright mad. Hear what Horace says, "Whoever through a senseless stupidity, or any other cause whatsoever, hath his understanding so blinded, as not to discern truth, the Stoics account of him as of a madman: and such are whole nations, such are kings and princes, such are all mankind; except those very few that are wise." So that if you would clear King Charles from the imputation of acting like a madman, you must first vindicate his integrity, and shew that he never acted like an ill man. "But a king," you say, "cannot commit treason against his own subjects and vassals." In the first place, since we are as free as any people under heaven, we will not be imposed upon by any barbarous custom of any other nation whatsoever. In the second place, suppose we had been the king's vassals; that relation would not have obliged us to endure a tyrant to reign and lord it over us. All subjection to magistrates, as our own laws declare, is circumscribed, and confined within the bounds of honesty, and the public good. Read Leg. Hen. I. Cap. 55. The obligation betwixt a lord and his tenants is mutual, and remains so long as the lord protects his tenant; (this is all our lawyers tell us;) but if the lord be

too severe and cruel to his tenant, and do him some heinous injury, "The whole relation betwixt them, and whatever obligation the tenant is under by having done homage to his lord, is utterly dissolved and extinguished." These are the very words of Bracton and Fleta. So that in some case, the law itself warrants even a slave, or a vassal, to oppose his lord, and allows the slave to kill him, if he vanquish him in battle. If a city or a whole nation may not lawfully take this course with a tyrant, the condition of freemen will be worse than that of slaves. Then you go about to excuse King Charles's shedding of innocent blood, partly by murders committed by other kings, and partly by some instances of men put to death by them lawfully. For the matter of the Irish massacre, you refer the reader to 'Εικων Βασιλικὴ; and I refer you to Eiconoclastes. The town of Rochel being taken, and the townsmen betrayed, assistance shewn, but not afforded them, you will not have laid at Charles's door; nor have I any thing to say, whether he was faulty in that business or not; he did mischief enough at home; we need not inquire into what misdemeanours he was guilty of abroad. But you in the mean time would make all the protestant churches, that have at any time defended themselves by force of arms against princes, who were professed enemies of their religion, to have been guilty of rebellion. Let them consider how much it concerns them for the maintaining their ecclesiastical discipline, and asserting their own integrity, not to pass by so great an indignity offered them by a person bred up by and amongst themselves. That which troubles us most is, that the English likewise were betrayed, in that expedition. He, who had designed long ago to convert the government of England into a tyranny, thought he could not bring it to pass, till the flower and strength of the military power of the nation were cut off. Another of his crimes was, the causing some words to be struck out of the usual coronation oath, before he himself would take it. Unworthy and abominable action! The act was wicked in itself; what shall be said of him that undertakes to justify it? For by the eternal God, what greater breach of faith, and violation of all laws, can possibly be imagined? What ought to be more sacred to him, next to the holy sacraments themselves, than that oath? Which of the two do you think the more flagitious person, him that offends against the law, or him that endeavours to make the law equally guilty with himself? Or rather him who subverts the law itself, that he may not seem to offend against it? For thus that king violated that oath, which he ought most religiously to have sworn to; but that he might not seem openly and publicly to violate it, he craftily adulterated and corrupted it; and lest he himself should be accounted perjured, he turned the very oath into a perjury. What other could be expected, than that his reign would be full of injustice, craft, and misfortune, who began it with so detestable an injury to his people? And who durst pervert and adulterate that law, which he thought the only obstacle that stood in his way, and hindered him from perverting all the rest of the laws: But "that oath" (thus you justify him) "lays no other obligation upon kings, than the laws themselves do: and kings pretend, that they will be bound and limited by laws, though indeed they are altogether from under the power of the laws." Is it not prodigious, that a man should dare to express himself so sacrilegiously and so senselessly, as to assert, that an oath sacredly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, may be dispensed with, and set aside as a little insignificant thing, without any cause whatsoever! Charles himself refutes you, you prodigy of impiety, who, thinking that oath no light matter, choose rather by a subterfuge to avoid the force of it, or by a fallacy to elude it, than openly to violate it; and would rather falsify and corrupt the oath, than manifestly forswear himself after he had taken it. But "The king indeed swears to his people, as the people do to him; but the people swear fidelity to the king, not the king to them." Pretty invention! Does not he that promises, and binds himself by an oath to do any thing to or for another, oblige his fidelity to them that require the oath of him? Of a truth, every king swears Fidelity, and Service, and Obedience to the people, with respect to the performance of whatsoever he promises upon oath to do. Then you run back to William the Conqueror, who was forced more than once to swear to perform, not what he himself would, but what the people and the great men of the realm required of him. If many kings "are crowned without the usual solemnity," and reign without taking any oath, the same thing may be said of the people; a great many of whom never took the oath of allegiance. If the king by not taking an oath be at liberty, the people are so too. And that part of the people that has sworn, swore not to the king only, but to the realm, and the laws, by which the king came to his crown; and no otherwise to the king, than whilst he should act according to those laws, that "the common People," that is, the house of Commons, should choose; (quas vulgus elegerit.) For it were folly to alter the phrase of our law, and turn it into more genuine Latin. This clause, (quas vulgus elegerit,) which the commons shall choose, Charles before he was crowned, procured to be razed out. "But," say you, "without the king's assent the people can choose no laws;" and for this you cite two statutes, viz. Anno 37 H. VI, Cap. 15, and 13 Edw. IV, Cap. 8: but these two statutes are so far from appearing in our statute-books, that in the years you mention neither of those kings enacted any laws at all. Go now and complain, that those fugitives, who pretended to furnish you with matter out of our statutes, imposed upon you in it; and let other people in the mean time stand astonished at your impudence and vanity, who are not ashamed to pretend to be thoroughly versed in such books, as it is so evident you have never looked into, nor so much as seen. And that clause in the coronation oath, which such a brazen-faced brawler as you call fictitious, "The king's friends," you say yourself, "acknowledge, that it may possibly be extant in some ancient copies, but that it grew into disuse, because it had no convenient signification." But for that very reason did our ancestors insert it in the oath,

that the oath might have such a signification as would not be for a tyrant's conveniency. If it had really grown into disuse, which yet is most false, there was the greater need of reviving it; but even that would have been to no purpose, according to your doctrine: "For that custom of taking an oath, as kings now-a-days generally use it, is no more," you say, "than a bare ceremony." And yet the king, when the bishops were to be put down, pretended that he could not do it by reason of that oath. And consequently that reverend and sacred oath, as it serves for the king's turn, or not, must be solemn and binding, or an empty ceremony: which I earnestly entreat my countrymen to take notice of, and to consider what manner of a king they are like to have, if he ever come back. For it would never have entered into the thoughts of this rascally foreign grammarian, to write a discourse of the rights of the crown of England, unless both Charles Stuart now in banishment, and tainted with his father's principles, and those profligate tutors that he has along with him, had industriously suggested to him what they would have writ. They dictated to him, "That the whole parliament were liable to be proceeded against as traitors, because they declared without the king's assent all them to be traitors, who had taken up arms against the parliament of England; and that parliaments were but the king's vassals: that the oath, which our kings take at their coronation, is but a ceremony:" And why not that a vassal too? So that no reverence of laws, no sacredness of an oath, will be sufficient to protect your lives and fortunes, either from the exorbitance of a furious, or the revenge of an exasperated, prince, who has been so instructed from his cradle, as to think laws, religion, nay, and oaths themselves, ought to be subject to his will and pleasure. How much better is it, and more becoming yourselves, if you desire riches, liberty, peace, and empire, to obtain them assuredly by your own virtue, industry, prudence, and valour, than to long after and hope for them in vain under the rule of a king? They who are of opinion that these things cannot be compassed but under a king, and a lord, it cannot well be expressed how mean, how base, I do not say, how unworthy, thoughts they have of themselves; for in effect, what do they other than confess, that they themselves are lazy, weak, senseless, silly persons, and framed for slavery both in body and mind? And indeed all manner of slavery is scandalous and disgraceful to a freeborn ingenuous person; but for you, after you have recovered your lost liberty, by God's assistance, and your own arms; after the performance of so many valiant exploits, and the making so remarkable an example of a most potent king, to desire to return again into a condition of bondage and slavery, will not only be scandalous and disgraceful, but an impious and wicked thing; and equal to that of the Israelites, who for desiring to return to the Egyptian slavery were so severely punished for that sordid, slavish temper of mind, and so many of them destroyed by that God who had been their deliverer. But what say you now, who would persuade us to become slaves? "The king," say you, "had a power of pardoning such as were guilty of treason, and other crimes; which evinces sufficiently, that the king himself was under no law." The king might indeed pardon treason, not against the kingdom, but against himself; and so may any body else pardon wrongs done to themselves; and he might, perhaps, pardon some other offences, though not always. But does it follow, because in some cases he had the right of saving a malefactor's life, that therefore he must have a right to destroy all good men? If the king be impleaded in an inferiour court, he is not obliged to answer, but by his attorney: does it therefore follow, that when he is summoned by all his subjects to appear in parliament, he may choose whether he will appear or no, and refuse to answer in person? You say, "That we endeavour to justify what we have done by the Hollanders' example;" and upon this occasion, fearing the loss of that stipend with which the Hollanders feed such a murrain and pest as you are, if by reviling the English you should consequently reflect upon them that maintain you, you endeavour to demonstrate "how unlike their actions and ours are." The comparison that you make betwixt them I resolve to omit (though many things in it are most false, and other things flattery all over, which yet you thought yourself obliged to put down, to deserve your pension). For the English think they need not allege the examples of foreigners for their justification. They have municipal laws of their own, by which they have acted; laws with relation to the matter in hand the best in the world: they have the examples of their ancestors, great and gallant men, for their imitation, who never gave way to the exorbitant power of princes, and who have put many of them to death, when their government became insupportable. They were born free, they stand in need of no other nation, they can make what laws they please for their own good government. One law in particular they have a great veneration for, and a very ancient one it is, enacted by nature itself, That all human laws, all civil right and government, must have a respect to the safety and welfare of good men, and not be subject to the lusts of princes. From hence to the end of your book I find nothing but rubbish and trifles, picked out of the former chapters; of which you have here raised so great a heap, that I cannot imagine what other design you could have in it, than to presage the ruin of your whole fabric. At last, after an infinite deal of tittle-tattle, you make an end, calling "God to witness, that you undertook the defence of this cause, not only because you were desired so to do, but because your own conscience told you, that you could not possibly undertake the defence of a better." Is it fit for you to intermeddle with our matters, with which you have nothing to do, because you were desired, when we ourselves did not desire you? to reproach with contumelious and opprobrious language, and in a printed book, the supreme magistracy of the English nation, when according to the authority and power that they are intrusted with, they do but their duty within their own jurisdiction, and all

this without the least injury or provocation from them? (for they did not so much as know that there was such a man in the world as you.) And I pray by whom were you desired? By your wife, I suppose, who, they say, exercises a kingly right and jurisdiction over you; and whenever she has a mind to it (as Fulvia is made to speak in that obscene epigram, that you collected some centoes out of, page 320) cries, "Either write, or let us fight;" that made you write perhaps, lest the signal should be given. Or were you asked by Charles the younger, and that profligate gang of vagabond courtiers, and like a second Balaam called upon by another Balak to restore a desperate cause by ill writing, that was lost by ill fighting? That may be; but there is this difference, for he was a wise understanding man, and rid upon an ass that could speak, to curse the people of God: thou art a very talkative ass thyself, and rid by a woman, and being surrounded with the healed heads of the bishops, that heretofore thou hadst wounded, thou seemest to represent that beast in the Revelation. But they say, that a little after you had written this book you repented of what you had done. It is well, if it be so; and to make your repentance public, I think the best course that you can take will be, for this long book that you have writ, to take a halter, and make one long letter of yourself. So Judas Iscariot repented, to whom you are like; and that young Charles knew, which made him send you the purse, Judas his badge; for he had heard before, and found afterward by experience, that you were an apostate and a devil. Judas betrayed Christ himself, and you betray his church; you have taught heretofore, that bishops were antichristian, and you are now revolted to their party. You now undertake the defence of their cause, whom formerly you damned to the pit of hell. Christ delivered all men from bondage, and you endeavour to enslave all mankind. Never question, since you have been such a villain to God himself, his church, and all mankind in general, but that the same fate attends you that befell your equal, out of despair rather than repentance, to be weary of your life, and hang yourself, and burst asunder as he did; and to send before-hand that faithless and treacherous conscience of yours, that railing conscience at good and holy men, to that place of torment that is prepared for you. And now I think, through God's assistance, I have finished the work I undertook, to wit, the defence of the noble actions of my countrymen at home, and abroad, against the raging and envious madness of this distracted sophister; and the asserting of the common rights of the people against the unjust domination of kings, not out of any hatred to kings, but tyrants: nor have I purposely left unanswered any one argument alleged by my adversary, nor any one example or authority quoted by him, that seemed to have any force in it, or the least colour of an argument. Perhaps I have been guilty rather of the other extreme, of replying to some of his fooleries and trifles, as if they were solid arguments, and thereby may seem to have attributed more to them than they deserved. One thing yet remains to be done, which perhaps is of the greatest concern of all, and that is, that you, my countrymen, refute this adversary of yours yourselves, which I do not see any other means of your effecting, than by a constant endeavour to outdo all men's bad words by your own good deeds. When you laboured under more sorts of oppression than one, you betook yourselves to God for refuge, and he was graciously pleased to hear your most earnest prayer and desires. He has gloriously delivered you, the first of nations, from the two greatest mischiefs of this life, and most pernicious to virtue, tyranny and superstition; he has endued you with greatness of mind to be the first of mankind, who after having conquered their own king, and having had him delivered into their hands, have not scrupled to condemn him judicially, and pursuant to that sentence of condemnation, to put him to death. After the performing so glorious an action as this, you ought to do nothing that is mean and little, not so much as to think of, much less to do, any thing but what is great and sublime. Which to attain to, this is your only way; as you have subdued your enemies in the field, so to make appear, that unarmed, and in the highest outward peace and tranquillity, you of all mankind are best able to subdue ambition, avarice, the love of riches, and can best avoid the corruptions that prosperity is apt to introduce, (which generally subdue and triumph over other nations,) to shew as great justice, temperance, and moderation in the maintaining your liberty, as you have shewn courage in freeing yourselves from slavery. These are the only arguments, by which you will be able to evince, that you are not such persons as this fellow represents you, Traitors, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Madmen; that you did not put your king to death out of any ambitious design, or a desire of invading the rights of others, not out of any seditious principles or sinister ends; that it was not an act of fury or madness; but that it was wholly out of love to your liberty, your religion, to justice, virtue, and your country, that you punished a tyrant. But if it should fall out otherwise, (which God forbid,) if as you have been valiant in war, you should grow debauched in peace, you that have had such visible demonstrations of the goodness of God to yourselves, and his wrath against your enemies; and that you should not have learned by so eminent, so remarkable an example before your eyes, to fear God, and work righteousness; for my part, I shall easily grant and confess (for I cannot deny it) whatever ill men may speak or think of you, to be very true. And you will find in a little time, that God's displeasure against you will be greater than it has been against your adversaries, greater than his grace and favour has been to yourselves, which you have had larger experience of than any other nation under heaven.

TREATISE

OF

CIVIL POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES;

SHEWING

THAT IT IS NOT LAWFUL FOR ANY POWER ON EARTH TO COMPEL IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1659.]

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, WITH THE DOMINIONS THEREOF.

I HAVE prepared, Supreme Council! against the much-expected time of your sitting, this treatise; which, though to all christian magistrates equally belonging, and therefore to have been written in the common language of christendom, natural duty and affection hath confined and dedicated first to my own nation; and in a season wherein the timely reading thereof, to the easier accomplishment of your great work, may save you much labour and interruption: of two parts usually proposed, civil and ecclesiastical, recommending civil only to your proper care, ecclesiastical to them only from whom it takes both that name and nature. Yet not for this cause only do I require or trust to find acceptance, but in a twofold respect besides: first, as bringing clear evidence of scripture and protestant maxims to the parliament of England, who in all their late acts, upon occasion, have professed to assert only the true protestant christian religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures: next, in regard that your power being but for a time, and having in yourselves a christian liberty of your own, which at one time or other may be oppressed, thereof truly sensible, it will concern you while you are in power, so to regard other men's consciences, as you would your own should be regarded in the power of others; and to consider that any law against conscience is alike in force against any conscience, and so may one way or other justly redound upon yourselves. One advantage I make no doubt of, that I shall write to many eminent persons of your number, already perfect and resolved in this important article of Christianity. Some of whom I remember to have heard often for several years, at a council next in authority to your own, so well joining religion with civil prudence, and yet so well distinguishing the different power of either; and this not only voting, but frequently reasoning why it should be so, that if any there present had been before of an opinion contrary, he might doubtless have departed thence a convert in that point, and have confessed, that then both commonwealth and religion will at length, if ever, flourish in christendom, when either they who govern discern between civil and religious, or they only who so discern shall be admitted to govern. Till then, nothing but troubles, persecutions, commotions can be expected; the inward decay of true religion among ourselves, and the utter overthrow at last by a common enemy. Of civil liberty I have written heretofore, by the appointment, and not without the approbation, of civil power: of christian liberty I write now, which others long since having done with all freedom under heathen emperors, I should do wrong to suspect, that I now shall with less under christian governors, and such especially as profess openly their defence of christian liberty; although I write this, not otherwise appointed or induced, than by an inward persuasion of the christian duty, which I may usefully discharge herein to the common Lord and Master of us all, and the certain hope of his approbation, first and chiefest to be sought: in the hand of whose providence I remain, praying all success and good event on your public councils, to the defence of true religion and our civil rights.

JOHN MILTON.

A TREATISE

OF

CIVIL POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES.

Two things there be, which have been ever found working much mischief to the church of God, and the advancement of truth; force on one side restraining, and hire on the other side corrupting, the teachers thereof. Few ages have been since the ascension of our Saviour, wherein the one of these two, or both together, have not prevailed. It can be at no time, therefore, unseasonable to speak of these things; since by them the church is either in continual detriment and oppression, or in continual danger. The former shall be at this time my argument; the latter as I shall find God disposing me, and opportunity inviting. What I argue, shall be drawn from the Scripture only; and therein from true fundamental principles of the gospel, to all knowing Christians undeniable. And if the governors of this commonwealth, since the rooting out of prelates, have made least use of force in religion, and most have favoured christian liberty of any in this island before them since the first preaching of the gospel, for which we are not to forget our thanks to God, and their due praise; they may, I doubt not, in this treatise, find that which not only will confirm them to defend still the christian liberty which we enjoy, but will incite them also to enlarge it, if in aught they yet straiten it. To them who perhaps hereafter, less experienced in religion, may come to govern or give us laws, this or other such, if they please, may be a timely instruction: however, to the truth it will be at all times no unneedful testimony, at least some discharge of that general duty, which no Christian, but according to what he hath received, knows is required of him, if he have aught more conducing to the advancement of religion, than what is usually endeavoured, freely to impart it.

It will require no great labour of exposition, to unfold what is here meant by matters of religion; being as soon apprehended as defined, such things as belong chiefly to the knowledge and service of God; and are either above the reach and light of nature without revelation from above, and therefore liable to be variously understood by human reason, or such things as are enjoined or forbidden by divine precept, which else by the light of reason would seem indifferent to be done or not done; and so likewise must needs appear to every man as the precept is understood. Whence I here mean by conscience or religion that full persuasion, whereby we are assured, that our belief and practice, as far as we are able to apprehend and probably make appear, is according to the will of God and his Holy Spirit within us, which we ought to follow much rather than any law of man, as not only his word every where bids us, but the very dictate of reason tells us. Acts iv. 19. "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken to you more than to God, judge ye." That for belief or practice in religion, according to this conscientious persuasion, no man ought to be punished or molested by any outward force on earth whatsoever, I distrust not, through God's implored assistance, to make plain by these following arguments.

First, it cannot be denied, being the main foundation of our protestant religion, that we of these ages, having no other divine rule or authority from without us, warrantable to one another as a common ground, but the Holy Scripture, and no other within us but the illumination of the Holy Spirit so interpreting that scripture as warrantable only to ourselves, and to such whose consciences we can so persuade, can have no other ground in matters of religion but only from the Scriptures. And these being not possible to be understood without this divine illumination, which no man can know at all times to be in himself, much less to be at any time for certain in any other, it follows clearly, that no man or body of men in these times can be the infallible judges or determiners in matters of religion to any other men's consciences but their own. And therefore those Bereans are commended, Acts xvii. 11, who after the preaching even of St. Paul, "searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." Nor did they more than what God himself in many places commands us by the same apostle, to search, to try, to judge of these things ourselves: and gives us reason also, Gal. vi. 4, 5, "Let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: for every man shall bear his own burden." If then we count it so ignorant and irreligious in the papist, to think himself discharged in God's account, believing only as the church believes, how much greater condemnation will it be to the protestant his condemner, to think himself justified, believing only as the state believes? With good cause, therefore, it is the general consent of all sound protestant writers, that neither traditions, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less edicts of any magistrate or civil session, but the Scripture only, can

be the final judge or rule in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every christian to himself. Which protestation made by the first public reformers of our religion against the imperial edicts of Charles the fifth, imposing church-traditions without Scripture, gave first beginning to the name of Protestant; and with that name hath ever been received this doctrine, which prefers the Scripture before the church, and acknowledges none but the Scripture sole interpreter of itself to the conscience. For if the church be not sufficient to be implicitly believed, as we hold it is not, what can there else be named of more authority than the church but the conscience, than which God only is greater, 1 John iii. 20? But if any man shall pretend that the Scripture judges to his conscience for other men, he makes himself greater not only than the church, but also than the Scripture, than the consciences of other men: a presumption too high for any mortal, since every true Christian, able to give a reason of his faith, hath the word of God before him, the promised Holy Spirit, and the mind of Christ within him, 1 Cor. ii. 16; a much better and safer guide of conscience, which as far as concerns himself he may far more certainly know, than any outward rule imposed upon him by others, whom he inwardly neither knows nor can know; at least knows nothing of them more sure than this one thing, that they cannot be his judges in religion. 1 Cor. ii. 15, "The spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judged of no man." Chiefly for this cause do all true protestants account the pope Antichrist, for that he assumes to himself this infallibility over both the conscience and the Scripture; "sitting in the temple of God," as it were opposite to God, "and exalting himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped," 2 Thess. ii. 4. That is to say, not only above all judges and magistrates, who though they be called gods, are far beneath infallible; but also above God himself, by giving law both to the Scripture, to the conscience, and to the Spirit itself of God within us. Whenas we find, James iv. 12, "There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: Who art thou that judgest another?" That Christ is the only lawgiver of his church, and that it is here meant in religious matters, no well-grounded Christian will deny. Thus also St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 4, "Who art thou that judgest the servant of another? to his own lord he standeth or falleth: but he shall stand; for God is able to make him stand." As therefore of one beyond expression bold and presumptuous, both these apostles demand, "Who art thou," that presumest to impose other law or judgment in religion than the only lawgiver and judge Christ, who only can save and destroy, gives to the conscience? And the forecited place to the Thessalonians, by compared effects, resolves us, that be he or they who or wherever they be or can be, they are of far less authority than the church, whom in these things as protestants they receive not, and yet no less Antichrist in this main point of Antichristianism, no less a pope or popedom than he at Rome, if not much more, by setting up supreme interpreters of Scripture either those doctors whom they follow, or, which is far worse, themselves as a civil papacy assuming unaccountable supremacy to themselves, not in civil only, but in ecclesiastical causes. Seeing then that in matters of religion, as hath been proved, none can judge or determine here on earth, no not church-governors themselves, against the consciences of other believers, my inference is, or rather not mine but our Saviour's own, that in those matters they neither can command nor use constraint, lest they run rashly on a pernicious consequence, forewarned in that parable, Matt. xiii. from the 29th to the 31st verse: "Lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares," &c. Whereby he declares, that this work neither his own ministers nor any else can discerningly enough or judgingly perform without his own immediate direction, in his own fit season, and that they ought till then not to attempt it. Which is further confirmed, 2 Cor. i. 24, "Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." If apostles had no dominion or constraining power over faith or conscience, much less have ordinary ministers, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, "Feed the flock of God, &c. not by constraint, neither as being lords over God's heritage." But some will object, that this overthrows all church-discipline, all censure of errours, if no man can determine. My answer is, that what they hear is plain Scripture, which forbids not church-sentence or determining, but as it ends in violence upon the conscience unconvinced. Let whoso will interpret or determine, so it be according to true church-discipline, which is exercised on them only who have willingly joined themselves in that covenant of union, and proceeds only to a separation from the rest, proceeds never to any corporal inforcement or forfeiture of money, which in all spiritual things are the two arms of Antichrist, not of the true church; the one being an inquisition, the other no better than a temporal indulgence of sin for money, whether by the church exacted or by the magistrate; both the one and the other a temporal satisfaction for what Christ hath satisfied eternally; a popish commuting of penalty, corporal for spiritual; a satisfaction to man, especially to the magistrate, for what and to whom we owe none: these and more are the injustices of force and fining in religion, besides what I most insist on, the violation of God's express commandment in the gospel, as hath been shewn. Thus then, if church-governors cannot use force in religion, though but for this reason, because they cannot infallibly determine to the conscience without convincement, much less have civil magistrates authority to use force where they can much less judge; unless they mean only to be the civil executioners of them who have no civil power to give them such commission, no, nor yet ecclesiastical, to any force or violence in religion. To sum up all in brief, if we must believe as the magistrate appoints, why not rather as the church? If not as either without convincement, how can force be lawful? But some are ready to cry out, what shall then be done to blas-

phemy? Them I would first exhort, not thus to terrify and pose the people with a Greek word; but to teach them better what it is, being a most usual and common word in that language to signify any slander, any malicious or evil speaking, whether against God or man, or any thing to good belonging: Blasphemy or evil speaking against God maliciously, is far from conscience in religion, according to that of Mark ix. 39, "There is none who doth a powerful work in my name, and can lightly speak evil of me." If this suffice not, I refer them to that prudent and well deliberated act, August 9, 1650, where the parliament defines blasphemy against God, as far as it is a crime belonging to civil judicature, plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore; in plain English, more warily, more judiciously, more orthodoxally than twice their number of divines have done in many a prolix volume: although in all likelihood they whose whole study and profession these things are, should be most intelligent and authentic therein, as they are for the most part, yet neither they nor these unerring always, or infallible. But we shall not carry it thus; another Greek apparition stands in our way, Heresy and Heretic; in like manner also railed at to the people as in a tongue unknown. They should first interpret to them, that heresy, by what it signifies in that language, is no word of evil note, meaning only the choice or following of any opinion good or bad in religion, or any other learning: and thus not only in heathen authors, but in the New Testament itself, without censure or blame; Acts xv. 5, "Certain of the heresy of the Pharisees which believed;" and xxvi. 5, "After the exactest heresy of our religion I lived a Pharisee." In which tense presbyterian or independent may without reproach be called a heresy. Where it is mentioned with blame, it seems to differ little from schism; 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19, "I hear that there be schisms among you," &c. for there must also heresies be among you, &c. Though some, who write of heresy after their own heads, would make it far worse than schism; whenas on the contrary, schism signifies division, and in the worst sense; heresy, choice only of one opinion before another, which may be without discord. In apostolic times, therefore, ere the Scripture was written, heresy was a doctrine maintained against the doctrine by them delivered; which in these times can be no otherwise defined than a doctrine maintained against the light which we now only have, of the Scripture. Seeing therefore, that no man, no synod, no session o men, though called the Church, can judge definitively the sense of Scripture to another man's conscience, which is well known to be a general maxim of the protestant religion; it follows plainly, that he who holds in religion that belief, or those opinions, which to his conscience and utmost understanding appear with most evidence or probability in the Scripture, though to others he seem erroneous, can no more be justly censured for a heretic than his censurers; who do but the same thing themselves, while they censure him for so doing. For ask them, or any protestant, which hath most authority, the church or the Scripture? They will answer, doubtless, that the Scripture: and what hath most authority, that no doubt but they will confess is to be followed. He then, who to his best apprehension follows the Scripture, though against any point of doctrine by the whole church received, is not the heretic; but he who follows the church against his conscience and persuasion grounded on the Scripture. To make this yet more undeniable, I shall only borrow a plain simile, the same which our own writers, when they would demonstrate plainest, that we rightly prefer the Scripture before the church, use frequently against the papist in this manner. As the Samaritans believed Christ, first for the woman's word, but next and much rather for his own, so we the Scripture: first on the church's word, but afterwards and much more for its own, as the word of God; yea, the church itself we believe then for the Scripture. The inference of itself follows: if by the protestant doctrine we believe the Scripture, not for the church's saying, but for its own, as the word of God, then ought we to believe what in our conscience we apprehend the Scripture to say, though the visible church, with all her doctors, gainsay: and being taught to believe them only for the Scripture, they who so do are not heretics, but the best protestants: and by their opinions, whatever they be, can hurt no protestant, whose rule is not to receive them but from the Scripture: which to interpret convincingly to his own conscience, none is able but himself guided by the Holy Spirit; and not so guided, none than he to himself can be a worse deceiver. To protestants, therefore, whose common rule and touchstone is the Scripture, nothing can with more conscience, more equity, nothing more protestantly can be permitted, than a free and lawful debate at all times by writing, conference, or disputation of what opinion soever, disputable by Scripture: concluding, that no man in religion is properly a heretic at this day, but he who maintains traditions or opinions not probable by Scripture, who, for aught I know, is the papist only; he the only heretic, who counts all heretics but himself. Such as these, indeed, were capitally punished by the law of Moses, as the only true heretics, idolaters, plain and open deserters of God and his known law: but in the gospel such are punished by excommunion only. Tit. iii. 10, "An heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." But they who think not this heavy enough, and understand not that dreadful awe and spiritual efficacy, which the apostle hath expressed so highly to be in church-discipline, 2 Cor. x. of which anon, and think weakly that the church of God cannot long subsist but in a bodily fear, for want of other proof will needs wrest that place of St. Paul, Rom. xiii. to set up civil inquisition, and give power to the magistrate both of civil judgment, and punishment in causes ecclesiastical. But let us see with what strength of argument; "let every soul be subject to the higher powers." First, how prove they that the apostle means other powers, than such as they to whom he writes were then under; who meddled not at all in ecclesiastical causes, unless as tyrants and persecutors? And from them, I hope, they will not derive either the right of

magistrates to judge in spiritual things, or the duty of such our obedience. How prove they next, that he entitles them here to spiritual causes, from whom he withheld, as much as in him lay, the judging of civil? 1 Cor. vi. 1, &c. If he himself appealed to Cæsar, it was to judge his innocence, not his religion. "For rulers are not a terrour to good works, but to the evil:" then are they not a terrour to conscience, which is the rule or judge of good works grounded on the Scripture. But heresy, they say, is reckoned among evil works, Gal. v. 20, as if all evil works were to be punished by the magistrate; whereof this place, their own citation, reckons up besides heresy a sufficient number to confute them; "uncleanness, wantonness, enmity, strife, emulations, animosities, contentions, envyings;" all which are far more manifest to be judged by him than heresy, as they define it; and yet I suppose they will not subject these evil works, nor many more suchlike, to his cognizance and punishment. "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same." This shews that religious matters are not here meant; wherein from the power here spoken of, they could have no praise: "For he is the minister of God to thee for good:" True; but in that office, and to that end, and by those means, which in this place must be clearly found, if from this place they intend to argue. And how, for thy good by forcing, oppressing, and ensnaring thy conscience? Many are the ministers of God, and their offices no less different than many; none more different than state and church government. Who seeks to govern both, must needs be worse than any lord prelate, or church pluralist: for he in his own faculty and profession, the other not in his own, and for the most part not thoroughly understood, makes himself supreme lord or pope of the church, as far as his civil jurisdiction stretches; and all the ministers of God therein, his ministers, or his curates rather in the function only, not in the government; while he himself assumes to rule by civil power things to be ruled only by spiritual: whenas this very chapter, verse 6, appointing him his peculiar office, which requires utmost attendance, forbids him this worse than church plurality from that full and weighty charge, wherein alone he is "the minister of God, attending continually on this very thing." To little purpose will they here instance Moses, who did all by immediate divine direction; no nor yet Asa, Jehosaphat, or Josiah, who both might, when they pleased, receive answer from God, and had a commonwealth by him delivered them, incorporated with a national church, exercised more in bodily than in spiritual worship: so as that the church might be called a commonwealth, and the whole commonwealth a church: nothing of which can be said of Christianity, delivered without the help of magistrates, yea, in the midst of their opposition; how little then with any reference to them, or mention of them, save only of our obedience to their civil laws, as they countenance good, and deter evil? which is the proper work of the magistrate, following in the same verse, and shews distinctly wherein he is the minister of God, "a revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil." But we must first know who it is that doth evil: the heretic they say among the first. Let it be known then certainly who is a heretic; and that he who holds opinions in religion professedly from tradition, or his own inventions, and not from Scripture, but rather against it, is the only heretic: and yet though such, not always punishable by the magistrate, unless he do evil against a civil law, properly so called, hath been already proved, without need of repetition. "But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid." To do by Scripture and the gospel, according to conscience, is not to do evil; if we thereof ought not to be afraid, he ought not by his judging to give cause: causes therefore of religion are not here meant. "For he beareth not the sword in vain." Yes, altogether in vain, if it smite he knows not what; if that for heresy, which not the church itself, much less he, can determine absolutely to be so; if truth for errour, being himself so often fallible, he bears the sword not in vain only, but unjustly and to evil. "Be subject not only for wrath, but for conscience sake:" How for conscience sake, against conscience? By all these reasons it appears plainly, that the apostle in this place gives no judgment or coercive power to magistrates, neither to those then, nor these now, in matters of religion; and exhorts us no otherwise than he exhorted those Romans. It hath now twice befallen me to assert, through God's assistance, this most wrested and vexed place of Scripture; heretofore against Salmasius, and regal tyranny over the state; now against Erastus, and state tyranny over the church. If from such uncertain, or rather such improbable, grounds as these, they endue magistracy with spiritual judgment, they may as well invest him in the same spiritual kind with power of utmost punishment, excommunication; and then turn spiritual into corporal, as no worse authors did than Chrysostom, Jerome, and Austin, whom Erasmus and others in their notes on the New Testament have cited, to interpret that cutting off which St. Paul wished to them who had brought back the Galatians to circumcision, no less than the amercement of their whole virility: and Grotius adds, that this concising punishment of circumcisers became a penal law thereupon among the Visigoths: a dangerous example of beginning in the spirit to end so in the flesh; whereas that cutting off much likelier seems meant a cutting off from the church, not unusually so termed in Scripture, and a zealous imprecation, not a command. But I have mentioned this passage to shew how absurd they often prove, who have not learned to distinguish rightly between civil power and ecclesiastical. How many persecutions then, imprisonments, banishments, penalties, and stripes; how much bloodshed have the forcers of conscience to answer for, and protestants rather than papists! For the papist, judging by his principles, punishes them who believe not as the church believes, though against the Scripture; but the protestant, teaching every one to believe the Scripture, though against the church, counts heretical, and persecutes against his own principles, them who

in any particular so believe as he in general teaches them; them who most honour and believe divine Scripture, but not against it any human interpretation though universal; them who interpret Scripture only to themselves, which by his own position, none but they to themselves can interpret: them who use the Scripture no otherwise by his own doctrine to their edification, than he himself uses it to their punishing; and so whom his doctrine acknowledges a true believer, his discipline persecutes as a heretic. The papist exacts our belief as to the church due above Scripture; and by the church, which is the whole people of God, understands the pope, the general councils, prelatical only, and the surnamed fathers: but the forcing protestant, though he deny such belief to any church whatsoever, yet takes it to himself and his teachers, of far less authority than to be called the church, and above Scripture believed: which renders his practice both contrary to his belief, and far worse than that belief, which he condemns in the papist. By all which, well considered, the more he professes to be a true protestant, the more he hath to answer for his persecuting than a papist. No protestant therefore, of what sect soever, following Scripture only, which is the common sect wherein they all agree, and the granted rule of every man's conscience to himself, ought by the common doctrine of protestants, to be forced or molested for religion. But as for popery and idolatry, why they also may not hence plead to be tolerated, I have much less to say. Their religion the more considered, the less can be acknowledged a religion; but a Roman principality rather, endeavouring to keep up her old universal dominion under a new name, and mere shadow of a catholic religion; being indeed more rightly named a catholic heresy against the Scripture, supported mainly by a civil, and except in Rome, by a foreign, power: justly therefore to be suspected, not tolerated by the magistrate of another country. Besides, of an implicit faith which they profess, the conscience also becomes implicit, and so by voluntary servitude to man's law, forfeits her christian liberty. Who then can plead for such a conscience, as being implicitly enthralled to man instead of God, almost becomes no conscience, as the will not free, becomes no will? Nevertheless, if they ought not to be tolerated, it is for just reason of state, more than of religion; which they who force, though professing to be protestants, deserve as little to be tolerated themselves, being no less guilty of popery, in the most popish point. Lastly, for idolatry, who knows it not to be evidently against all Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, and therefore a true heresy, or rather an impiety, wherein a right conscience can have nought to do; and the works thereof so manifest, that a magistrate can hardly err in prohibiting and quite removing at least the public and scandalous use thereof?

From the riddance of these objections, I proceed yet to another reason why it is unlawful for the civil magistrate to use force in matters of religion; which is, because to judge in those things, though we should grant him able, which is proved he is not, yet as a civil magistrate he hath no right. Christ hath a government of his own, sufficient of itself to all his ends and purposes in governing his church; but much different from that of the civil magistrate; and the difference in this very thing principally consists, that it governs not by outward force; and that for two reasons. First, Because it deals only with the inward man and his actions, which are all spiritual, and to outward force not liable. 2dly, To shew us the divine excellence of his spiritual kingdom, able, without worldly force, to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld by outward force only. That the inward man is nothing else but the inward part of man, his understanding and his will; and that his actions thence proceeding, yet not simply thence, but from the work of divine grace upon them, are the whole matter of religion under the gospel, will appear plainly by considering what that religion is; whence we shall perceive yet more plainly that it cannot be forced. What evangelic religion is, is told in two words, Faith and Charity, or Belief and Practice. That both these flow, either, the one from the understanding, the other from the will, or both jointly from both; once indeed naturally free, but now only as they are regenerate and wrought on by divine grace, is in part evident to common sense and principles unquestioned, the rest by Scripture: concerning our belief, Matt. xvi. 17, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Concerning our practice, as it is religious, and not merely civil, Gal. v. 22, 23, and other places, declare it to be the fruit of the spirit only. Nay, our whole practical duty in religion is contained in charity, or the love of God and our neighbour, no way to be forced, yet the fulfilling of the whole law; that is to say, our whole practice in religion. If then both our belief and practice, which comprehend our whole religion, flow from faculties of the inward man, free and unconstrainable of themselves by nature, and our practice not only from faculties endued with freedom, but from love and charity besides, incapable of force, and all these things by transgression lost, but renewed and regenerated in us by the power and gift of God alone; how can such religion as this admit of force from man, or force be any way applied to such religion, especially under the free offer of grace in the gospel, but it must forthwith frustrate and make of no effect, both the religion and the gospel? And that to compel outward profession, which they will say perhaps ought to be compelled, though inward religion cannot, is to compel hypocrisy, not to advance religion, shall yet, though of itself clear enough, be ere the conclusion further manifest. The other reason why Christ rejects outward force in the government of his church, is, as I said before, to shew us the divine excellence of his spiritual kingdom, able without worldly force to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld by outward force only: by which to uphold religion otherwise than to defend the religious from outward violence, is no service to Christ or his kingdom, but rather a disparagement, and degrades it from a divine and spiritual

kingdom, to a kingdom of this world: which he denies it to be, because it needs not force to confirm it: John xviii. 36. "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews." This proves the kingdom of Christ not governed by outward force, as being none of this world, whose kingdoms are maintained all by force only: and yet disproves not that a christian commonwealth may defend itself against outward force, in the cause of religion as well as in any other: though Christ himself coming purposely to die for us, would not be so defended. 1 Cor. i. 27, "God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty." Then surely he hath not chosen the force of this world to subdue conscience, and conscientious men, who in this world are counted weakest; but rather conscience, as being weakest, to subdue and regulate force, his adversary, not his aid or instrument in governing the church: 2 Cor. x. 3, 4, 5, 6, "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ: and having in a readiness to avenge all disobedience." It is evident by the first and second verses of this chapter, and the apostle here speaks of that spiritual power by which Christ governs his church, how all-sufficient it is, how powerful to reach the conscience, and the inward man with whom it chiefly deals, and whom no power else can deal with. In comparison of which, as it is here thus magnificently described, how uneffectual and weak is outward force with all her boisterous tools, to the shame of those Christians, and especially those churchmen, who to the exercising of church-discipline, never cease calling on the civil magistrate to interpose his fleshly force? An argument that all true ministerial and spiritual power is dead within them; who think the gospel, which both began and spread over the whole world for above three hundred years, under heathen and persecuting emperors, cannot stand or continue, supported by the same divine presence and protection, to the world's end, much easier under the defensive favour only of a christian magistrate, unless it be enacted and settled, as they call it, by the state, a statute or state religion; and understand not that the church itself cannot, much less the state, settle or impose one title of religion upon our obedience implicit, but can only recommend or propound it to our free and conscientious examination: unless they mean to set the state higher than the church in religion, and with a gross contradiction give to the state in their settling petition that command of our implicit belief, which they deny in their settled confession both to the state and to the church. Let them cease then to importune and interrupt the magistrate from attending to his own charge in civil and moral things, the settling of things just, things honest, the defence of things religious, settled by the churches within themselves; and the repressing of their contraries, determinable by the common light of nature; which is not to constrain or to repress religion probable by Scripture, but the violaters and persecuters thereof: of all which things he hath enough and more than enough to do, left yet undone; for which the land groans, and justice goes to wrack the while. Let him also forbear force where he hath no right to judge, for the conscience is not his province, lest a worst wo arrive him, for worse offending than was denounced by our Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 23, against the Pharisees: Ye have forced the conscience, which was not to be forced; but judgment and mercy ye have not executed; this ye should have done, and the other let alone. And since it is the counsel and set purpose of God in the gospel, by spiritual means which are counted weak, to overcome all power which resists him; let them not go about to do that by worldly strength, which he hath decreed to do by those means which the world counts weakness, lest they be again obnoxious to that saying, which in another place is also written of the Pharisees, Luke vii. 30, "That they frustrated the counsel of God." The main plea is, and urged with much vehemence to their imitation, that the kings of Judah, as I touched before, and especially Josiah, both judged and used force in religion: 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33, "He made all that were present in Israel to serve the Lord their God:" an argument, if it be well weighed, worse than that used by the false prophet Shemaia to the high priest, that in imitation of Jehoiada, he ought to put Jeremiah in the stocks, Jer. xxix. 24, 26, &c. for which he received his due denouncement from God. But to this besides I return a threefold answer: First, That the state of religion under the gospel is far differing from what it was under the law; then was the state of rigour, childhood, bondage, and works, to all which force was not unbefitting; now is the state of grace, manhood, freedom, and faith, to all which belongs willingness and reason, not force: the law was then written on tables of stone, and to be performed according to the letter, willingly or unwillingly; the gospel, our new covenant, upon the heart of every believer, to be interpreted only by the sense of charity and inward persuasion: the law had no distinct government or governors of church and commonwealth, but the priests and Levites judged in all causes, not ecclesiastical only, but civil, Deut. xvii. 8, &c. which under the gospel is forbidden to all church-ministers, as a thing which Christ their master in his ministry disclaimed, Luke xii. 14, as a thing beneath them, 1 Cor. vi. 4, and by many other statutes, as to them who have a peculiar and far differing government of their own. If not, why different the governors? Why not church-ministers in state-affairs, as well as state-ministers in church-affairs? If church and state shall be made one flesh again as under the law, let it be withal considered, that God, who then joined them, hath now severed them; that which, he so ordaining, was then a lawful conjunction, to such on either side as join again what he hath severed would be nothing now but their own presumptuous fornication. Secondly, the kings of Judah, and those magistrates under the law, might have

recourse, as I said before, to divine inspiration; which our magistrates under the gospel have not, more than to the same spirit, which those whom they force have ofttimes in greater measure than themselves: and so, instead of forcing the Christian, they force the Holy Ghost; and, against that wise forewarning of Gamaliel, fight against God. Thirdly, those kings and magistrates used force in such things only as were undoubtedly known and forbidden in the law of Moses, idolatry and direct apostacy from that national and strict enjoined worship of God; whereof the corporal punishment was by himself expressly set down: but magistrates under the gospel, our free, elective, and rational worship, are most commonly busiest to force those things which in the gospel are either left free, nay, sometimes abolished when by them compelled, or else controverted equally by writers on both sides, and sometimes with odds on that side which is against them. By which means they either punish that which they ought to favour and protect, or that with corporal punishment, and of their own inventing, which not they, but the church, had received command to chastise with a spiritual rod only. Yet some are so eager in their zeal of forcing, that they refuse not to descend at length to the utmost shift of that parabolical proof, Luke xiv. 16, &c. "Compel them to come in:" therefore magistrates may compel in religion. As if a parable were to be strained through every word or phrase, and not expounded by the general scope thereof; which is no other here than the earnest expression of God's displeasure on those recusant Jews, and his purpose to prefer the Gentiles on any terms before them; expressed here by the word compel. But how compels he? Doubtless no other way than he draws, without which no man can come to him, John vi. 44, and that is by the inward persuasive motions of his Spirit, and by his ministers; not by the outward compulsions of a magistrate or his officers. The true people of Christ, as is foretold, Psalm cx. 3, "are a willing people in the day of his power;" then much more now when he rules all things by outward weakness, that both his inward power and their sincerity may the more appear. "God loveth a cheerful giver:" then certainly is not pleased with an uncheerful worshipper: as the very words declare of his evangelical invitations, Isa. lv. 1, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come." John vii. 37, "If any man thirsteth." Rev. iii. 18, "I counsel thee." And xxii. 17, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." And in that grand commission of preaching, to invite all nations, Mark xvi. 16, as the reward of them who come, so the penalty of them who come not, is only spiritual. But they bring now some reason with their force, which must not pass unanswered, that the church of Thyatira was blamed, Rev. ii. 20, for suffering the false "prophetess to teach and to seduce." I answer, That seducement is to be hindered by fit and proper means ordained in church-discipline, by instant and powerful demonstration to the contrary; by opposing truth to errour, no unequal match; truth the strong, to errour the weak, though sly and shifting. Force is no honest confutation, but uneffectual, and for the most part unsuccessful, ofttimes fatal to them who use it: sound doctrine, diligently and duly taught, is of herself both sufficient, and of herself (if some secret judgment of God hinder not) always prevalent against seducers. This the Thyatirians had neglected, suffering, against church-discipline, that woman to teach and seduce among them: civil force they had not then in their power, being the christian part only of that city, and then especially under one of those ten great persecutions, whereof this the second was raised by Domitian: force therefore in these matters could not be required of them who were under force themselves.

I have shewn, that the civil power hath neither right, nor can do right, by forcing religious things: I will now shew the wrong it doth, by violating the fundamental privilege of the gospel, the new birthright of every true believer, christian liberty: 2 Cor. iii. 17, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Gal. iv. 26. "Jerusalem which is above is free; which is the mother of us all." And ver. 31, "We are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free." It will be sufficient in this place to say no more of christian liberty, than that it sets us free not only from the bondage of those ceremonies, but also from the forcible imposition of those circumstances, place and time, in the worship of God: which though by him commanded in the old law, yet in respect of that verity and freedom which is evangelical, St. Paul comprehends both kinds alike, that is to say, both ceremony and circumstance, under one and the same contemptuous name of "weak and beggarly rudiments," Gal. iv. 3, 9, 10; Col. ii. 8, with 16; conformable to what our Saviour himself taught, John iv. 21, 23, "Neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem. In spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him:" that is to say, not only sincere of heart, for such he sought ever; but also, as the words here chiefly import, not compelled to place, and by the same reason, not to any set time; as his apostle by the same spirit hath taught us, Rom. xiv. 5, &c. "One man esteemeth one day above another; another," &c.; Gal. iv. 10, "Ye observe days and months," &c.; Col. ii. 16. These and other such places in Scripture the best and learnedest reformed writers have thought evident enough to instruct us in our freedom, not only from ceremonies, but from those circumstances also, though imposed with a confident persuasion of morality in them, which they hold impossible to be in place or time. By what warrant then our opinions and practices herein are of late turned quite against all other protestants, and that which is to them orthodoxal, to us becomes scandalous and punishable by statute, I wish were once again considered; if we mean not to proclaim a schism in this point from the best and most reformed churches abroad. They who would seem more knowing, confess that these things are indifferent, but for that very cause by the magistrate may be commanded. As if God of his special grace in the gospel had to this end freed us from his own commandments in these things, that our freedom should subject us to a more grievous yoke, the commandments of men. As well may the magistrate call that common or un-

clean which God hath cleansed, forbidden to St. Peter, Acts x. 15; as well may he loosen that which God hath straitened, or straiten that which God hath loosened, as he may enjoin those things in religion which God hath left free, and lay on that yoke which God hath taken off. For he hath not only given us this gift as a special privilege and excellence of the free gospel above the servile law, but strictly also hath commanded us to keep it and enjoy it. Gal. v. 13, "You are called to liberty." 1 Cor. vii. 23, "Be not made the servants of men." Gal. v. 14, "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free; and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." Neither is this a mere command, but for the most part in these forecited places, accompanied with the very weightiest and inmost reasons of christian religion: Rom. xiv. 9, 10, "For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judge thy brother?" &c. How presumest thou to be his lord, to be whose only Lord, at least in these things, Christ both died, and rose, and lived again? "We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ." Why then dost thou not only judge, but persecute in these things for which we are to be accountable to the tribunal of Christ only, our Lord and lawgiver? 1 Cor. vii. 23, "Ye are bought with a price; be not made the servants of men." Some trivial price belike, and for some frivolous pretences paid in their opinion, if bought and by him redeemed, who is God, from what was once the service of God, we shall be enthralled again, and forced by men to what now is but the service of men. Gal. iv. 31, with v. 1, "We are not children of the bondwoman, &c. stand fast therefore," &c. Col. ii. 8, "Beware lest any man spoil you, &c. after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Solid reasons whereof are continued through the whole chapter. Ver. 10, "Ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power:" not completed therefore or made the more religious by those ordinances of civil power, from which Christ their head hath discharged us; "blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us; and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross," ver. 14. Blotting out ordinances written by God himself, much more those so boldly written over again by men: ordinances which were against us, that is, against our frailty, much more those which are against our conscience. "Let no man therefore judge you in respect of," &c. ver. 16. Gal. iv. 3, &c. "Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the rudiments of the world: But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, &c. to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons, &c. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son, &c. But now, &c. how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly rudiments, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days," &c. Hence it plainly appears, that if we be not free, we are not sons, but still servants unadopted; and if we turn again to those weak and beggarly rudiments, we are not free; yea, though willingly, and with a misguided conscience, we desire to be in bondage to them; how much more then if unwillingly and against our conscience! Ill was our condition changed from legal to evangelical, and small advantage gotten by the gospel, if for the spirit of adoption to freedom promised us, we receive again the spirit of bondage to fear; if our fear, which was then servile towards God only, must be now servile in religion towards men: strange also and preposterous fear, if when and wherein it hath attained by the redemption of our Saviour to be filial only towards God, it must be now servile towards the magistrate: who, by subjecting us to his punishment in these things, brings back into religion that law of terrour and satisfaction belonging now only to civil crimes; and thereby in effect abolishes the gospel, by establishing again the law to a far worse yoke of servitude upon us than before. It will therefore not misbecome the meanest Christian to put in mind christian magistrates, and so much the more freely by how much the more they desire to be thought christian, (for they will be thereby, as they ought to be in these things, the more our brethren and the less our lords,) that they meddle not rashly with christian liberty, the birthright and outward testimony of our adoption; lest while they little think it, nay, think they do God service, they themselves, like the sons of that bondwoman, be found persecuting them who are freeborn of the Spirit, and by a sacrilege of not the least aggravation, bereaving them of that sacred liberty, which our Saviour with his own blood purchased for them.

A fourth reason, why the magistrate ought not to use force in religion, I bring from the consideration of all those ends, which he can likely pretend to the interposing of his force therein: and those hardly can be other than first the glory of God; next, either the spiritual good of them whom he forces, or the temporal punishment of their scandal to others. As for the promoting of God's glory, none, I think, will say that his glory ought to be promoted in religious things by unwarrantable means, much less by means contrary to what he hath commanded. That outward force is such, and that God's glory in the whole administration of the gospel according to his own will and counsel ought to be fulfilled by weakness, at least so refuted, not by force; or if by force, inward and spiritual, not outward and corporeal, is already proved at large. That outward force cannot tend to the good of him who is forced in religion, is unquestionable. For in religion whatever we do under the gospel, we ought to be thereof persuaded without scruple; and are justified by the faith we have, not by the work we do: Rom. xiv. 5, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." The other reason which follows necessarily is obvious, Gal. ii. 16, and in many other places of St. Paul, as the groundwork and foundation of the whole gospel, that we are "justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law." If not by the works of God's law, how then by the injunctions of man's law? Surely force cannot work persuasion, which is faith; cannot therefore justify nor pacify the con-

science; and that which justifies not in the gospel, condemns; is not only not good, but sinful to do: Rom. xiv. 23, "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin." It concerns the magistrate then to take heed how he forces in religion conscientious men: lest by compelling them to do that whereof they cannot be persuaded, that wherein they cannot find themselves justified, but by their own consciences condemned, instead of aiming at their spiritual good, he force them to do evil; and while he thinks himself Asa, Josiah, Nehemiah, he be found Jeroboam, who caused Israel to sin; and thereby draw upon his own head all those sins and shipwrecks of implicit faith and conformity, which he hath forced, and all the wounds given to those little ones, whom to offend he will find worse one day than that violent drowning mentioned Matt. xviii. 6. Lastly, as a preface to force, it is the usual pretence, That although tender consciences shall be tolerated, yet scandals thereby given shall not be unpunished, prophane and licentious men shall not be encouraged to neglect the performance of religious and holy duties by colour of any law giving liberty to tender consciences. By which contrivance the way lies ready open to them hereafter, who may be so minded, to take away by little and little that liberty which Christ and his gospel, not any magistrate, hath right to give: though this kind of his giving be but to give with one hand, and take away with the other, which is a deluding, not a giving. As for scandals, if any man be offended at the conscientious liberty of another, it is a taken scandal, not a given. To heal one conscience, we must not wound another: and men must be exhorted to beware of scandals in christian liberty, not forced by the magistrate; lest while he goes about to take away the scandal, which is uncertain whether given or taken, he take away our liberty, which is the certain and the sacred gift of God, neither to be touched by him, nor to be parted with by us. None more cautious of giving scandal than St. Paul. Yet while he made himself "servant to all," that he "might gain the more," he made himself so of his own accord, was not made so by outward force, testifying at the same time that he "was free from all men," 1 Cor. ix. 19; and thereafter exhorts us also, Gal. v. 13, "Ye were called to liberty, &c. but by love serve one another:" then not by force. As for that fear, lest prophane and licentious men should be encouraged to omit the performance of religious and holy duties, how can that care belong to the civil magistrate, especially to his force? For if prophane and licentious persons must not neglect the performance of religious and holy duties, it implies, that such duties they can perform, which no protestant will affirm. They who mean the outward performance, may so explain it; and it will then appear yet more plainly, that such performance of religious and holy duties, especially by prophane and licentious persons, is a dishonouring rather than a worshipping of God; and not only by him not required, but detested: Prov. xxi. 27, "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination; how much more when he bringeth it with a wicked mind?" To compel therefore the prophane to things holy in his prophaneness, is all one under the gospel, as to have compelled the unclean to sacrifice in his uncleanness under the law. And I add withal, that to compel the licentious in his licentiousness, and the conscientious against his conscience, comes all to one: tends not to the honour of God, but to the multiplying and the aggravating of sin to them both. We read not that Christ ever exercised force but once; and that was to drive prophane ones out of his temple, not to force them in: and if their being there was an offence, we find by many other scriptures that their praying there was an abomination: and yet to the Jewish law, that nation, as a servant, was obliged; but to the gospel each person is left voluntary, called only, as a son, by the preaching of the word; not to be driven in by edicts and force of arms. For if by the apostle, Rom. xii. 1, we are "beseeched as brethren by the mercies of God to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service" or worship, then is no man to be forced by the compulsive laws of men to present his body a dead sacrifice; and so under the gospel most unholy and unacceptable, because it is his unreasonable service, that is to say, not only unwilling but unconscionable. But if prophane and licentious persons may not omit the performance of holy duties, why may they not partake of holy things? Why are they prohibited the Lord's supper, since both the one and the other action may be outward; and outward performance of duty may attain at least an outward participation of benefit? The church denying them that communion of grace and thanksgiving, as it justly doth, why doth the magistrate compel them to the union of performing that which they neither truly can, being themselves unholy, and to do seemingly is both hateful to God, and perhaps no less dangerous to perform holy duties irreligiously, than to receive holy signs or sacraments unworthily? All prophane and licentious men, so known, can be considered but either so without the church as never yet within it, or departed thence of their own accord, or excommunicate: if never yet within the church, whom the apostle, and so consequently the church, have nought to do to judge, as he professes, 1 Cor. v. 12, then by what authority doth the magistrate judge; or, which is worse, compel in relation to the church? If departed of his own accord, like that lost sheep, Luke xv. 4, &c. the true church either with her own or any borrowed force worries him not in again, but rather in all charitable manner sends after him; and if she find him, lays him gently on her shoulders; bears him, yea bears his burdens, his errours, his infirmities any way tolerable, "so fulfilling the law of Christ," Gal. vi. 2. If excommunicate, whom the church hath bid go out, in whose name doth the magistrate compel to go in? The church indeed hinders none from hearing in her public congregation, for the doors are open to all: nor excommunicates to destruction; but, as much as in her lies, to a final saving. Her meaning therefore must needs be, that as her driving out brings on no outward penalty, so no outward force or penalty of an improper and only a destructive power

should drive in again her infectious sheep; therefore sent out because infectious, and not driven in but with the danger not only of the whole and sound, but also of his own utter perishing. Since force neither instructs in religion, nor begets repentance or amendment of life, but on the contrary, hardness of heart, formality, hypocrisy, and, as I said before, every way increase of sin; more and more alienates the mind from a violent religion, expelling out and compelling in, and reduces it to a condition like that which the Britons complain of in our story, driven to and fro between the Picts and the sea. If after excommunion he be found intractable, incurable, and will not hear the church, he becomes as one never yet within her pale, "a heathen or a publican," Matt. xviii. 17, not further to be judged, no not by the magistrate, unless for civil causes; but left to the final sentence of that Judge, whose coming shall be in flames of fire; that Maranathà, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, than which to him so left nothing can be more dreadful, and ofttimes to him particularly nothing more speedy, that is to say, The Lord cometh: in the mean while delivered up to Satan, 1 Cor. v. 5, 1 Tim. i. 20, that is, from the fold of Christ and kingdom of grace to the world again, which is the kingdom of Satan; and as he was received "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God," Acts xxvi. 18, so now delivered up again from light to darkness, and from God to the power of Satan; yet so as is in both places manifested, to the intent of saving him, brought sooner to contrition by spiritual than by any corporal severity. But grant it belonging any way to the magistrate, that prophane and licentious persons omit not the performance of holy duties, which in them were odious to God even under the law, much more now under the gospel; yet ought his care both as a magistrate and a Christian, to be much more that conscience be not inwardly violated, than that licence in these things be made outwardly conformable: since his part is undoubtedly as a Christian, which puts him upon this office much more than as a magistrate, in all respects to have more care of the conscientious than of the prophane; and not for their sakes to take away (while they pretend to give) or to diminish the rightful liberty of religious consciences.

On these four scriptural reasons, as on a firm square, this truth, the right of christian and evangelic liberty, will stand immovable against all those pretended consequences of licence and confusion, which for the most part men most licentious and confused themselves, or such as whose severity would be wiser than divine wisdom, are ever aptest to object against the ways of God: as if God without them, when he gave us this liberty, knew not of the worst which these men in their arrogance pretend will follow: yet knowing all their worst, he gave us this liberty as by him judged best. As to those magistrates who think it their work to settle religion, and those ministers or others, who so oft call upon them to do so, I trust, that having well considered what hath been here argued, neither they will continue in that intention, nor these in that expectation from them; when they shall find that the settlement of religion belongs only to each particular church by persuasive and spiritual means within itself, and that the defence only of the church belongs to the magistrate. Had he once learnt not further to concern himself with church-affairs, half his labour might be spared, and the commonwealth better tended. To which end, that which I premised in the beginning, and in due place treated of more at large, I desire now concluding, that they would consider seriously what religion is: and they will find it to be, in sum, both our belief and our practice depending upon God only. That there can be no place then left for the magistrate or his force in the settlement of religion, by appointing either what we shall believe in divine things, or practise in religious, (neither of which things are in the power of man either to perform himself, or to enable others,) I persuade me in the christian ingenuity of all religious men, the more they examine seriously, the more they will find clearly to be true: and find how false and deviseable that common saying is, which is so much relied upon, that the christian magistrate is "Custos utriusque Tabulæ," Keeper of both Tables, unless is meant by keeper the defender only: neither can that maxim be maintained by any proof or argument, which hath not in this discourse first or last been refuted. For the two tables, or ten commandments, teach our duty to God and our neighbour from the love of both; give magistrates no authority to force either: they seek that from the judicial law, though on false grounds, especially in the first table, as I have shewn; and both in first and second execute that authority for the most part, not according to God's judicial laws, but their own. As for civil crimes, and of the outward man, which all are not, no, not of those against the second table, as that of coveting; in them what power they have, they had from the beginning, long before Moses or the two tables were in being. And whether they be not now as little in being to be kept by any Christian as they are two legal tables, remains yet as undecided, as it is sure they never were yet delivered to the keeping of any christian magistrate. But of these things perhaps more some other time; what may serve the present hath been above discoursed sufficiently out of the Scriptures: and to those produced, might be added testimonies, examples, experiences, of all succeeding ages to these times, asserting this doctrine: but having herein the Scripture so copious and so plain, we have all that can be properly called true strength and nerve; the rest would be but pomp and encumbrance. Pomp and ostentation of reading is admired among the vulgar: but doubtless in matters of religion he is learnedest who is plainest. The brevity I use, not exceeding a small manual, will not therefore, I suppose, be thought the less considerable, unless with them perhaps who think that great books only can determine great matters. I rather choose the common rule, not to make much ado, where less may serve. Which in controversies, and those especially of religion, would make them less tedious, and by consequence read oftener by many more, and with more benefit.

CONSIDERATIONS

TOUCHING THE LIKELIEST MEANS

TO REMOVE HIRELINGS OUT OF THE CHURCH.

WHEREIN IS ALSO DISCOURSED

OF TITHES, CHURCH-FEES, AND CHURCH-REVENUES; AND WHETHER ANY MAINTENANCE OF MINISTERS CAN BE SETTLED BY LAW.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1659.]

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, WITH THE DOMINIONS THEREOF

Owing to your protection, Supreme Senate! this liberty of writing, which I have used these eighteen years on all occasions to assert the best rights and freedoms both of church and state, and so far approved, as to have been trusted with the representment and defence of your actions to all christendom against an adversary of no mean repute; to whom should I address what I still publish on the same argument, but to you, whose magnanimous councils first opened and unbound the age from a double bondage under prelatical and regal tyranny; above our own hopes heartening us to look up at last like men and Christians from the slavish dejection, wherein from father to son we were bred up and taught; and thereby deserving of these nations, if they be not barbarously ingrateful, to be acknowledged, next under God, the authors and best patrons of religious and civil liberty, that ever these islands brought forth? The care and tuition of whose peace and safety, after a short but scandalous night of interruption, is now again, by a new dawning of God's miraculous providence among us, revolved upon your shoulders. And to whom more appertain these considerations, which I propound, than to yourselves, and the debate before you, though I trust of no difficulty, yet at present of great expectation, not whether ye will gratify, were it no more than so, but whether ye will hearken to the just petition of many thousands best affected both to religion and to this your return, or whether ye will satisfy, which you never can, the covetous pretences and demands of insatiable hirelings, whose disaffection ye well know both to yourselves and your resolutions? That I, though among many others in this common concernment, interpose to your deliberations what my thoughts also are; your own judgment and the success thereof hath given me the confidence: which requests but this, that if I have prosperously, God so favouring me, defended the public cause of this commonwealth to foreigners, ye would not think the reason and ability, whereon ye trusted once (and repent not) your whole reputation to the world, either grown less by more maturity and longer study, or less available in English than in another tongue: but that if it sufficed some years past to convince and satisfy the unengaged of other nations in the justice of your doings, though then held paradoxal, it may as well suffice now against weaker opposition in matters, except here in England with a spirituality of men devoted to their temporal gain, of no controversy else among protestants. Neither do I doubt, seeing daily the acceptance which they find who in their petitions venture to bring advice also, and new models of a commonwealth, but that you will interpret it much more the duty of a Christian to offer what his conscience persuades him may be of moment to the freedom and better constituting of the church: since it is a deed of highest charity to help undeceive the people, and a work worthiest your authority, in all things else authors, assertors, and now recoverers of our liberty, to deliver us, the only people of all protestants left still undelivered, from the oppressions of a simonious decimating clergy, who shame not, against the judgment and practice of all other churches reformed, to maintain, though very weakly, their popish and oft refuted positions; not in a point of conscience wherein they might be blameless, but in a point of covetousness and unjust claim to other men's goods; a contention foul and odious in any man, but most of all in ministers of the gospel, in whom contention, though for their own right, scarce is allowable. Till which grievances be removed, and religion set free from the monopoly of hirelings, I dare affirm, that no model whatsoever of a commonwealth will prove successful or undisturbed; and so persuaded, implore divine assistance on your pious counsels and proceedings to unanimity in this and all other truth.

John Milton.

CONSIDERATIONS

TOUCHING THE LIKELIEST MEANS

TO REMOVE HIRELINGS OUT OF THE CHURCH.

The former treatise, which leads in this, began with two things ever found working much mischief to the one side restraining, and hire on the other side corrupting, the teachers thereof. The latter of these is by much the more dangerous: for under force, though no thank to the forcers, true religion ofttimes best thrives and flourishes; but the corruption of teachers, most commonly the effect of hire, is the very bane of truth in them who are so corrupted. Of force not to be used in matters of religion, I have already spoken; and so stated matters of conscience and religion in faith and divine worship, and so severed them from blasphemy and heresy, the one being such properly as is despiteful, the other such as stands not to the rule of Scripture, and so both of them not matters of religion, but rather against it, that to them who will yet use force, this only choice can be left, whether they will force them to believe, to whom it is not given from above, being not forced thereto by any principle of the gospel, which is now the only dispensation of God to all men; or whether being protestants, they will punish in those things wherein the protestant religion denies them to be judges, either in themselves infallible, or to the consciences of other men; or whether, lastly, they think fit to punish errour, supposing they can be infallible that it is so, being not wilful, but conscientious, and, according to the best light of him who errs, grounded on Scripture. which kind of errour all men religious, or but only reasonable, have thought worthier of pardon, and the growth thereof to be prevented by spiritual means and church-discipline, not by civil laws and outward force, since it is God only who gives as well to believe aright, as to believe at all; and by those means, which he ordained sufficiently in his church to the full execution of his divine purpose in the gospel. It remains now to speak of hire, the other evil so mischievous in religion: whereof I promised then to speak further, when I should find God disposing me, and opportunity inviting. Opportunity I find now inviting; and apprehend therein the concurrence of God disposing; since the maintenance of church-ministers, a thing not properly belonging to the magistrate, and yet with such importunity called for, and expected from him, is at present under public debate. Wherein lest any thing may happen to be determined and established prejudicial to the right and freedom of the church, or advantageous to such as may be found hirelings therein, it will be now most seasonable, and in these matters, wherein every Christian hath his free suffrage, no way misbecoming christian meekness to offer freely, without disparagement to the wisest, such advice as God shall incline him and enable him to propound : since heretofore in commonwealths of most fame for government, civil laws were not established till they had been first for certain days published to the view of all men, that whoso pleased might speak freely his opinion thereof, and give in his exceptions, ere the law could pass to a full establishment. And where ought this equity to have more place, than in the liberty which is inseparable from christian religion? This, I am not ignorant, will be a work unpleasing to some: but what truth is not hateful to some or other, as this, in likelihood, will be to none but hirelings. And if there be among them who hold it their duty to speak impartial truth, as the work of their ministry, though not performed without money, let them not envy others who think the same no less their duty by the general office of Christianity, to speak truth, as in all reason may be thought, more impartially and unsuspectedly without money.

Hire of itself is neither a thing unlawful, nor a word of any evil note, signifying no more than a due recompence or reward; as when our Saviour saith, "the labourer is worthy of his hire." That which makes it so dangerous in the church, and properly makes the hireling, a word always of evil signification, is either the excess thereof, or the undue manner of giving and taking it. What harm the excess thereof brought to the church, perhaps was not found by experience till the days of Constantine; who out of his zeal thinking he could be never too liberally a nursing father of the church, might be not unfitly said to have either overlaid it or choked it in the nursing. Which was foretold, as is recorded in ecclesiastical traditions, by a voice heard from heaven, on the very day that those great donations and church-revenues were given, crying aloud, "This day is poison poured

into the church." Which the event soon after verified, as appears by another no less ancient observation, "That religion brought forth wealth, and the daughter devoured the mother." But long ere wealth came into the church, so soon as any gain appeared in religion, hirelings were apparent; drawn in long before by the very scent thereof. Judas therefore, the first hireling, for want of present hire answerable to his coveting, from the small number or the meanness of such as then were the religious, sold the religion itself with the founder thereof, his master. Simon Magus the next, in hope only that preaching and the gifts of the Holy Ghost would prove gainful, offered beforehand a sum of money to obtain them. Not long after, as the apostle foretold, hirelings like wolves came in by herds: Acts xx. 29, "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock." Tit. i. 11, "Teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake." 2 Pet. ii. 3, "And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." Yet they taught not false doctrine only, but seeming piety: 1 Tim. vi. 5, "Supposing that gain is godliness." Neither came they in of themselves only, but invited ofttimes by a corrupt audience: 2 Tim. iv. 3, "For the time will come, when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts they will heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears:" and they on the other side, as fast heaping to themselves disciples, Acts xx. 30, doubtless had as itching palms: 2 Pet. ii. 15, "Following the way of Balaam, the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness." Jude 11, "They ran greedily after the errour of Balaam for reward." Thus we see, that not only the excess of hire in wealthiest times, but also the undue and vicious taking or giving it, though but small or mean, as in the primitive times, gave to hirelings occasion, though not intended, yet sufficient to creep at first into the church Which argues also the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, to remove them quite, unless every minister were, as St. Paul, contented to preach gratis; but few such are to be found. As therefore we cannot justly take away all hire in the church, because we cannot otherwise quite remove all hirelings, so are we not, for the impossibility of removing them all, to use therefore no endeavour that fewest may come in; but rather, in regard the evil, do what we can, will always be incumbent and unavoidable, to use our utmost diligence how it may be least dangerous: which will be likeliest effected, if we consider, first, what recompence God hath ordained should be given to ministers of the church; (for that a recompence ought to be given them, and may by them justly be received, our Saviour himself from the very light of reason and of equity hath declared, Luke x. 7, "The labourer is worthy of his hire;") next, by whom; and lastly, in what manner.

What recompence ought to be given to church-ministers, God hath answerably ordained according to that difference, which he hath manifestly put between those his two great dispensations, the law and the gospel. Under the law he gave them tithes; under the gospel, having left all things in his church to charity and christian freedom, he hath given them only what is justly given them. That, as well under the gospel, as under the law, say our English divines, and they only of all protestants, is tithes; and they say true, if any man be so minded to give them of his own the tenth or twentieth; but that the law therefore of tithes is in force under the gospel, all other protestant divines, though equally concerned, yet constantly deny. For although hire to the labourer be of moral and perpetual right, yet that special kind of hire, the tenth; can be of no right or necessity, but to that special labour for which God ordained it. That special labour was the levitical and ceremonial service of the tabernacle, Numb. xviii. 21, 31, which is now abolished: the right therefore of that special hire must needs be withal abolished, as being also ceremonial. That tithes were ceremonial, is plain, not being given to the Levites till they had been first offered a heave-offering to the Lord, ver. 24, 28. He then who by that law brings tithes into the gospel, of necessity brings in withal a sacrifice, and an altar; without which tithes by that law were unsanctified and polluted, ver. 32, and therefore never thought on in the first christian times, till ceremonies, altars, and oblations, by an ancienter corruption, were brought back long before. And yet the Jews, ever since their temple was destroyed, though they have rabbies and teachers of their law, yet pay no tithes, as having no Levites to whom, no temple where, to pay them, no altar whereon to hallow them: which argues that the Jews themselves never thought tithes moral, but ceremonial only. That Christians therefore should take them up, when Jews have laid them down, must needs be very absurd and preposterous. Next, it is as clear in the same chapter, that the priests and Levites had not tithes for their labour only in the tabernacle, but in regard they were to have no other part nor inheritance in the land, ver. 20, 24, and by that means for a tenth, lost a twelfth. But our Levites undergoing no such law of deprivement, can have no right to any such compensation: nay, if by this law they will have tithes, can have no inheritance of land, but forfeit what they have. Besides this, tithes were of two sorts, those of every year, and those of every third year: of the former, every one that brought his tithes, was to eat his share: Deut. xiv. 23, "Thou shalt eat before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose to place his name there, the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil," &c. Nay, though he could not bring his tithe in kind, by reason of his distant dwelling from the tabernacle or temple, but was thereby forced to turn it into money, he was to bestow that money on whatsoever pleased him, oxen, sheep, wine, or strong drink; and to eat and drink thereof there before the Lord, both he and his houshold, ver. 24, 25, 26. As for tithes of every third year, they were not given only to the Levite, but to the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, ver. 28, 29, and chap. xxvi. 12, 13. So that ours, if they will have tithes, must admit of these sharers with them. Nay, these tithes were not paid in at all to the Levite, but the Levite himself was to

come with those his fellow-guests, and eat his share of them only at his house who provided them; and this not in regard of his ministerial office, but because he had no part or inheritance in the land. Lastly, the priests and Levites, a tribe, were of a far different constitution from this of our ministers under the gospel: in them were orders and degrees both by family, dignity, and office, mainly distinguished; the high priest, his brethren and his sons, to whom the Levites themselves paid tithes, and of the best, were eminently superiour, Numb. xviii. 28, 29. No protestant, I suppose, will liken one of our ministers to a high priest, but rather to a common Levite. Unless then, to keep their tithes, they mean to bring back again bishops, archbishops, and the whole gang of prelatry, to whom will they themselves pay tithes, as by that law it was a sin to them if they did not? ver. 32. Certainly this must needs put them to a deep demur, while the desire of holding fast their tithes without sin may tempt them to bring back again bishops, as the likeness of that hierarchy that should receive tithes from them; and the desire to pay none, may advise them to keep out of the church all orders above them. But if we have to do at present, as I suppose we have, with true reformed protestants, not with papists or prelates, it will not be denied that in the gospel there be but two ministerial degrees, presbyters and deacons; which if they contend to have any succession, reference or conformity with those two degrees under the law, priests and Levites, it must needs be such whereby our presbyters or ministers may be answerable to priests, and our deacons to Levites; by which rule of proportion it will follow that we must pay our tithes to the deacons only, and they only to the ministers. But if it be truer yet, that the priesthood of Aaron typified a better reality, 1 Pet. ii. 5, signifying the christian true and "holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifice;" it follows hence, that we are now justly exempt from paying tithes to any who claim from Aaron, since that priesthood is in us now real, which in him was but a shadow. Seeing then by all this which has been shewn, that the law of tithes is partly ceremonial, as the work was for which they were given, partly judicial, not of common, but of particular right to the tribe of Levi, nor to them alone, but to the owner also and his houshold, at the time of their offering, and every three years to the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, their appointed sharers, and that they were a tribe of priests and deacons improperly compared to the constitution of our ministry; and the tithes given by that people to those deacons only; it follows that our ministers at this day, being neither priests nor Levites, nor fitly answering to either of them, can have no just title or pretence to tithes, by any consequence drawn from the law of Moses. But they think they have yet a better plea in the example of Melchisedec, who took tithes of Abraham ere the law was given; whence they would infer tithes to be of moral right. But they ought to know, or to remember, that not examples, but express commands, oblige our obedience to God or man: next, that whatsoever was done in religion before the law written, is not presently to be counted moral, when as so many things were then done both ceremonial and judaically judicial, that we need not doubt to conclude all times before Christ more or less under the ceremonial law. To what end served else those altars and sacrifices, that distinction of clean and unclean entering into the ark, circumcision, and the raising up of seed to the elder brother? Gen. xxxviii. 8. If these things be not moral, though before the law, how are tithes, though in the example of Abraham and Melchisedec? But this instance is so far from being the just ground of a law, that after all circumstances duly weighed both from Gen. xiv. and Heb. vii. it will not be allowed them so much as an example. Melchisedec, besides his priestly benediction, brought with him bread and wine sufficient to refresh Abraham and his whole army; incited to do so, first, by the secret providence of God, intending him for a type of Christ and his priesthood; next, by his due thankfulness and honour to Abraham, who had freed his borders of Salem from a potent enemy: Abraham on the other side honours him with the tenth of all, that is to say, (for he took not sure his whole estate with him to that war,) of the spoils, Heb. vii. 4. Incited he also by the same secret providence, to signify as grandfather of Levi, that the Levitical priesthood was excelled by the priesthood of Christ. For the giving of a tenth declared, it seems, in those countries and times, him the greater who received it. That which next incited him, was partly his gratitude to requite the present, partly his reverence to the person and his benediction: to his person, as a king and priest, greater therefore than Abraham, who was a priest also, but not a king. And who unhired will be so hardy as to say, that Abraham at any other time ever paid him tithes, either before or after; or had then, but for this accidental meeting and obligement; or that else Melchisedec had demanded or exacted them, or took them otherwise than as the voluntary gift of Abraham? But our ministers, though neither priests nor kings more than any other Christian, greater in their own esteem than Abraham and all his seed, for the verbal labour of a seventh day's preachment, not bringing, like Melchisedec, bread or wine at their own cost, would not take only at the willing hand of liberality or gratitude, but require and exact as due, the tenth, not of spoils, but of our whole estates and labours; nor once, but yearly. We then it seems, by the example of Abraham, must pay tithes to these Melchisedecs: but what if the person of Abraham can neither no way represent us, or will oblige the ministers to pay tithes no less than other men? Abraham had not only a priest in his loins, but was himself a priest, and gave tithes to Melchisedec either as grandfather of Levi, or as father of the faithful. If as grandfather (though he understood it not) of Levi, he obliged not us, but Levi only, the inferiour priest, by that homage (as the apostle to the Hebrews clearly enough explains) to acknowledge the greater. And they who by Melchisedec claim from Abraham as Levi's grandfather, have none to seek their tithes of but the Levites, where they can find them.

If Abraham, as father of the faithful, paid tithes to Melchisedec, then certainly the ministers also, if they be of that number, paid in him equally with the rest. Which may induce us to believe, that as both Abraham and Melchisedec, so tithes also in that action typical and ceremonial, signified nothing else but that subjection which all the faithful, both ministers and people, owe to Christ, our high priest and king.

In any literal sense, from this example, they never will be able to extort that the people in those days paid tithes to priests, but this only, that one priest once in his life, of spoils only, and in requital partly of a liberal present, partly of a benediction, gave voluntary tithes, not to a greater priest than himself, as far as Abraham could then understand, but rather to a priest and king joined in one person. They will reply, perhaps, that if one priest paid tithes to another, it must needs be understood that the people did no less to the priest. But I shall easily remove that necessity, by remembering them that in those days was no priest, but the father, or the first-born of each family; and by consequence no people to pay him tithes, but his own children and servants, who had not wherewithal to pay him, but of his own. Yet grant that the people then paid tithes, there will not yet be the like reason to enjoin us; they being then under ceremonies, a mere laity, we now under Christ, a royal priesthood 1 Pet. ii. 9, as we are coheirs, kings and priests with him, a priest for ever after the order or manner of Melchisedec. As therefore Abraham paid tithes to Melchisedec because Levi was in him, so we ought to pay none because the true Melchisedec is in us, and we in him, who can pay to none greater, and hath freed us, by our union with himself, from all compulsive tributes and taxes in his church. Neither doth the collateral place, Heb. vii. make other use of this story, than to prove Christ, personated by Melchisedec, a greater priest than Aaron: ver. 4. "Now consider how great this man was," &c.; and proves not in the least manner that tithes be of any right to ministers, but the contrary: first, the Levites had a commandment to take tithes of the people according to the law, that is, of their brethren, though they come out of the loins of Abraham, ver. 5. The commandment then was, it seems, to take tithes of the Jews only, and according to the law. That law changing of necessity with the priesthood, no other sort of ministers, as they must needs be another sort under another priesthood, can receive that tribute of tithes which fell with that law, unless renewed by another express command, and according to another law; no such law is extant. Next, Melchisedec not as a minister, but as Christ himself in person, blessed Abraham, who "had the promises," ver. 6, and in him blessed all both ministers and people, both of the law and gospel: that blessing declared him greater and better than whom he blessed, ver. 7. receiving tithes from them all, not as a maintenance, which Melchisedec needed not, but as a sign of homage and subjection to their king and priest: whereas ministers bear not the person of Christ in his priesthood or kingship, bless not as he blesses, are not by their blessing greater than Abraham, and all the faithful with themselves included in him; cannot both give and take tithes in Abraham, cannot claim to themselves that sign of our allegiance due only to our eternal king and priest, cannot therefore derive tithes from Melchisedec. Lastly, the eighth verse hath thus; "Here men that die receive tithes: there he received them, of whom it is witnessed that he liveth." Which words intimate, that as he offered himself once for us, so he received once of us in Abraham, and in that place the typical acknowledgment of our redemption: which had it been a perpetual annuity to Christ, by him claimed as his due, Levi must have paid it yearly, as well as then, ver. 9, and our ministers ought still, to some Melchisedec or other, as well now as they did in Abraham. But that Christ never claimed any such tenth as his annual due, much less resigned it to the ministers, his so officious receivers, without express commission or assignment, will be yet clearer as we proceed. Thus much may at length assure us, that this example of Abraham and Melchisedec, though I see of late they build most upon it, can so little be the ground of any law to us, that it will not so much avail them as to the authority of an example. Of like impertinence is that example of Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 22, who of his free choice, not enjoined by any law, vowed the tenth of all that God should give him: which for aught appears to the contrary, he vowed as a thing no less indifferent before his vow, than the foregoing part thereof: that the stone, which he had set there for a pillar, should be God's house. And to whom vowed he this tenth, but to God? Not to any priest, for we read of none to him greater than himself: and to God, no doubt, but he paid what he vowed, both in the building of that Bethel, with other altars elsewhere, and the expense of his continual sacrifices, which none but he had a right to offer. However therefore he paid his tenth, it could in no likelihood, unless by such an occasion as befell his grandfather, be to any priest. But, say they, "All the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's, holy unto the Lord, Lev. xxvii. 30." And this before it was given to the Levites; therefore since they ceased. No question; For the whole earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, Psal. xxiv. 1, and the light of nature shews us no less: but that the tenth is his more than the rest, how know I, but as he so declares it? He declares it so here of the land of Canaan only, as by all circumstance appears, and passes, by deed of gift, this tenth to the Levite; yet so as offered to him first a heave-offering, and consecrated on his altar, Numb. xviii. all which I had as little known, but by that evidence. The Levites are ceased, the gift returns to the giver. How then can we know that he hath given it to any other? Or how can these men presume to take it unoffered first to God, unconsecrated, without another clear and express donation, whereof they shew no evidence or writing? Besides, he hath now alienated that holy land; who can warrantably affirm, that he hath since hallowed the tenth of this land, which none but God hath power to do or can

warrant? Their last proof they cite out of the gospel, which makes as little for them, Matt. xxiii. 23, where our Saviour denouncing woe to the scribes and Pharisees, who paid tithe so exactly, and omitted weightier matters, tells them, that these they ought to have done, that is, to have paid tithes. For our Saviour spake then to those who observed the law of Moses, which was yet not fully abrogated, till the destruction of the temple. And by the way here we may observe, out of their own proof, that the scribes and Pharisees, though then chief teachers of the people, such at least as were not Levites, did not take tithes, but paid them: so much less covetous were the scribes and Pharisees in those worse times than ours at this day. This is so apparent to the reformed divines of other countries, that when any one of ours hath attempted in Latin to maintain this argument of tithes, though a man would think they might suffer him without opposition, in a point equally tending to the advantage of all ministers, yet they forbear not to oppose him, as in a doctrine not fit to pass unopposed under the gospel. Which shews the modesty, the contentedness of those foreign pastors, with the maintenance given them, their sincerity also in the truth, though less gainful, and the avarice of ours; who through the love of their old papistical tithes, consider not the weak arguments, or rather conjectures and surmises, which they bring to defend them. On the other side, although it be sufficient to have proved in general the abolishing of tithes, as part of the judaical or ceremonial law, which is abolished all, as well that before as that after Moses; yet I shall further prove them abrogated by an express ordinance of the gospel, founded not on any type, or that municipal law of Moses, but on moral and general equity, given us in stead: 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14, "Know ye not, that they who minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple; and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? So also the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel." He saith not, should live on things which were of the temple, or of the altar, of which were tithes, for that had given them a clear title: but abrogating that former law of Moses, which determined what and how much, by a later ordinance of Christ, which leaves the what and how much indefinite and free, so it be sufficient to live on: he saith, "The Lord hath so ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel;" which hath neither temple, altar, nor sacrifice: Heb. vii. 13, "For he of whom these things are spoken, pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar:" his ministers therefore cannot thence have tithes. And where the Lord hath so ordained, we may find easily in more than one evangelist: Luke x. 7, 8, "In the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire, &c. And into whatsoever city you enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you." To which ordinance of Christ it may seem likeliest, that the apostle refers us both here, and 1 Tim. v. 18, where he cites this as the saying of our Saviour, "That the labourer is worthy of his hire." And both by this place of Luke, and that of Matt. x. 9, 10, 11, it evidently appears, that our Saviour ordained no certain maintenance for his apostles or ministers, publicly or privately, in house or city received; but that, whatever it were, which might suffice to live on: and this not commanded or proportioned by Abraham or by Moses, whom he might easily have here cited, as his manner was, but declared only by a rule of common equity, which proportions the hire as well to the ability of him who gives, as to the labour of him who receives, and recommends him only as worthy, not invests him with a legal right. And mark whereon he grounds this his ordinance; not on a perpetual right of tithes from Melchisedec, as hirelings pretend, which he never claimed, either for himself, or for his ministers, but on the plain and common equity of rewarding the labourer; worthy sometimes of single, sometimes of double honour, not proportionable by tithes. And the apostle in this forecited chapter to the Corinthians, ver. 11, affirms it to be no great recompence, if carnal things be reaped for spiritual sown; but to mention tithes, neglects here the fittest occasion that could be offered him, and leaves the rest free and undetermined. Certainly if Christ or his apostles had approved of tithes, they would have, either by writing or tradition, recommended them to the church; and that soon would have appeared in the practice of those primitive and the next ages. But for the first three hundred years and more, in all the ecclesiastical story, I find no such doctrine or example: though errour by that time had brought back again priests, altars, and oblations; and in many other points of religion had miserably judaized the church. So that the defenders of tithes, after a long pomp, and tedious preparation out of heathen authors, telling us that tithes were paid to Hercules and Apollo, which perhaps was imitated from the Jews, and as it were bespeaking our expectation, that they will abound much more with authorities out of christian story, have nothing of general approbation to begin with from the first three or four ages, but that which abundantly serves to the confutation of their tithes; while they confess that churchmen in those ages lived merely upon freewill-offerings. Neither can they say, that tithes were not then paid for want of a civil magistrate to ordain them, for Christians had then also lands, and might give out of them what they pleased; and yet of tithes then given we find no mention. And the first christian emperors, who did all things as bishops advised them, supplied what was wanting to the clergy not out of tithes, which were never motioned, but out of their own imperial revenues; as is manifest in Eusebius, Theodoret, and Sozomen, from Constantine to Arcadius. Hence those ancientest reformed churches of the Waldenses, if they rather continued not pure since the apostles, denied that tithes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the primitive church, as appears by an ancient tractate in the Bohemian history. Thus far hath the church been always, whether in her prime or in her ancientest reformation, from the approving of tithes: nor without reason; for they might easily per-

ceive that tithes were fitted to the Jews only, a national church of many incomplete synagogues, uniting the accomplishment of divine worship in one temple; and the Levites there had their tithes paid where they did their bodily work; to which a particular tribe was set apart by divine appointment, not by the people's election: but the christian church is universal; not tied to nation, diocess, or parish, but consisting of many particular churches complete in themselves, gathered not by compulsion, or the accident of dwelling nigh together, but by free consent, choosing both their particular church and their church-officers. Whereas if tithes be set up, all these christian privileges will be disturbed and soon lost, and with them christian liberty.

The first authority which our adversaries bring, after those fabulous apostolic canons, which they dare not insist upon, is a provincial council held at Cullen, where they voted tithes to be God's rent, in the year 356; at the same time perhaps when the three kings reigned there, and of like authority. For to what purpose do they bring these trivial testimonies, by which they might as well prove altars, candles at noon, and the greatest part of those superstitions fetched from paganism or Jewism, which the papist, inveigled by this fond argument of antiquity, retains to this day? To what purpose those decrees of I know not what bishops, to a parliament and people who have thrown out both bishops and altars, and promised all reformation by the word of God? And that altars brought tithes hither, as one corruption begot another, is evident by one of those questions, which the monk Austin propounded to the pope, "concerning those things, which by offerings of the faithful came to the altar;" as Beda writes, l. i. c. 27. If then by these testimonies we must have tithes continued, we must again have altars. Of Fathers, by custom so called, they quote Ambrose, Augustin, and some other ceremonial doctors of the same leaven: whose assertion, without pertinent scripture, no reformed church can admit; and what they vouch is founded on the law of Moses, with which every where pitifully mistaken, they again incorporate the gospel; as did the rest also of those titular Fathers, perhaps an age or two before them, by many rites and ceremonies, both Jewish and heathenish, introduced; whereby thinking to gain all, they lost all: and instead of winning Jews and pagans to be Christians, by too much condescending they turned Christians into Jews and pagans. To heap such unconvincing citations as these in religion, whereof the Scripture only is our rule, argues not much learning nor judgment, but the lost labour of much unprofitable reading. And yet a late hot Querist* for tithes, whom ye may know by his wits lying ever beside him in the margin, to be ever beside his wits in the text, a fierce reformer once, now rankled with a contrary heat, would send us back, very reformedly indeed, to learn reformation from Tyndarus and Rebuffus, two canonical promoters. They produce next the ancient constitutions of this land, Saxon laws, edicts of kings, and their councils, from Athelstan, in the year 928, that tithes by statute were paid: and might produce from Ina, above 200 years before, that Romescot or Peter's penny was by as good statute law paid to the pope; from 725, and almost as long continued. And who knows not that this law of tithes was enacted by those kings and barons upon the opinion they had of their divine right? as the very words import of Edward the Confessor, in the close of that law: "For so blessed Austin preached and taught;" meaning the monk, who first brought the Romish religion into England from Gregory the pope. And by the way I add, that by these laws, imitating the law of Moses, the third part of tithes only was the priest's due; the other two were appointed for the poor, and to adorn or repair churches; as the canons of Ecbert and Elfric witness: Concil. Brit. If then these laws were founded upon the opinion of divine authority, and that authority be found mistaken and erroneous, as hath been fully manifested, it follows, that these laws fall of themselves with their false foundation. But with what face or conscience can they allege Moses or these laws for titles, as they now enjoy or exact them; whereof Moses ordains the owner, as we heard before, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, partakers of the Levite; and these Fathers which they cite, and these though Romish rather than English laws, allotted both to priest and bishop the third part only? But these our protestant, these our new reformed English presbyterian divines, against their own cited authors, and to the shame of their pretended reformation, would engross to themselves all tithes by statute; and supported more by their wilful obstinacy and desire of filthy lucre, than by these both insufficient and impertinent authorities, would persuade a christian magistracy and parliament, whom we trust God hath restored for a happier reformation, to impose upon us a judaical ceremonial law, and yet from that law to be more irregular and unwarrantable, more complying with a covetous clergy, than any of those popish kings and parliaments alleged. Another shift they have to plead, that tithes may be moral as well as the sabbath, a tenth of fruits as well as a seventh of days: I answer, that the prelates who urge this argument have least reason to use it, denying morality in the sabbath, and therein better agreeing with reformed churches abroad than the rest of our divines. As therefore the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient recourse of worship in fit season, whether seventh or other number; so neither is the tenth of our goods, but only a convenient subsistence morally due to ministers. The last and lowest sort of their arguments, that men purchased not their tithe with their land, and such like pettifoggery, I omit; as refuted sufficiently by others: I omit also their violent and irreligious exactions, related no less credibly; their seizing of pots and pans from the poor, who have as good right to tithes as they; from some, the very beds; their suing and imprisoning, worse than when the canon law was in force; worse than when those wicked sons of Eli were priests, whose manner was thus to seize their pretended priestly due by force; 1 Sam. ii. 12, &c.

* Prynne.

"Whereby men abhorred the offering of the Lord." And it may be feared, that many will as much abhor the gospel, if such violence as this be suffered in her ministers, and in that which they also pretend to be the offering of the Lord. For those sons of Belial within some limits made seizure of what they knew was their own by an undoubted law; but these, from whom there is no sanctuary, seize out of men's grounds, out of men's houses, their other goods of double, sometimes of treble value, for that which, did not covetousness and rapine blind them, they know to be not their own by the gospel which they preach. Of some more tolerable than these, thus severely God hath spoken; Isa. xlvi. 10, &c. "They are greedy dogs; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter." With what anger then will he judge them who stand not looking, but under colour of a divine right, fetch by force that which is not their own, taking his name not in vain, but in violence? Nor content, as Gehazi was, to make a cunning, but a constrained advantage of what their master bids them give freely, how can they but return smitten, worse than that sharking minister, with a spiritual leprosy? And yet they cry out sacrilege, that men will not be gulled and baffled the tenth of their estates, by giving credit to frivolous pretences of divine right. Where did God ever clearly declare to all nations, or in all lands, (and none but fools part with their estates without clearest evidence, on bare supposals and presumptions of them who are the gainers thereby,) that he required the tenth as due to him or his Son perpetually and in all places? Where did he demand it, that we might certainly know, as in all claims of temporal right is just and reasonable? or if demanded, where did he assign it, or by what evident conveyance to ministers? Unless they can demonstrate this by more than conjectures, their title can be no better to tithes than the title of Gehazi was to those things which by abusing his master's name he rooked from Naaman. Much less where did he command that tithes should be fetched by force, where left not under the gospel, whatever his right was, to the freewill-offerings of men? Which is the greater sacrilege, to bely divine authority, to make the name of Christ accessory to violence, and robbing him of the very honour which he aimed at in bestowing freely the gospel, to commit simony and rapine, both secular and ecclesiastical; or on the other side, not to give up the tenth of civil right and propriety to the tricks and impostures of clergymen, contrived with all the art and argument that their bellies can invent or suggest; yet so ridiculous and presuming on the people's dulness and superstition, as to think they prove the divine right of their maintenance by Abraham paying tithes to Melchisedec, whenas Melchisedec in that passage rather gave maintenance to Abraham; in whom all, both priests and ministers as well as laymen, paid tithes, not received them. And because I affirmed above, beginning this first part of my discourse, that God hath given to ministers of the gospel that maintenance only which is justly given them, let us see a little what hath been thought of that other maintenance besides tithes, which of all protestants our English divines either only or most apparently both require and take. Those are fees for christenings, marriages, and burials: which, though whoso will may give freely, yet being not of right, but of free gift, if they be exacted or established, they become unjust to them who are otherwise maintained; and of such evil note, that even the council of Trent, l. ii. p. 240, makes them liable to the laws against simony, who take or demand fees for the administering of any sacrament: "Che la sinodo volendo levare gli abusi introdotti," &c. And in the next page, with like severity, condemns the giving or taking for a benefice, and the celebrating of marriages, christenings, and burials, for fees exacted or demanded: nor counts it less simony to sell the ground or place of burial. And in a state-assembly at Orleans, 1561, it was decreed, "Che non si potesse essiger cosa alcuna, &c. p. 429, That nothing should be exacted for the administring of sacraments, burials, or any other spiritual function." Thus much that council, of all others the most popish, and this assembly of papists, though, by their own principles, in bondage to the clergy, were induced, either by their own reason and shame, or by the light of reformation then shining in upon them, or rather by the known canons of many councils and synods long before, to condemn of simony spiritual fees demanded. For if the minister be maintained for his whole ministry, why should he be twice paid for any part thereof? Why should he, like a servant, seek vails over and above his wages? As for christenings, either they themselves call men to baptism, or men of themselves come: if ministers invite, how ill had it become John the Baptist to demand fees for his baptizing, or Christ for his christenings? Far less becomes it these now, with a greediness lower than that of tradesmen calling passengers to their shop, and yet paid beforehand, to ask again for doing that which those their founders did freely. If men of themselves come to be baptized, they are either brought by such as already pay the minister, or come to be one of his disciples and maintainers: of whom to ask a fee as it were for entrance is a piece of paltry craft or caution, befitting none but beggarly artists. Burials and marriages are so little to be any part of their gain, that they who consider well may find them to be no part of their function. At burials their attendance they allege on the corpse; all the guests do as much unhired. But their prayers at the grave; superstitiously required: yet if required, their last performance to the deceased of their own flock. But the funeral sermon; at their choice, or if not, an occasion offered them to preach out of season, which is one part of their office. But something must be spoken in praise; if due, their duty; if undue, their corruption: a peculiar simony of our divines in England only. But the ground is broken, and especially their unrighteous possession, the chancel. To sell that, will not only raise up in judgment the council of Trent against them, but will lose them the best champion of tithes, their zealous antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman; who in a book written to that purpose, by many cited canons, and some

even of times corruptest in the church, proves that fees exacted or demanded for sacraments, marriages, burials, and especially for interring, are wicked, accursed, simoniacal, and abominable: yet thus is the church, for all this noise of reformation, left still unreformed, by the censure of their own synods, their own favourers, a den of thieves and robbers. As for marriages, that ministers should meddle with them, as not sanctified or legitimate, without their celebration, I find no ground in Scripture either of precept or example. Likeliest it is (which our Selden hath well observed, l. 2, c. 28, Ux. Eb.) that in imitation of heathen priests, who were wont at nuptials to use many rites and ceremonies, and especially, judging it would be profitable, and the increase of their authority, not to be spectators only in business of such concernment to the life of man, they insinuated that marriage was not holy without their benediction, and for the better colour, made it a sacrament; being of itself a civil ordinance, a household contract, a thing indifferent and free to the whole race of mankind, not as religious, but as men: best, indeed, undertaken to religious ends, and as the apostle saith, 1 Cor. vii. "in the Lord." Yet not therefore invalid or unholy without a minister and his pretended necessary hallowing, more than any other act, enterprise, or contract of civil life, which ought all to be done also in the Lord and to his glory: all which, no less than marriage, were by the cunning of priests heretofore, as material to their profit, transacted at the altar. Our divines deny it to be a sacrament; yet retained the celebration, till prudently a late parliament recovered the civil liberty of marriage from their encroachment, and transferred the ratifying and registering thereof from the canonical shop to the proper cognizance of civil magistrates. Seeing then, that God hath given to ministers under the gospel that only which is justly given them, that is to say, a due and moderate livelihood, the hire of their labour, and that the heave-offering of tithes is abolished with the altar; yea, though not abolished, yet lawless, as they enjoy them; their Melchisedechian right also trivial and groundless, and both tithes and fees, if exacted or established, unjust and scandalous; we may hope, with them removed, to remove hirelings in some good measure, whom these tempting baits, by law especially to be recovered, allure into the church.

The next thing to be considered in the maintenance of ministers, is by whom it should be given. Wherein though the light of reason might sufficiently inform us, it will be best to consult the Scripture: Gal. vi. 6, "Let him that is taught in the word, communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things:" that is to say, in all manner of gratitude, to his ability. 1 Cor. ix. 11, "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?" To whom therefore hath not been sown, from him wherefore should be reaped? 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour; especially they who labour in word and doctrine." By these places we see, that recompence was given either by every one in particular who had been instructed, or by them all in common, brought into the church-treasury, and distributed to the ministers according to their several labours: and that was judged either by some extraordinary person, as Timothy, who by the apostle was then left evangelist at Ephesus, 2 Tim. iv. 5, or by some to whom the church deputed that care. This is so agreeable to reason, and so clear, that any one may perceive what iniquity and violence hath prevailed since in the church, whereby it hath been so ordered, that they also shall be compelled to recompense the parochial minister, who neither chose him for their teacher, nor have received instruction from him, as being either insufficient, or not resident, or inferiour to whom they follow; wherein to bar them their choice, is to violate christian liberty. Our law books testify, that before the council of Lateran, in the year 1179, and the fifth of our Henry II, or rather before a decretal Epistle of pope Innocent the IIId, about 1200, and the first of King John, "any man might have given his tithes to what spiritual person he would:" and as the Lord Coke notes on that place, Instit. part 2, that "this decretal bound not the subjects of this realm, but as it seemed just and reasonable." The pope took his reason *rightly from the above-cited place*, 1 Cor. ix. 11, but falsely supposed every one to be instructed by his parish priest. Whether this were then first so decreed, or rather long before, as may seem by the laws of Edgar and Canute, that tithes were to be paid, not to whom he would that paid them, but to the cathedral church or the parish priest, it imports not; since the reason which they themselves bring, built on false supposition, becomes alike infirm and absurd, that he should reap from me, who sows not to me; be the cause either his defect, or my free choice. But here it will be readily objected, What if they who are to be instructed be not able to maintain a minister, as in many villages? I answer, that the Scripture shews in many places what ought to be done herein. First I offer it to the reason of any man, whether he think the knowledge of christian religion harder than any other art or science to attain. I suppose he will grant that it is far easier, both of itself, and in regard of God's assisting Spirit, not particularly promised us to the attainment of any other knowledge, but of this only: since it was preached as well to the shepherds of Bethlehem by angels, as to the eastern wise men by that star: and our Saviour declares himself anointed to preach the gospel to the poor, Luke iv. 18; then surely to their capacity. They who after him first taught it, were otherwise unlearned men: they who before Hus and Luther first reformed it, were for the meanness of their condition called, "the poor men of Lions:" and in Flanders at this day, "le Gueus," which is to say, Beggars. Therefore are the Scriptures translated into every vulgar tongue, as being held in main matters of belief and salvation, plain and easy to the poorest: and such no less than their teachers have the spirit to guide them in all truth, John xiv. 26, and xvi. 13. Hence we may conclude, if men be not all their lifetime under a teacher to learn logic, natural philosophy, ethics, or mathematics, which are more difficult, that certainly it is not necessary to the attainment of christian know-

ledge, that men should sit all their life long at the feet of a pulpited divine; while he, a lollard indeed over his elbow cushion, in almost the seventh part of forty or fifty years teaches them scarce half the principles of religion; and his sheep ofttimes sit the while to as little purpose of benefitting, as the sheep in their pews at Smithfield; and for the most part by some simony or other bought and sold like them: or if this comparison be too low, like those women, 1 Tim. iii. 7, "Ever learning and never attaining;" yet not so much through their own fault, as through the unskilful and immethodical teaching of their pastor, teaching here and there at random out of this or that text, as his ease or fancy, and ofttimes as his stealth, guides him. Seeing then that christian religion may be so easily attained, and by meanest capacities, it cannot be much difficult to find ways, both how the poor, yea all men, may be soon taught what is to be known of Christianity, and they who teach them, recompensed. First, if ministers of their own accord, who pretend that they are called and sent to preach the gospel, those especially who have no particular flock, would imitate our Saviour and his disciples, who went preaching through the villages, not only through the cities, Matt. ix. 35, Mark vi. 6, Luke xiii. 22, Acts viii. 25, and there preached to the poor as well as to the rich, looking for no recompence but in heaven: John iv. 35, 36, "Look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest: and he that reapeth, receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal." This was their wages. But they will soon reply, we ourselves have not wherewithal; who shall bear the charges of our journey? To whom it may as soon be answered, that in likelihood they are not poorer, than they who did thus; and if they have not the same faith, which those disciples had to trust in God and the promise of Christ for their maintenance as they did, and yet intrude into the ministry without any livelihood of their own, they cast themselves into miserable hazard or temptation, and ofttimes into a more miserable necessity, either to starve, or to please their paymasters rather than God; and give men just cause to suspect, that they came neither called nor sent from above to preach the word, but from below, by the instinct of their own hunger, to feed upon the church. Yet grant it needful to allow them both the charges of their journey and the hire of their labour, it will belong next to the charity of richer congregations, where most commonly they abound with teachers, to send some of their number to the villages round, as the apostles from Jerusalem sent Peter and John to the city and villages of Samaria, Acts viii. 14, 25; or as the church at Jerusalem sent Barnabas to Antioch, chap. xi. 22, and other churches joining sent Luke to travel with Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 19; though whether they had their charges borne by the church or no, it be not recorded. If it be objected, that this itinerary preaching will not serve to plant the gospel in those places, unless they who are sent abide there some competent time; I answer, that if they stay there a year or two, which was the longest time usually staid by the apostles in one place, it may suffice to teach them, who will attend and learn all the points of religion necessary to salvation; then sorting them into several congregations of a moderate number, out of the ablest and zealousest among them to create elders, who, exercising and requiring from themselves what they have learned, (for no learning is retained without constant exercise and methodical repetition,) may teach and govern the rest: and so exhorted to continue faithful and stedfast, they may securely be committed to the providence of God and the guidance of his Holy Spirit, till God may offer some opportunity to visit them again, and to confirm them: which when they have done, they have done as much as the apostles were wont to do in propagating the gospel, Acts xiv. 23, "And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed." And in the same chapter, ver. 21, 22, "When they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith." And chap. xv. 36, "Let us go again, and visit our brethren." And ver. 41, "He went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches." To these I might add other helps, which we enjoy now, to make more easy the attainment of christian religion by the meanest: the entire Scripture translated into English with plenty of notes; and somewhere or other, I trust, may be found some wholesome body of divinity, as they call it, without school-terms and metaphysical notions, which have obscured rather than explained our religion, and made it seem difficult without cause. Thus taught once for all, and thus now and then visited and confirmed, in the most destitute and poorest places of the land, under the government of their own elders performing all ministerial offices among them, they may be trusted to meet and edify one another whether in church or chapel, or, to save them the trudging of many miles thither, nearer home, though in a house or barn. For notwithstanding the gaudy superstition of some devoted still ignorantly to temples, we may be well assured, that he who disdained not to be laid in a manger, disdains not to be preached in a barn; and that by such meetings as these, being indeed most apostolical and primitive, they will in a short time advance more in christian knowledge and reformation of life, than by the many years' preaching of such an incumbent, I may say, such an Incubus ofttimes, as will be meanly hired to abide long in those places. They have this left perhaps to object further; that to send thus, and to maintain, though but for a year or two, ministers and teachers in several places, would prove chargeable to the churches, though in towns and cities round about. To whom again I answer, that it was not thought so by them who first thus propagated the gospel, though but few in number to us, and much less able to sustain the expense. Yet this expense would be much less than to hire incumbents, or rather incumbrances, for lifetime; and a great means (which is the subject of this discourse) to diminish hirelings. But be the expense less or more, if it be found burdensome to the churches, they have in this land an easy remedy in

their recourse to the civil magistrate; who hath in his hands the disposal of no small revenues, left perhaps anciently to superstitious, but meant undoubtedly to good and best uses; and therefore, once made public, appliable by the present magistrate to such uses as the church, or solid reason from whomsoever, shall convince him to think best. And those uses may be, no doubt, much rather than as glebes and augmentations are now bestowed, to grant such requests as these of the churches; or to erect in greater number, all over the land, schools, and competent libraries to those schools, where languages and arts may be taught free together, without the needless, unprofitable, and inconvenient removing to another place. So all the land would be soon better civilized, and they who are taught freely at the public cost might have their education given them on this condition, that therewith content, they should not gad for preferment out of their own country, but continue there thankful for what they received freely, bestowing it as freely on their country, without soaring above the meanness wherein they were born. But how they shall live when they are thus bred and dismissed, will be still the sluggish objection. To which is answered, that those public foundations may be so instituted, as the youth therein may be at once brought up to a competence of learning and to an honest trade; and the hours of teaching so ordered, as their study may be no hindrance to their labour or other calling. This was the breeding of St. Paul, though born of no mean parents, a free citizen of the Roman empire: so little did his trade debase him, that it rather enabled him to use that magnanimity of preaching the gospel through Asia and Europe at his own charges. Thus those preachers among the poor Waldenses, the ancient stock of our reformation, without these helps which I speak of, bred up themselves in trades, and especially in physic and surgery, as well as in the study of Scripture, (which is the only true theology,) that they might be no burden to the church; and by the example of Christ, might cure both soul and body; through industry joining that to their ministry, which he joined to his by gift of the spirit. Thus relates Peter Gilles in his history of the Waldenses in Piemont. But our ministers think scorn to use a trade, and count it the reproach of this age, that tradesmen preach the gospel. It were to be wished they were all tradesmen; they would not so many of them, for want of another trade, make a trade of their preaching: and yet they clamour that tradesmen preach; and yet they preach, while they themselves are the worst tradesmen of all. As for church-endowments and possessions, I meet with none considerable before Constantine, but the houses and gardens where they met, and their places of burial; and I persuade me, that from the ancient Waldenses, whom deservedly I cite so often, held, "That to endow churches is an evil thing; and, that the church then fell off and turned whore, sitting on that beast in the Revelation, when under pope Sylvester she received those temporal donations." So the forecited tractate of their doctrine testifies. This also their own traditions of that heavenly voice witnessed, and some of the ancient fathers then living foresaw and deplored. And indeed, how could these endowments thrive better with the church, being unjustly taken by those emperors, without suffrage of the people, out of the tributes and public lands of each city, whereby the people became liable to be oppressed with other taxes. Being therefore given for the most part by kings and other public persons, and so likeliest out of the public, and if without the people's consent, unjustly, however to public ends of much concernment, to the good or evil of a commonwealth, and in that regard made public though given by private persons, or which is worse, given, as the clergy then persuaded men, for their souls' health, a pious gift; but as the truth was, ofttimes a bribe to God, or to Christ for absolution, as they were then taught, from murders, adulteries, and other heinous crimes; what shall be found heretofore given by kings or princes out of the public, may justly by the magistrate be recalled and reappropriated to the civil revenue: what by private or public persons out of their own, the price of blood or lust, or to some such purgatorious and superstitious uses, not only may, but ought to be taken off from Christ, as a foul dishonour laid upon him, or not impiously given, nor in particular to any one, but in general to the church's good, may be converted to that use, which shall be judged tending more directly to that general end. Thus did the princes and cities of Germany in the first reformation; and defended their so doing by many reasons, which are set down at large in Sleidan, Lib. 6, Anno 1526, and Lib. 11, Anno 1537, and Lib. 13, Anno 1540. But that the magistrate either out of that church-revenue which remains yet in his hand, or establishing any other maintenance instead of tithe, should take into his own power the stipendiary maintenance of church-ministers, or compel it by law, can stand neither with the people's right, nor with christian liberty, but would suspend the church wholly upon the state, and turn ministers into state pensioners. And for the magistrate in person of a nursing father to make the church his mere ward, as always in minority, the church, to whom he ought as a magistrate, Isa. xlix. 23, "to bow down with his face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of her feet;" her to subject to his political drifts or conceived opinions, by mastering her revenue; and so by his examinant committees to circumscribe her free election of ministers, is neither just nor pious; no honour done to the church, but a plain dishonour: and upon her whose only head is in heaven, yea upon him, who is only head, sets another in effect, and which is most monstrous, a human on a heavenly, a carnal on a spiritual, a political herd on an ecclesiastical body; which at length by such heterogeneal, such incestuous conjunction, transforms her ofttimes into a beast of many heads and many horns. For if the church be of all societies the holiest on earth, and so to be reverenced by the magistrate; not to trust her with her own belief and integrity, and therefore not with the keeping, at least with the disposing, of what revenue shall be found justly and lawfully her own, is to count the church not a holy congregation, but a pack of giddy or dishonest

persons, to be ruled by civil power in sacred affairs. But to proceed further in the truth yet more freely, seeing the christian church is not national, but consisting of many particular congregations, subject to many changes, as well through civil accidents, as through schisms and various opinions, not to be decided by any outward judge, being matters of conscience, whereby these pretended church-revenues, as they have been ever, so are like to continue endless matter of dissension both between the church and magistrate, and the churches among themselves, there will be found no better remedy to these evils, otherwise incurable, than by the incorruptest council of those Waldenses, or first reformers, to remove them as a pest, an apple of discord in the church, (for what else can be the effect of riches, and the snare of money in religion?) and to convert them to those more profitable uses above expressed, or other such as shall be judged most necessary; considering that the church of Christ was founded in poverty rather than in revenues, stood purest and prospered best without them, received them unlawfully from them who both erroneously and unjustly, sometimes impiously, gave them, and so justly was ensnared and corrupted by them. And lest it be thought that, these revenues withdrawn and better employed, the magistrate ought instead to settle by statute some maintenance of ministers, let this be considered first, that it concerns every man's conscience to what religion he contributes; and that the civil magistrate is intrusted with civil rights only, not with conscience, which can have no deputy or representer of itself, but one of the same mind: next, that what each man gives to the minister, he gives either as to God, or as to his teacher; if as to God, no civil power can justly consecrate to religious uses any part either of civil revenue, which is the people's, and must save them from other taxes, or of any man's propriety, but God by special command, as he did by Moses, or the owner himself by voluntary intention and the persuasion of his giving it to God. Forced consecrations out of another man's estate are no better than forced vows, hateful to God, "who loves a cheerful giver;" but much more hateful, wrung out of men's purses to maintain a disapproved ministry against their conscience; however unholy, infamous, and dishonourable to his ministers and the free gospel, maintained in such unworthy manner as by violence and extortion. If he give it as to his teacher, what justice or equity compels him to pay for learning that religion which leaves freely to his choice, whether he will learn it or no, whether of this teacher or another, and especially to pay for what he never learned, or approves not; whereby, besides the wound of his conscience, he becomes the less able to recompense his true teacher? Thus far hath been inquired by whom church-ministers ought to be maintained, and hath been proved most natural, most equal and agreeable with Scripture, to be by them who receive their teaching; and by whom, if they be unable. Which ways well observed can discourage none but hirelings, and will much lessen their number in the church.

It remains lastly to consider, in what manner God hath ordained that recompense be given to ministers of the gospel; and by all Scripture it will appear, that he hath given it them not by civil law and freehold, as they claim, but by the benevolence and free gratitude of such as receive them: Luke x. 7, 8, "Eating and drinking such things as they gave you. If they receive you, eat such things as are set before you." Matt. x. 7, 8, "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of God is at hand, &c. Freely ye have received, freely give." If God have ordained ministers to preach freely, whether they receive recompense or not, then certainly he hath forbid both them to compel it, and others to compel it for them. But freely given, he accounts it as given to himself: Phil. iv. 16, 17, 18, "Ye sent once and again to my necessity: not because I desire a gift; but I desire fruit, that may abound to your account. Having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God;" which cannot be from force or unwillingness. The same is said of alms, Heb. xiii. 16, "To do good and to communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifice God is well pleased." Whence the primitive church thought it no shame to receive all their maintenance as the alms of their auditors. Which they who defend tithes, as if it made for their cause, whenas it utterly confutes them, omit not to set down at large; proving to our hands out of Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and others, that the clergy lived at first upon the mere benevolence of their hearers; who gave what they gave, not to the clergy, but to the church; out of which the clergy had their portions given them in baskets, and were thence called sportularii, basket-clerks: that their portion was a very mean allowance, only for a bare livelihood; according to those precepts of our Saviour, Matt. x. 7, &c. the rest was distributed to the poor. They cite also out of Prosper, the disciple of St. Austin, that such of the clergy as had means of their own, might not without sin partake of church maintenance; not receiving thereby food which they abound with, but feeding on the sins of other men: that the Holy Ghost saith of such clergymen, they eat the sins of my people; and that a council at Antioch, in the year 340, suffered not either priest or bishop to live on church-maintenance without necessity. Thus far tithers themselves have contributed to their own confutation, by confessing that the church lived primitively on alms. And I add, that about the year 359, Constantius the emperor having summoned a general council of bishops to Ariminium in Italy, and provided for their subsistence there, the British and French bishops, judging it not decent to live on the public, chose rather to be at their own charges. Three only out of Britain constrained through want, yet refusing offered assistance from the rest, accepted the emperor's provision; judging it more convenient to subsist by public than by private sustenance. Whence we may conclude, that bishops then in this island had their livelihood only from benevolence; in which regard this relater Sulpitius Severus, a good author of the same time, highly praises them. And the Waldenses, our first reformers, both from the Scripture

and these primitive examples, maintained those among them who bore the office of ministers by alms only. Take their very words from the history written of them in French, Part 3, Lib. 2, Chap. 2, "La nourriture et ce de quoy nous sommes couverts, &c. Our food and clothing is sufficiently administered and given to us by way of gratuity and alms, by the good people whom we teach." If then by alms and benevolence, not by legal force, not by tenure of freehold or copyhold: for alms, though just, cannot be compelled; and benevolence forced is malevolence rather, violent and inconsistent with the gospel; and declares him no true minister thereof, but a rapacious hireling rather, who by force receiving it, eats the bread of violence and exaction, no holy or just livelihood, no not civilly counted honest; much less beseeming such a spiritual ministry. But, say they, our maintenance is our due, tithes the right of Christ, unseparable from the priest, no where repealed; if then, not otherwise to be had, by law to be recovered: for though Paul were pleased to forego his due, and not to use his power, 1 Cor. ix. 12, yet he had a power, ver. 4, and bound not others. I answer first, because I see them still so loth to unlearn their decimal arithmetic, and still grasp their tithes as inseparable from a priest, that ministers of the gospel are not priests; and therefore separated from tithes by their exclusion, being neither called priests in the New Testament, nor of any order known in Scripture: not of Melchisedec, proper to Christ only; not of Aaron, as they themselves will confess; and the third priesthood only remaining, is common to all the faithful. But they are ministers of our high priest — True, but not of his priesthood, as the Levites were to Aaron; for he performs that whole office himself incommunicably. Yet tithes remain, say they, still unreleased, the due of Christ; and to whom payable, but to his ministers? I say again, that no man can so understand them, unless Christ in some place or other so claim them. That example of Abraham argues nothing but his voluntary act; honour once only done, but on what consideration, whether to a priest or to a king, whether due the honour, arbitrary that kind of honour or not, will after all contending be left still in mere conjecture: which must not be permitted in the claim of such a needy and subtle spiritual corporation, pretending by divine right to the tenth of all other men's estates; nor can it be allowed by wise men or the verdict of common law. And the tenth part, though once declared holy, is declared now to be no holier than the other nine, by that command to Peter, Acts x. 15, 28, whereby all distinction of holy and unholy is removed from all things. Tithes therefore, though claimed, and holy under the law, yet are now released and quitted both by that command to Peter, and by this to all ministers, above-cited Luke x. "eating and drinking such things as they give you:" made holy now by their free gift only. And therefore St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 4, asserts his power indeed; but of what? not of tithes, but "to eat and drink such things as are given" in reference to this command; which he calls not holy things, or things of the gospel, as if the gospel had any consecrated things in answer to things of the temple, ver. 13, but he calls them "your carnal things," ver. 11, without changing their property. And what power had he?* Not the power of force, but of conscience only, whereby he might lawfully and without scruple live on the gospel; receiving what was given him, as the recompence of his labour For if Christ the Master hath professed his kingdom to be not of this world, it suits not with that profession, either in him or his ministers, to claim temporal right from spiritual respects. He who refused to be the divider of an inheritance between two brethren, cannot approve his ministers, by pretended right from him, to be dividers of tenths and freeholds out of other men's possessions, making thereby the gospel but a cloak of carnal interest, and to the contradiction of their master, turning his heavenly kingdom into a kingdom of this world, a kingdom of force and rapine: to whom it will be one day thundered more terribly than to Gehazi, for thus dishonouring a far greater master and his gospel; "Is this a time to receive money, and to receive garments, and oliveyards, and vineyards, and sheep and oxen?" The leprosy of Naaman, linked with that apostolic curse of perishing imprecated on Simon Magus, may be feared will "cleave to such and to their seed for ever." So that when all is done, and belly hath used in vain all her cunning shifts, I doubt not but all true ministers, considering the demonstration of what hath been here proved, will be wise, and think it much more tolerable to hear, that no maintenance of ministers, whether tithes or any other, can be settled by statute, but must be given by them who receive instruction; and freely given, as God hath ordained. And indeed what can be a more honourable maintenance to them than such, whether alms or willing oblations, as these; which being accounted both alike as given to God, the only acceptable sacrifices now remaining, must needs represent him who receives them much in the care of God, and nearly related to him, when not by worldly force and constraint, but with religious awe and reverence, what is given to God, is given to him; and what to him, accounted as given to God. This would be well enough, say they; but how many will so give? I answer, as many, doubtless, as shall be well taught, as many as God shall so move. Why are ye so distrustful, both of your own doctrine and of God's promises, fulfilled in the experience of those disciples first sent? Luke xxii. 35, "When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing." How then came ours, or who sent them thus destitute, thus poor and empty both of purse and faith? Who style themselves embassadors of Jesus Christ, and seem to be his tithe-gatherers, though an office of their own setting up to his dishonour, his exacters, his publicans rather, not trusting that he will maintain them in their embassy, unless they bind him to his promise by a statute-law, that we shall maintain them. Lay down for shame that magnific title, while ye seek maintenance from the people: it is not the manner of embassadors to ask maintenance of them to whom they are sent. But he who is Lord of all things, hath

so ordained: trust him then; he doubtless will command the people to make good his promises of maintenance more honourably unasked, unraked for. This they know, this they preach, yet believe not: but think it as impossible, without a statute-law, to live of the gospel, as if by those words they were bid go eat their Bibles, as Ezékiel and John did their books; and such doctrines as these are as bitter to their bellies; but will serve so much the better to discover hirelings, who can have nothing, though but in appearance, just and solid to answer for themselves against what hath been here spoken, unless perhaps this one remaining pretence, which we shall quickly see to be either false or uningenuous.

They pretend that their education, either at school or university, hath been very chargeable, and therefore ought to be repaired in future by a plentiful maintenance: whenas it is well known, that the better half of them, (and ofttimes poor and pitiful boys, of no merit or promising hopes that might entitle them to the public provision, but their poverty and the unjust favour of friends,) have had the most of their breeding, both at school and university, by scholarships, exhibitions, and fellowships at the public cost, which might engage them the rather to give freely, as they have freely received. Or if they have missed of these helps at the latter place, they have after two or three years left the course of their studies there, if they ever well began them, and undertaken, though furnished with little else but ignorance, boldness, and ambition, if with no worse vices, a chaplainship in some gentleman's house, to the frequent embasing of his sons with illiterate and narrow principles. Or if they have lived there upon their own, who knows not that seven years charge of living there, to them who fly not from the government of their parents to the licence of a university, but come seriously to study, is no more than may be well defrayed and reimbursed by one year's revenue of an ordinary good benefice? If they had then means of breeding from their parents, it is likely they have more now; and if they have, it needs must be mechanic and uningenuous in them, to bring a bill of charges for the learning of those liberal arts and sciences, which they have learned (if they have indeed learned them, as they seldom have) to their own benefit and accomplishment. But they will say, we had betaken us to some other trade or profession, had we not expected to find a better livelihood by the ministry. This is that which I looked for, to discover them openly neither true lovers of learning, and so very seldom guilty of it, nor true ministers of the gospel. So long ago out of date is that old true saying, 1 Tim. iii. 1, "If a man desire a bishopric, he desires a good work:" for now commonly he who desires to be a minister, looks not at the work, but at the wages; and by that lure or lowbell, may be tolled from parish to parish all the town over. But what can be plainer simony, than thus to be at charges beforehand, to no other end than to make their ministry doubly or trebly beneficial? To whom it might be said, as justly as to that Simon, "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought, that the gift of God may be purchased with money; thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter." Next, it is a fond errour, though too much believed among us, to think that the university makes a minister of the gospel; what it may conduce to other arts and sciences, I dispute not now: but that which makes fit a minister, the Scripture can best inform us to be only from above, whence also we are bid to seek them; Matt. ix. 38, "Pray ye therefore to the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest." Acts xx. 28, "The flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." Rom. x. 15, "How shall they preach, unless they be sent?" By whom sent? by the university, or the magistrate, or their belly? No surely, but sent from God only, and that God who is not their belly. And whether he be sent from God, or from Simon Magus, the inward sense of his calling and spiritual ability will sufficiently tell him; and that strong obligation felt within him, which was felt by the apostle, will often express from him the same words: 1 Cor. ix. 16, "Necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is me if I preach not the gospel." Not a beggarly necessity, and the woe feared otherwise of perpetual want, but such a necessity as made him willing to preach the gospel gratis, and to embrace poverty, rather than as a woe to fear it. 1 Cor. xii. 28, "God hath set some in the church, first apostles," &c. Ephes. iv. 11, &c. "He gave some apostles, &c. For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come to the unity of the faith." Whereby we may know, that as he made them at the first, so he makes them still, and to the world's end. 2 Cor. iii. 6, "Who hath also made us fit or able ministers of the New Testament." 1 Tim. iv. 14, "The gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." These are all the means, which we read of, required in Scripture to the making of a minister. All this is granted, you will say; but yet that it is also requisite he should be trained in other learning: which can be no where better had than at universities. I answer, that what learning, either human or divine, can be necessary to a minister, may as easily and less chargeably be had in any private house. How deficient else, and to how little purpose, are all those piles of sermons, notes, and comments on all parts of the Bible, bodies and marrows of divinity, besides all other sciences, in our English tongue; many of the same books which in Latin they read at the university? And the small necessity of going thither to learn divinity I prove first from the most part of themselves, who seldom continue there till they have well got through logic, their first rudiments; though, to say truth, logic also may much better be wanting in disputes of divinity, than in the subtile debates of lawyers, and statesmen, who yet seldom or never deal with syllogisms. And those theological disputations there held by professors and graduates are such, as tend least of all to the edification or capacity of the people, but rather perplex and leaven pure doctrine with scholastical trash, than enable any minister to the better preaching of the gospel. Whence we may also com-

pute, since they come to reckonings, the charges of his needful library; which, though some shame not to value at 600l. may be competently furnished for 60l. If any man for his own curiosity or delight be in books further expensive, that is not to be reckoned as necessary to his ministerial, either breeding or function. But papists and other adversaries cannot be confuted without fathers and councils, immense volumes, and of vast charges. I will shew them therefore a shorter and a better way of confutation: Tit. i. 9, "Holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince gainsayers:" who are confuted as soon as heard, bringing that which is either not in Scripture, or against it. To pursue them further through the obscure and entangled wood of antiquity, fathers and councils fighting one against another, is needless, endless, not requisite in a minister, and refused by the first reformers of our religion. And yet we may be confident, if these things be thought needful, let the state but erect in public good store of libraries, and there will not want men in the church, who of their own inclinations will become able in this kind against papist or any other adversary. I have thus at large examined the usual pretences of hirelings, coloured over most commonly with the cause of learning and universities; as if with divines learning stood and fell, wherein for the most part their pittance is so small; and, to speak freely, it were much better there were not one divine in the universities, no school-divinity known, the idle sophistry of monks, the canker of religion; and that they who intended to be ministers, were trained up in the church only by the Scripture, and in the original languages thereof at school; without fetching the compass of other arts and sciences, more than what they can well learn at secondary leisure, and at home.—Neither speak I this in contempt of learning, or the ministry, but hating the common cheats of both; hating that they, who have preached out bishops, prelates, and canonists, should, in what serves their own ends, retain their false opinions, their pharisaical leaven, their avarice, and closely their ambition, their pluralities, their nonresidences, their odious fees, and use their legal and popish arguments for tithes: that independents should take that name, as they may justly from the true freedom of christian doctrine and church-discipline subject to no superiour judge but God only, and seek to be dependents on the magistrates for their maintenance; which two things, independence and state-hire in religion, can never consist long or certainly together. For magistrates at one time or other, not like these at present our patrons of christian liberty, will pay none but such whom by their committees of examination they find conformable to their interests and opinions: and hirelings will soon frame themselves to that interest, and those opinions which they see best pleasing to their paymasters; and to seem right themselves, will force others as to the truth. But most of all they are to be reviled and shamed, who cry out with the distinct voice of notorious hirelings; that if ye settle not our maintenance by law, farewell the gospel; than which nothing can be uttered more false, more ignominious, and I may say, more blasphemous against our Saviour; who hath promised without this condition, both his Holy Spirit, and his own presence with his church to the world's end: nothing more false, (unless with their own mouths they condemn themselves for the unworthiest and most mercenary of all other ministers,) by the experience of 300 years after Christ, and the churches at this day in France, Austria, Polonia, and other places, witnessing the contrary under an adverse magistrate, not a favourable; nothing more ignominious, levelling, or rather undervaluing Christ beneath Mahomet. For if it must be thus, how can any Christian object it to a Turk, that his religion stands by force only; and not justly fear from him this reply, Yours both by force and money, in the judgment of your own preachers? This is that which makes atheists in the land, whom they so much complain of: not the want of maintenance, or preachers, as they allege, but the many hirelings and cheaters that have the gospel in their hands; hands that still crave, and are never satisfied. Likely ministers indeed, to proclaim the faith, or to exhort our trust in God, when they themselves will not trust him to provide for them in the message whereon, they say, he sent them; but threaten, for want of temporal means, to desert it; calling that want of means, which is nothing else but the want of their own faith: and would force us to pay the hire of building our faith to their covetous incredulity. Doubtless, if God only be he who gives ministers to his church till the world's end; and through the whole gospel never sent us for ministers to the schools of philosophy, but rather bids us beware of such "vain deceit," Col. ii. 8, (which the primitive church, after two or three ages not remembering, brought herself quickly to confusion,) if all the faithful be now "a holy and a royal priesthood," 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9, not excluded from the dispensation of things holiest, after free election of the church, and imposition of hands, there will not want ministers elected out of all sorts and orders of men, for the gospel makes no difference from the magistrate himself to the meanest artificer, if God evidently favour him with spiritual gifts, as he can easily, and oft hath done, while those bachelor divines and doctors of the tippet have been passed by. Heretofore in the first evangelic times, (and it were happy for christendom if it were so again,) ministers of the gospel were by nothing else distinguished from other christians, but by their spiritual knowledge and sanctity of life, for which the church elected them to be her teachers and overseers, though not thereby to separate them from whatever calling she then found them following besides; as the example of St. Paul declares, and the first times of Christianity. When once they affected to be called a clergy, and became, as it were, a peculiar tribe of Levites, a party, a distinct order in the commonwealth, bred up for divines in babbling schools, and fed at the public cost, good for nothing else but what was good for nothing, they soon grew idle: that idleness, with fulness of bread, begat pride and perpetual contention with their feeders the despised laity, through all ages

ever since; to the perverting of religion, and the disturbance of all christendom. And we may confidently conclude, it never will be otherwise while they are thus upheld undepending on the church, on which alone they anciently depended, and are by the magistrate publicly maintained a numerous faction of indigent persons, crept for the most part out of extreme want and bad nurture, claiming by divine right and freehold the tenth of our estates, to monopolize the ministry as their peculiar, which is free and open to all able Christians, elected by any church. Under this pretence exempt from all other employment, and enriching themselves on the public, they last of all prove common incendiaries, and exalt their horns against the magistrate himself that maintains them, as the priest of Rome did soon after against his benefactor the emperor, and the presbyters of late in Scotland. Of which hireling crew, together with all the mischiefs, dissensions, troubles, wars merely of their kindling, christendom might soon rid herself and be happy, if Christians would but know their own dignity, their liberty, their adoption, and let it not be wondered if I say, their spiritual priesthood, whereby they have all equally access to any ministerial function, whenever called by their own abilities, and the church, though they never came near commencement or university. But while protestants, to avoid the due labour of understanding their own religion, are content to lodge it in the breast, or rather in the books, of a clergyman, and to take it thence by scraps and mammocks, as he dispenses it in his Sunday's dole; they will be always learning and never knowing; always infants; always either his vassals, as lay papists are to their priests; or at odds with him, as reformed principles give them some light to be not wholly conformable; whence infinite disturbances in the state, as they do, must needs follow. Thus much I had to say; and, I suppose, what may be enough to them who are not avariciously bent otherwise, touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church; than which nothing can more conduce to truth, to peace and all happiness both in church and state. If I be not heard nor believed, the event will bear me witness to have spoken truth; and I in the mean while, have borne my witness, not out of season, to the church and to my country.

LETTER TO A FRIEND,

CONCERNING

THE RUPTURES OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

PUBLISHED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT

SIR,

UPON the sad and serious discourse which we fell into last night, concerning these dangerous ruptures of the Commonwealth, scarce yet in her infancy, which cannot be without some inward flaw in her bowels; I began to consider more intensely thereon than hitherto I have been wont, resigning myself to the wisdom and care of those who had the government; and not finding that either God or the public required more of me, than my prayers for them that govern. And since you have not only stirred up my thoughts, by acquainting me with the state of affairs, more inwardly than I knew before; but also have desired me to set down my opinion thereof, trusting to your ingenuity, I shall give you freely my apprehension, both of our present evils, and what expedients, if God in mercy regard us, may remove them. I will begin with telling you how I was overjoyed, when I heard that the army, under the working of God's Holy Spirit, as I thought, and still hope well, had been so far wrought to christian humility, and self-denial, as to confess in public their backsliding from the good old cause, and to shew the fruits of their repentance, in the righteousness of their restoring the old famous parliament, which they had without just authority dissolved: I call it the famous parliament, though not the harmless, since none well-affected, but will confess, they have deserved much more of these nations, than they have undeserved. And I persuade me, that God was pleased with their restitution, signing it, as he did, with such a signal victory, when so great a part of the nation were desperately conspired to call back again their Ægyptian bondage. So much the more it now amazes me, that they, whose lips were yet scarce closed from giving thanks for that great deliverance, should be now relapsing, and so soon again backsliding into the same fault, which they confessed so lately and so solemnly to God and the world, and more lately punished in those Cheshire rebels; that they should now dissolve that parliament, which they themselves re-established, and acknowledged for their supreme power in their other day's humble representation: and all this, for no apparent cause of public concernment to the church or commonwealth, but only for discommissioning nine great officers in the army; which had not been done, as is reported, but upon notice of their intentions against the parliament. I presume not to give my censure on this action, not knowing, as yet I do not, the bottom of it. I speak only what it appears to us without doors, till better cause be declared, and I am sure to all other nations most illegal and scandalous, I fear me barbarous, or rather scarce to be exampled among any barbarians, that a paid army should, for no other cause, thus subdue the supreme power that set them up. This, I say, other nations will judge to the sad dishonour of that army, lately so renowned for the civilest and best ordered in the world, and by us here at home, for the most conscientious. Certainly, if the great officers and soldiers of the Holland, French, or Venetian forces, should thus sit in council, and write from garrison to garrison against their superiours, they might as easily reduce the king of France, or duke of Venice, and put the United Provinces in like disorder and confusion. Why do they not, being most of them held ignorant of true religion? because the light of nature, the laws of human society, the reverence of their magistrates, covenants, engagements, loyalty, allegiance, keeps them in awe. How grievous will it then be! how infamous to the true religion which we profess! how dishonourable to the name of God, that his fear and the power of his knowledge in an army professing to be his, should not work that obedience, that fidelity to their supreme magistrates, that levied them and paid them; when the light of nature, the laws of human society, covenants and contracts, yea common shame, works in other armies, amongst the worst of them! Which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge these hypocrisies, violations of truth and holiness; if they be indeed so as they yet seem. For neither do I speak this in reproach to the army, but as jealous of their honour, inciting them to manifest and publish with all speed, some better cause of these their late actions, than hath

hitherto appeared, and to find out the Achan amongst them, whose close ambition in all likelihood abuses their honest natures against their meaning to these disorders; their readiest way to bring in again the common enemy, and with him the destruction of true religion, and civil liberty. But, because our evils are now grown more dangerous and extreme, than to be remedied by complaints, it concerns us now to find out what remedies may be likeliest to save us from approaching ruin. Being now in anarchy, without a counselling and governing power; and the army, I suppose, finding themselves insufficient to discharge at once both military and civil affairs, the first thing to be found out with all speed, without which no commonwealth can subsist, must be a senate or general council of state, in whom must be the power, first to preserve the public peace; next, the commerce with foreign nations; and lastly, to raise moneys for the management of these affairs: this must either be the parliament re-admitted to sit, or a council of state allowed of by the army, since they only now have the power. The terms to be stood on are, liberty of conscience to all professing Scripture to be the rule of their faith and worship; and the abjuration of a single person. If the parliament be again thought on, to salve honour on both sides, the well affected part of the city, and the congregated churches, may be induced to mediate by public addresses, and brotherly beseechings; which, if there be that saintship among us which is talked of, ought to be of highest and undeniable persuasion to reconcilement. If the parliament be thought well dissolved, as not complying fully to grant liberty of conscience, and the necessary consequence thereof, the removal of a forced maintenance from ministers, then must the army forthwith choose a council of state, whereof as many to be of the parliament, as are undoubtedly affected to these two conditions proposed. That which I conceive only able to cement, and unite for ever the army, either to the parliament recalled, or this chosen council, must be a mutual league and oath, private or public, not to desert one another till death: that is to say, that the army be kept up, and all these officers in their places during life, and so likewise the parliament or counsellors of state; which will be no way unjust, considering their known merits on either side, in council or in field, unless any be found false to any of these two principles, or otherwise personally criminous in the judgment of both parties. If such a union as this be not accepted on the army's part, be confident there is a single person underneath. That the army be upheld, the necessity of our affairs and factions will constrain long enough perhaps, to content the longest liver in the army. And whether the civil government be an annual democracy, or a perpetual aristocracy, is not to me a consideration for the extremities wherein we are, and the hazard of our safety from our common enemy, gaping at present to devour us. That it be not an oligarchy, or the faction of a few, may be easily prevented by the numbers of their own choosing, who may be found infallibly constant to those two conditions fore-named, full liberty of conscience, and the abjuration of monarchy proposed: and the well-ordered committees of their faithfullest adherents in every county, may give this government the resemblance and effects of a perfect democracy. As for the reformation of laws, and the places of judicature, whether to be here, as at present, or in every county, as hath been long aimed at, and many such proposals, tending no doubt to public good, they may be considered in due time, when we are past these pernicious pangs, in a hopeful way of health, and firm constitution. But unless these things, which I have above proposed, one way or other, be once settled, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruin; or a best become the servants of one or other single person, the secret author and fomenter of these disturbances. You have the sum of my present thoughts, as much as I understand of these affairs, freely imparted; at your request, and the persuasion you wrought in me, that I might chance hereby to be some way serviceable to the Commonwealth, in a time when all ought to be endeavouring what good they can, whether much or but little. With this you may do what you please, put out, put in, communicate, or suppress: you offend not me, who only have obeyed your opinion, that in doing what I have done, I might happen to offer something which might be of some use in this great time of need. However, I have not been wanting to the opportunity which you presented before me, of shewing the readiness which I have in the midst of my unfitness, to whatever may be required of me, as a public duty.

October 20, 1659.

THE

PRESENT MEANS AND BRIEF DELINEATION

OF

A FREE COMMONWEALTH,

EASY TO BE PUT IN PRACTICE, AND WITHOUT DELAY.

IN A LETTER TO GENERAL MONK.

PUBLISHED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT

First, All endeavours speedily to be used, that the ensuing election be of such as are already firm, or inclinable to constitute a free commonwealth, (according to the former qualifications decreed in parliament, and not yet repealed, as I hear,) without single person, or house of lords. If these be not such, but the contrary, who foresees not, that our liberties will be utterly lost in this next parliament, without some powerful course taken, of speediest prevention? The speediest way will be to call up forthwith the chief gentlemen out of every county; to lay before them (as your excellency hath already, both in your published letters to the army, and your declaration recited to the members of parliament) the danger and confusion of readmitting kingship in this land; especially against the rules of all prudence and example, in a family once ejected, and thereby not to be trusted with the power of revenge: that you will not longer delay them with vain expectation, but will put into their hands forthwith the possession of a free commonwealth; if they will first return immediately and elect them, by such at least of the people as are rightly qualified, a standing council in every city and great town, which may then be dignified with the name of city, continually to consult the good and flourishing state of that place, with a competent territory adjoined; to assume the judicial laws, either those that are, or such as they themselves shall new make severally, in each commonalty, and all judicatures, all magistracies, to the administration of all justice between man and man, and all the ornaments of public civility, academies, and such like, in their own hands. Matters appertaining to men of several counties or territories, may be determined, as they are here at London, or in some more convenient place, under equal judges.

Next, That in every such capital place, they will choose them the usual number of ablest knights and burgesses, engaged for a commonwealth, to make up the parliament, or (as it will from henceforth be better called) the Grand or General Council of the Nation: whose office must be, with due caution, to dispose of forces, both by sea and land, under the conduct of your excellency, for the preservation of peace, both at home and abroad; must raise and manage the public revenue, but with provident inspection of their accompts; must administer all foreign affairs, make all general laws, peace or war, but not without assent of the standing council in each city, or such other general assembly as may be called on such occasion, from the whole territory, where they may, without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and send up their suffrages within a set time, by deputies appointed. Though this grand council be perpetual, (as in that book I proved would be best and most conformable to best examples,) yet they will then, thus limited, have so little matter in their hands, or power to endanger our liberty; and the people so much in theirs, to prevent them, having all judicial laws in their own choice, and free votes in all those which concern generally the whole commonwealth; that we shall have little cause to fear the perpetuity of our general senate; which will be then nothing else but a firm foundation and custody of our public liberty, peace, and union, through the whole commonwealth, and the transactors of our affairs with foreign nations.

If this yet be not thought enough, the known expedient may at length be used, of a partial rotation.

Lastly, If these gentlemen convocated refuse these fair and noble offers of immediate liberty, and happy condition, no doubt there be enough in every county who will thankfully accept them; your excellency once more declaring publicly this to be your mind, and having a faithful veteran army, so ready and glad to assist you in the prosecution thereof. For the full and absolute administration of law in every county, which is the difficultest of these proposals, hath been of most long desired; and the not granting it held a general grievance. The rest, when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these constitutions proposed, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, the noble effects thereof, will be soon convinced, and by degrees come in of their own accord, to be partakers of so happy a government.

THE

READY AND EASY WAY

TO ESTABLISH

A FREE COMMONWEALTH,

AND THE EXCELLENCE THEREOF, COMPARED WITH THE INCONVENIENCIES AND DANGERS OF READMITTING KINGSHIP IN THIS NATION

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1660.]

———— Et nos
Consilium dedimus Syllæ demus populo nunc

Although, since the writing of this treatise, the face of things hath had some change, writs for new elections have been recalled, and the members at first chosen re-admitted from exclusion; yet not a little rejoicing to hear declared the resolution of those who are in power, tending to the establishment of a free commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humour of returning to bondage, instilled of late by some deceivers, and nourished from bad principles and false apprehensions among too many of the people; I thought best not to suppress what I had written, hoping that it may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely published, in the midst of our elections to a free parliament, or their sitting to consider freely of the government; whom it behoves to have all things represented to them that may direct their judgment therein; and I never read of any state, scarce of any tyrant, grown so incurable, as to refuse counsel from any in a time of public deliberation, much less to be offended. If their absolute determination be to inthrall us, before so long a Lent of servitude, they may permit us a little shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely, and take our leaves of liberty. And because in the former edition, through haste, many faults escaped, and many books were suddenly dispersed, ere the note to mend them could be sent, I took the opportunity from this occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge the whole discourse, especially that part which argues for a perpetual senate. The treatise thus revised and enlarged, is as follows.

The Parliament of England, assisted by a great number of the people who appeared and stuck to them faithfullest in defence of religion and their civil liberties, judging kingship by long experience a government unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolished it, turning regal bondage into a free commonwealth, to the admiration and terrour of our emulous neighbours. They took themselves not bound by the light of nature or religion to any former covenant, from which the king himself, by many forfeitures of a latter date or discovery, and our own longer consideration thereon, had more and more unbound us, both to himself and his posterity; as hath been ever the justice and the prudence of all wise nations, that have ejected tyranny. They covenanted "to preserve the king's person and authority, in the preservation of the true religion, and our liberties;" not in his endeavouring to bring in upon our consciences a popish religion; upon our liberties, thraldom; upon our lives, destruction, by his occasioning, if not complotting, as was after discovered, the Irish massacre; his fomenting and arming the rebellion; his covert leaguing with the rebels against us; his refusing, more than seven times, propositions most just and necessary to the true religion and our liberties, tendered him by the parliament both of England and Scotland. They made not their covenant concerning him with no difference between a king and a God; or promised him, as Job did to the Almighty, "to trust in him though he slay us:" they understood that the solemn engagement, wherein we all forswore kingship, was no more a breach of the covenant, than the covenant was of the protestation before, but a faithful and prudent going on both in words well weighed, and in the true sense of the covenant "without respect of persons," when we could not serve two contrary masters, God and the king, or the king and that more supreme law, sworn in the first place to maintain our safety and our liberty. They knew the people of England to be a free people, themselves the representers of that freedom; and although many were excluded, and as many fled (so they pretended) from tumults to Oxford, yet they were left a sufficient number to act in parliament, therefore not bound by any statute of preceding parliaments, but by the law of nature only, which is the only law of laws truly and properly to all mankind fundamental; the beginning and the end of all government; to which no parliament or people that will throughly reform, but may and must have recourse, as they had, and must yet have, in church-reformation (if they throughly intend it) to evangelic rules; not to ecclesiastical canons, though never so ancient,

so ratified and established in the land by statutes which for the most part are mere positive laws, neither natural nor moral: and so by any parliament, for just and serious considerations, without scruple to be at any time repealed. If others of their number in these things were under force, they were not, but under free conscience; if others were excluded by a power which they could not resist, they were not therefore to leave the helm of government in no hands, to discontinue their care of the public peace and safety, to desert the people in anarchy and confusion, no more than when so many of their members left them, as made up in outward formality a more legal parliament of three estates against them. The best-affected also, and best-principled of the people, stood not numbering or computing, on which side were most voices in parliament, but on which side appeared to them most reason, most safety, when the house divided upon main matters. What was well motioned and advised, they examined not whether fear or persuasion carried it in the vote, neither did they measure votes and counsels by the intentions of them that voted; knowing that intentions either are but guessed at, or not soon enough known; and although good, can neither make the deed such, nor prevent the consequence from being bad: suppose bad intentions in things otherwise well done; what was well done, was by them who so thought, not the less obeyed or followed in the state; since in the church, who had not rather follow Iscariot or Simon the magician, though to covetous ends, preaching, than Saul, though in the uprightness of his heart persecuting the gospel? Safer they therefore judged what they thought the better counsels, though carried on by some perhaps to bad ends, than the worse by others, though endeavoured with best intentions: and yet they were not to learn, that a greater number might be corrupt within the walls of a parliament, as well as of a city; whereof in matters of nearest concernment all men will be judges; nor easily permit, that the odds of voices in their greatest council shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous votes, than the odds of enemies by open assaults; judging, that most voices ought not always to prevail, where main matters are in question. If others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels; what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only so judging, but a great, though not the greatest, number of their chosen patriots, who might be more in weight than the others in numbers: there being in number little virtue, but by weight and measure wisdom working all things, and the dangers on either side they seriously thus weighed. From the treaty, short fruits of long labours, and seven years war; security for twenty years, if we can hold it; reformation in the church for three years: then put to shift again with our vanquished master. His justice, his honour, his conscience declared quite contrary to ours; which would have furnished him with many such evasions, as in a book entitled, "An Inquisition for Blood," soon after were not concealed: bishops not totally removed, but left, as it were, in ambush, a reserve, with ordination in their sole power; their lands already sold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them called "sacrilege;" delinquents, few of many brought to condign punishment; accessories punished, the chief author, above pardon, though, after utmost resistance, vanquished; not to give, but to receive, laws; yet besought, treated with, and to be thanked for his gracious concessions, to be honoured, worshipped, glorified. If this we swore to do, with what righteousness in the sight of God, with what assurance that we bring not by such an oath, the whole sea of blood-guiltiness upon our heads? If on the other side we prefer a free government, though for the present not obtained, yet all those suggested fears and difficulties, as the event will prove, easily overcome, we remain finally secure from the exasperated regal power, and out of snares; shall retain the best part of our liberty, which is our religion, and the civil part will be from these who defer us, much more easily recovered, being neither so subtle nor so awful as a king reinthroned. Nor were their actions less both at home and abroad, than might become the hopes of a glorious rising commonwealth: nor were the expressions both of army and people, whether in their public declarations, or several writings, other than such as testified a spirit in this nation, no less noble and well fitted to the liberty of a commonwealth, than in the ancient Greeks or Romans. Nor was the heroic cause unsuccessfully defended to all christendom, against the tongue of a famous and thought invincible adversary; nor the constancy and fortitude, that so nobly vindicated our liberty, our victory at once against two the most prevailing usurpers over mankind, superstition and tyranny, unpraised or uncelebrated in a written monument, likely to outlive detraction, as it hath hitherto convinced or silenced not a few of our detractors, especially in parts abroad. After our liberty and religion thus prosperously fought for, gained, and many years possessed, except in those unhappy interruptions, which God hath removed; now that nothing remains, but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediate settlement for ever in a firm and free commonwealth, for this extolled and magnified nation, regardless both of honour won, or deliverances vouchsafed from heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to their once abjured and detested thraldom of kingship, to be ourselves the slanderers of our own just and religious deeds, though done by some to covetous and ambitious ends, yet not therefore to be stained with their infamy, or they to asperse the integrity of others; and yet these now by revolting from the conscience of deeds well done, both in church and state, to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray, a just and noble cause for the mixture of bad men who have ill-managed and abused it, (which had our fathers done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true religion, what had long ere this become of our gospel and all protestant reformation so much intermixed with the avarice and ambition of some reformers?) and by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think they wisely discerned and justly cen-

sured both us and all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical, and impious; not only argues a strange, degenerate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbours. And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole English name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish builder mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the west? The foundation indeed they lay gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the tower of Babel; and have left no memorial of their work behind them remaining, but in the common laughter of Europe! Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our neighbours the United Provinces, to us inferiour in all outward advantages; who notwithstanding, in the midst of greater difficulties, courageously, wisely, constantly went through with the same work, and are settled in all the happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing republic to this day.

Besides this, if we return to kingship, and soon repent, (as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to find the old encroachments coming on by little and little upon our consciences, which must necessarily proceed from king and bishop united inseparably in one interest,) we may be forced perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanced to the recovery of our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mercies and signal assistances from Heaven in our cause, if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless; flying now to regal concessions from his divine condescensions, and gracious answers to our once importuning prayers against the tyranny which we then groaned under; making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives; losing by a strange after-game of folly all the battles we have won, together with all Scotland as to our conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our kings could conquer, all the treasure we have spent, not that corruptible treasure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous deliverances; treading back again with lost labour all our happy steps in the progress of reformation, and most pitifully depriving ourselves the instant fruition of that free government, which we have so dearly purchased, a free commonwealth, not only held by wisest men in all ages the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due liberty and proportioned equality, both human, civil, and christian, most cherishing to virtue and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of Gentilism upon kingship. God in much displeasure gave a king to the Israelites, and imputed it a sin to them that they sought one: but Christ apparently forbids his disciples to admit of any such heathenish government; "The kings of the Gentiles," saith he, "exercise lordship over them;" and they that "exercise authority upon them are called benefactors: but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that serveth." The occasion of these his words was the ambitious desire of Zebedee's two sons, to be exalted above their brethren in his kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon earth. That he speaks of civil government, is manifest by the former part of the comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what government comes nearer to this precept of Christ, than a free commonwealth; wherein they who are the greatest, are perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges, neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly in their families, walk the street as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration? Whereas a king must be adored like a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expense and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry both male and female; not in their pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loose employments of court-service, which will be then thought honourable. There will be a queen of no less charge; in most likelihood outlandish and a papist, besides a queen-mother such already; together with both their courts and numerous train: then a royal issue, and ere long severally their sumptuous courts; to the multiplying of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of public, but of court-offices, to be stewards, chamberlains, ushers, grooms, even of the close-stool; and the lower their minds debased with court-opinions, contrary to all virtue and reformation, the haughtier will be their pride and profuseness. We may well remember this not long since at home; nor need but look at present into the French court, where enticements and preferments daily draw away and pervert the protestant nobility. As to the burden of expense, to our cost we shall soon know it; for any good to us deserving to be termed no better than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and their debauchery, which we are now so greedily cheapening, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately to a single person; who for any thing wherein the public really needs him, will have little else to do, but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties, to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of state, to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deserve it. For what can he more than another man? who, even in the expression of a late court-poet, sits only like a great cipher set to no purpose before a long row of other significant figures. Nay, it is well and happy for the people, if

their king be but a cipher, being ofttimes a mischief, a pest, a scourge of the nation, and which is worse, not to be removed, not to be controlled, much less accused or brought to punishment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the shaking and almost subversion of the whole land: whereas in a free commonwealth, any governor or chief counsellor offending may be removed and punished, without the least commotion. Certainly then that people must needs be mad, or strangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of their common happiness or safety on a single person; who, if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man; if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil without check, than millions of other men. The happiness of a nation must needs be firmest and certainest in full and free council of their own electing, where no single person, but reason only, sways. And what madness is it for them who might manage nobly their own affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to devolve all on a single person; and more like boys under age than men, to commit all to his patronage and disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be their servant, but their lord! How unmanly must it needs be, to count such a one the breath of our nostrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our safety, our well-being, for which if we were aught else but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active virtue and industry! "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," saith Solomon; "consider her ways, and be wise; which having no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the summer, and gathers her food in the harvest:" which evidently shews us, that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire: neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men, of a frugal and self-governing democracy or commonwealth; safer and more thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals, than under the single domination of one imperious lord. It may be well wondered that any nation, styling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend hereditary right over them as their lord; whenas by acknowledging that right, they conclude themselves his servants and his vassals, and so renounce their own freedom. Which how a people and their leaders especially can do, who have fought so gloriously for liberty; how they can change their noble words and actions, heretofore so becoming the majesty of a free people, into the base necessity of court-flatteries and prostrations, is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a nation should be so valorous and courageous to win their liberty in the field, and when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in their counsels, as not to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, or with themselves; but after ten or twelve years' prosperous war and contestation with tyranny, basely and besottedly to run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken, and prostrate all the fruits of their victory for nought at the feet of the vanquished, besides our loss of glory, and such an example as kings or tyrants never yet had the like to boast of, will be an ignominy if it befall us, that never yet befell any nation possessed of their liberty; worthy indeed themselves, whatsoever they be, to be for ever slaves, but that part of the nation which consents not with them, as I persuade me of a great number, far worthier than by their means to be brought into the same bondage. Considering these things so plain, so rational, I cannot but yet further admire on the other side, how any man, who hath the true principles of justice and religion in him, can presume or take upon him to be a king and lord over his brethren, whom he cannot but know, whether as men or Christians, to be for the most part every way equal or superior to himself: how he can display with such vanity and ostentation his regal splendour, so supereminently above other mortal men; or being a Christian, can assume such extraordinary honour and worship to himself, while the kingdom of Christ, our common king and lord, is hid to this world, and such Gentilish imitation forbid in express words by himself to all his disciples. All protestants hold that Christ in his church hath left no vicegerent of his power; but himself, without deputy, is the only head thereof, governing it from heaven: how then can any christian man derive his kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the pope his headship over the church, since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such vicegerence from him in the state, as the pope pretends for his in the church, but hath expressly declared, that such regal dominion is from the Gentiles, not from him, and hath strictly charged us not to imitate them therein?

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free commonwealth without single person or house of lords is by far the best government, if it can be had; but we have all this while, say they, been expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. It is true indeed, when monarchy was dissolved, the form of a commonwealth should have forthwith been framed, and the practice thereof immediately begun; that the people might have soon been satisfied and delighted with the decent order, ease, and benefit thereof: we had been then by this time firmly rooted past fear of commotions or mutations, and now flourishing: this care of timely settling a new government instead of the old, too much neglected, hath been our mischief. Yet the cause thereof may be ascribed with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions, and dissolutions, which the parliament hath had, partly from the impatient or disaffected people, partly from some ambitious leaders in the army; much contrary, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the army itself, and their other commanders, once undeceived, or in their own power. Now is the opportunity, now the very season, wherein we may obtain a free commonwealth, and establish it for ever in the land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are sent

out for elections, and, which is worth observing, in the name, not of any king, but of the keepers of our liberty, to summon a free parliament; which then only will indeed be free, and deserve the true honour of that supreme title, if they preserve us a free people. Which never parliament was more free to do; being now called not as heretofore, by the summons of a king, but by the voice of liberty: and if the people, laying aside prejudice and impatience, will seriously and calmly now consider their own good, both religious and civil, their own liberty and the only means thereof, as shall be here laid down before them, and will elect their knights and burgesses able men, and according to the just and necessary qualifications, (which, for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepealed, as they were formerly decreed in parliament,) men not addicted to a single person or house of lords, the work is done; at least the foundation firmly laid of a free commonwealth, and good part also erected of the main structure. For the ground and basis of every just and free government, (since men have smarted so oft for committing all to one person,) is a general council of ablest men, chosen by the people to consult of public affairs from time to time for the common good. In this grand council must the sovereignty, not transferred, but delegated only, and as it were deposited, reside; with this caution, they must have the forces by sea and land committed to them for preservation of the common peace and liberty; must raise and manage the public revenue, at least with some inspectors deputed for satisfaction of the people, how it is employed; must make or propose, as more expressly shall be said anon, civil laws, treat of commerce, peace, or war with foreign nations, and, for the carrying on some particular affairs with more secrecy and expedition, must elect, as they have already out of their own number and others, a council of state.

And, although it may seem strange at first hearing, by reason that men's minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive parliaments, I affirm, that the grand or general council, being well chosen, should be perpetual: for so their business is or may be, and ofttimes urgent; the opportunity of affairs gained or lost in a moment. The day of council cannot be set as the day of a festival; but must be ready always to prevent or answer all occasions. By this continuance they will become every way skilfullest, best provided of intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the people at home, and the people with them. The ship of the commonwealth is always under sail; they sit at the stern, and if they steer well, what need is there to change them, it being rather dangerous? Add to this, that the grand council is both foundation and main pillar of the whole state; and to move pillars and foundations, not faulty, cannot be safe for the building. I see not therefore, how we can be advantaged by successive and transitory parliaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather than to settle a free government, to breed commotions, changes, novelties, and uncertainties, to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities, while all minds are in suspense with expectation of a new assembly, and the assembly for a good space taken up with the new settling of itself. After which, if they find no great work to do, they will make it, by altering or repealing former acts, or making and multiplying new; that they may seem to see what their predecessors saw not, and not to have assembled for nothing: till all law be lost in the multitude of clashing statutes. But if the ambition of such as think themselves injured, that they also partake not of the government, and are impatient till they be chosen, cannot brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them; or if it be feared, that long continuance of power may corrupt sincerest men, the known expedient is, and by some lately propounded, that annually (or if the space be longer, so much perhaps the better) the third part of senators may go out according to the precedence of their election, and the like number be chosen in their places, to prevent their settling of too absolute a power, if it should be perpetual: and this they call "partial rotation." But I could wish, that this wheel or partial wheel in state, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of Fortune. For it appears not how this can be done, without danger and mischance of putting out a great number of the best and ablest: in whose stead new elections may bring in as many raw, unexperienced, and otherwise affected, to the weakening and much altering for the worse of public transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual senate, especially chosen or entrusted by the people, much in this land to be feared, where the well-affected, either in a standing army, or in a settled militia, have their arms in their own hands. Safest therefore to me it seems, and of least hazard or interruption to affairs, that none of the grand council be moved, unless by death, or just conviction of some crime: for what can be expected firm or stedfast from a floating foundation? however, I forejudge not any probable expedient, any temperament that can be found in things of this nature, so disputable on either side. Yet lest this which I affirm be thought my single opinion, I shall add sufficient testimony. Kingship itself is therefore counted the more safe and durable because the king, and for the most part his council, is not changed during life: but a commonwealth is held immortal, and therein firmest, safest, and most above fortune: for the death of a king causeth ofttimes many dangerous alterations; but the death now and then of a senator is not felt, the main body of them still continuing permanent in greatest and noblest commonwealths, and as it were eternal. Therefore among the Jews, the supreme council of seventy, called the Sanhedrim, founded by Moses, in Athens that of Areopagus, in Sparta that of the ancients, in Rome the senate, consisted of members chosen for term of life; and by that means remained as it were still the same to generations. In Venice they change indeed oftener than every year some particular council of state, as that of six, or such other: but the true senate, which upholds and sustains the government, is the whole aristocracy immovable. So in the United Provinces, the

states general, which are indeed but a council of state deputed by the whole union, are not usually the same persons for above three or six years; but the states of every city, in whom the sovereignty hath been placed time out of mind, are a standing senate, without succession, and accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of their liberty. And why they should be so in every well-ordered commonwealth, they who write of policy give these reasons; "That to make the senate successive, not only impairs the dignity and lustre of the senate, but weakens the whole commonwealth, and brings it into manifest danger; while by this means the secrets of state are frequently divulged, and matters of greatest consequence committed to inexpert and novice counsellors, utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledge of affairs past." I know not therefore what should be peculiar in England, to make successive parliaments thought safest, or convenient here more than in other nations, unless it be the fickleness, which is attributed to us as we are islanders: but good education and acquisite wisdom ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any such be, of our watery situation. It will be objected, that in those places where they had perpetual senates, they had also popular remedies against their growing too imperious: as in Athens, besides Areopagus, another senate of four or five hundred; in Sparta, the Ephori; in Rome, the tribunes of the people. But the event tells us, that these remedies either little avail the people, or brought them to such a licentious and unbridled democracy, as in fine ruined themselves with their own excessive power. So that the main reason urged why popular assemblies are to be trusted with the people's liberty, rather than a senate of principal men, because great men will be still endeavouring to enlarge their power, but the common sort will be contented to maintain their own liberty, is by experience found false; none being more immoderate and ambitious to amplify their power, than such popularities, which were seen in the people of Rome; who at first contented to have their tribunes, at length contented with the senate that one consul, then both, soon after, that the censors and prætors also should be created plebeian, and the whole empire put into their hands; adoring lastly those, who most were adverse to the senate, till Marius, by fulfilling their inordinate desires, quite lost them all the power, for which they had so long been striving, and left them under the tyranny of Sylla: the balance therefore must be exactly so set, as to preserve and keep up due authority on either side, as well in the senate as in the people. And this annual rotation of a senate to consist of three hundred, as is lately propounded, requires also another popular assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable rotation. Which, besides that it will be liable to all those inconveniences found in the aforesaid remedies, cannot but be troublesome and chargeable, both in their motion and their session, to the whole land, unwieldy with their own bulk, unable in so great a number to mature their consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so many parts remote to sit a whole year lieger in one place, only now and then to hold up a forest of fingers, or to convey each man his bean or ballot into the box, without reason shewn or common deliberation; incontinent of secrets, if any be imparted to them; emulous and always jarring with the other senate. The much better way doubtless will be, in this wavering condition of our affairs, to defer the changing or circumscribing of our senate, more than may be done with ease, till the commonwealth be throughly settled in peace and safety, and they themselves give us the occasion. Military men hold it dangerous to change the form of battle in view of an enemy: neither did the people of Rome bandy with their senate, while any of the Tarquins lived, the enemies of their liberty; nor sought by creating tribunes, to defend themselves against the fear of their patricians, till sixteen years after the expulsion of their kings, and in full security of their state, they had or thought they had just cause given them by the senate. Another way will be, to well qualify and refine elections: not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualified, to nominate as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to choose a less number more judiciously, till after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest. To make the people fittest to choose, and the chosen fittest to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty education, to teach the people faith, not without virtue, temperance, modesty, sobriety, parsimony, justice; not to admire wealth or honour; to hate turbulence and ambition; to place every one his private welfare and happiness in the public peace, liberty, and safety. They shall not then need to be much mistrustful of their chosen patriots in the grand council; who will be then rightly called the true keepers of our liberty, though the most of their business will be in foreign affairs. But to prevent all mistrust, the people then will have their several ordinary assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious power and name of committees) in the chief towns of every country, without the trouble, charge, or time lost of summoning and assembling from far in so great a number, and so long residing from their own houses, or removing of their families, to do as much at home in their several shires, entire or subdivided, toward the securing of their liberty, as a numerous assembly of them all formed and convened on purpose with the wariest rotation. Whereof I shall speak more ere the end of this discourse: for it may be referred to time, so we be still going on by degrees to perfection. The people well weighing and performing these things, I suppose would have no cause to fear, though the parliament abolishing that name, as originally signifying but the parley of our lords and commons with the Norman king when he pleased to call them, should, with certain limitations of their power, sit perpetual, if their ends be faithful and for a free commonwealth, under the name of a grand or general council. Till this be done, I am in doubt whether our state will be ever

certainly and throughly settled; never likely till then to see an end of our troubles and continual changes, or at least never the true settlement and assurance of our liberty. The grand council being thus firmly constituted to perpetuity, and still, upon the death or default of any member, supplied and kept in full number, there can be no cause alleged, why peace, justice, plentiful trade, and all prosperity should not thereupon ensue throughout the whole land; with as much assurance as can be of human things, that they shall so continue (if God favour us, and our wilful sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightful, and only to be expected King, only worthy as he is our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only heir of his eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordained since the work of our redemption finished, universal Lord of all mankind. The way propounded is plain, easy, and open before us; without intricacies, without the introducement of new or absolute forms or terms, or exotic models; ideas that would effect nothing; but with a number of new injunctions to manacle the native liberty of mankind; turning all virtue into prescription, servitude, and necessity, to the great impairing and frustrating of christian liberty. I say again, this way lies free and smooth before us; is not tangled with inconveniencies; invents no new incumbrances; requires no perilous, no injurious alteration or circumscription of men's lands and properties; secure, that in this commonwealth, temporal and spiritual lords removed, no man or number of men can attain to such wealth or vast possession, as will need the hedge of an agrarian law (never successful, but the cause rather of sedition, save only where it began seasonably with first possession) to confine them from endangering our public liberty. To conclude, it can have no considerable objection made against it, that it is not practicable; lest it be said hereafter, that we gave up our liberty for want of a ready way or distinct form proposed of a free commonwealth. And this facility we shall have above our next neighbouring commonwealth, (if we can keep us from the fond conceit of something like a duke of Venice, put lately into many men's heads by some one or other subtly driving on under that notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a crown,) that our liberty shall not be hampered or hovered over by any engagement to such a potent family as the house of Nassau, of whom to stand in perpetual doubt and suspicion, but we shall live the clearest and absolutest free nation in the world.

On the contrary, if there be a king, which the inconsiderate multitude are now so mad upon, mark how far short we are like to come of all those happinesses, which in a free state we shall immediately be possessed of. First, the grand council, which, as I shewed before, should sit perpetually, (unless their leisure give them now and then some intermissions or vacations, easily manageable by the council of state left sitting,) shall be called, by the king's good will and utmost endeavour, as seldom as may be. For it is only the king's right, he will say, to call a parliament; and this he will do most commonly about his own affairs rather than the kingdom's, as will appear plainly so soon as they are called. For what will their business then be, and the chief expense of their time, but an endless tugging between petition of right and royal prerogative, especially about the negative voice, militia, or subsidies, demanded and ofttimes extorted without reasonable cause appearing to the commons, who are the only true representatives of the people and their liberty, but will be then mingled with a court-faction; besides which, within their own walls, the sincere part of them who stand faithful to the people will again have to deal with two troublesome counter-working adversaries from without, mere creatures of the king, spiritual, and the greater part, as is likeliest, of temporal lords, nothing concerned with the people's liberty. If these prevail not in what they please, though never so much against the people's interest, the parliament shall be soon dissolved, or sit and do nothing; not suffered to remedy the least grievance, or enact aught advantageous to the people. Next, the council of state shall not be chosen by the parliament, but by the king, still his own creatures, courtiers, and favourers; who will be sure in all their counsels to set their master's grandeur and absolute power, in what they are able, far above the people's liberty. I deny not but that there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, may have no vicious favourite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his parliament: but this rarely happens in a monarchy not elective; and it behoves not a wise nation to commit the sum of their well-being, the whole state of their safety to fortune. What need they; and how absurd would it be, whenas they themselves, to whom his chief virtue will be but to hearken, may with much better management and dispatch, with much more commendation of their own worth and magnanimity, govern without a master? Can the folly be parralleled, to adore and be the slaves of a single person, for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more easily, more effectually, more laudably ourselves? Shall we never grow old enough to be wise, to make seasonable use of gravest authorities, experiences, examples? Is it such an unspeakable joy to serve, such felicity to wear a yoke? to clink our shackles, locked on by pretended law of subjection, more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken off, than those which are knocked on by illegal injury and violence? Aristotle our chief instructor in the universities, lest this doctrine be thought sectarian, as the royalist would have it thought, tells us in the third of his Politics, that certain men at first, for the matchless excellence of their virtue above others, or some great public benefit, were created kings by the people, in small cities and territories, and in the scarcity of others to be found like them; but when they abused their power, and governments grew larger, and the number of prudent men increased, that then the people, soon deposing their tyrants, betook them, in all civilest places, to the form of a free commonwealth. And why should we thus disparage and prejudicate our own nation, as to fear a scarcity of able and worthy men united in counsel to govern us, if we will but use diligence

and impartiality, to find them out and choose them, rather yoking ourselves to a single person, the natural adversary and oppressor of liberty; though good, yet far easier corruptible by the excess of his single power and exaltation, or at best, not comparably sufficient to bear the weight of government, nor equally disposed to make us happy in the enjoyment of our liberty under him?

But admit, that monarchy of itself may be convenient to some nations; yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to come, never forgetting their former ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people: who shall be then so narrowly watched and kept so low, that though they would never so fain, and at the same rate of their blood and treasure, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchased and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them: nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartened for the future, if these their highest attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the triumph of all tyrants hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and their song will then be, to others, How sped the rebellious English? to our posterity, How sped the rebels your fathers? This is not my conjecture, but drawn from God's known denouncement against the gentilizing Israelites, who, though they were governed in a commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only their king, they his peculiar people, yet affecting rather to resemble heathen, but pretending the misgovernment of Samuel's sons, no more a reason to dislike their commonwealth, than the violence of Eli's sons was imputable to that priesthood or religion, clamoured for a king. They had their longing, but with this testimony of God's wrath; "Ye shall cry out in that day, because of your king whom ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day." Us if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry hereafter, who once delivered by him from a king, and not without wonderous acts of his providence, insensible and unworthy of those high mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withhold us not, back to the captivity from whence he freed us! Yet neither shall we obtain or buy at an easy rate this new gilded yoke, which thus transports us: a new royal revenue must be found, a new episcopal; for those are individual: both which being wholly dissipated, or bought by private persons, or assigned for service done, and especially to the army, cannot be recovered without general detriment and confusion to men's estates, or a heavy imposition on all men's purses; benefit to none but to the worst and ignoblest sort of men, whose hope is to be either the ministers of court riot and excess, or the gainers by it: but not to speak more of losses and extraordinary levies on our estates, what will then be the revenges and offences remembered and returned, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents; accounts and reparations that will be required, suits, indictments, inquiries, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom or how many, though perhaps neuters, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment, or molestation? if not these, yet disfavour, discountenance, disregard, and contempt on all but the known royalist, or whom he favours, will be plenteous. Nor let the new royalized presbyterians persuade themselves, that their old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; whatever conditions be contrived or trusted on. Will they not believe this; nor remember the pacification, how it was kept to the Scots; how other solemn promises many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning libels, the faces, the gestures, that now appear foremost and briskest in all public places, as the harbingers of those, that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the insolencies, the menaces, the insultings, of our newly animated common enemies crept lately out of their holes, their hell I might say, by the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spew of every drunkard, every ribald; nameless, yet not for want of licence, but for very shame of their own vile persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee, that they intend to second their wicked words, if ever they have power, with more wicked deeds. Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves how their necks yoked with these tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching, but the sweating tub, inspired with nothing holier than the venereal pox, can draw one way under monarchy to the establishing of church discipline with these new disgorged atheisms: yet shall they not have the honour to yoke with these, but shall be yoked under them; these shall plough on their backs. And do they among them, who are so forward to bring in the single person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be, and so regarded, as by kings are wont reconciled enemies; neglected, and soon after discarded, if not persecuted for old traitors; the first inciters, beginners, and more than to the third part actors, of all that followed. It will be found also, that there must be then, as necessary as now, (for the contrary part will be still feared,) a standing army; which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest cavaliers, of no less expense, and perhaps again under Rupert. But let this army be sure they shall be soon disbanded, and likeliest without arrear or pay; and being disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be questioned for being in arms against their king: the same let them fear who have contributed money; which will amount to no small number, that must then take their turn to be made delinquents and compounders. They who past reason and recovery are devoted to kingship perhaps will answer, that a greater part by far of the nation will have it so, the rest therefore must yield. Not so much to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply, that this greatest part have both in reason, and the trial of just battle, lost the right of their election what the government shall be: of them who have not lost that right, whether they for kingship be the greater number, who can certainly determine? Suppose they be,

yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of government: which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable, that most voices against the main end of government should enslave the less number that would be free? more just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, their liberty, than that a greater number, for the pleasure of their baseness, compel a less most injuriously to be their fellow-slaves. They who seek nothing but their own just liberty, have always right to win it and to keep it, whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above others are concerned to defend it from kingship, and from them who in pursuance thereof so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain misery and thraldom, will be needless to repeat.

Having thus far shewn with what ease we may now obtain a free commonwealth, and by it, with as much ease, all the freedom, peace, justice, plenty, that we can desire; on the other side, the difficulties, troubles, uncertainties, nay rather impossibilities, to enjoy these things constantly under a monarch: I will now proceed to shew more particularly wherein our freedom and flourishing condition will be more ample and secure to us under a free commonwealth, than under kingship.

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy any thing in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his revealed will, and the guidance of his Holy Spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and that the whole protestant church allows no supreme judge or rule in matters of religion, but the Scriptures; and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily infers liberty of conscience; I have heretofore proved at large in another treatise; and might yet further, by the public declarations, confessions, and admonitions of whole churches and states, obvious in all histories since the reformation.

This liberty of conscience, which above all other things ought to be to all men dearest and most precious, no government more inclinable not to favour only, but to protect, than a free commonwealth; as being most magnanimous, most fearless, and confident of its own fair proceedings. Whereas kingship, though looking big, yet indeed most pusillanimous, full of fears, full of jealousies, startled at every umbrage, as it hath been observed of old to have ever suspected most and mistrusted them who were in most esteem for virtue and generosity of mind, so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion them who are most reputed to be religious. Queen Elizabeth, though herself accounted so good a protestant, so moderate, so confident of her subjects' love, would never give way so much as to presbyterian reformation in this land, though once and again besought, as Camden relates, but imprisoned and persecuted the very proposers thereof; alleging it as her mind and maxim unalterable, that such reformation would diminish regal authority. What liberty of conscience can we then expect of others, far worse principled from the cradle, trained up and governed by popish and Spanish counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence? Especially what can this last parliament expect, who having revived lately and published the covenant, have re-engaged themselves, never to readmit episcopacy? Which no son of Charles returning but will most certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest charge of his father, "to persevere in, not the doctrine only, but government of the church of England, not to neglect the speedy and effectual suppressing of errours and schisms;" among which he accounted presbytery one of the chief. Or if, notwithstanding that charge of his father, he submit to the covenant, how will he keep faith to us, with disobedience to him; or regard that faith given, which must be founded on the breach of that last and solemnest paternal charge, and the reluctance, I may say the antipathy, which is in all kings, against presbyterian and independent discipline? For they hear the gospel speaking much of liberty; a word which monarchy and her bishops both fear and hate, but a free commonwealth both favours and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing itself. But let our governors beware in time, lest their hard measure to liberty of conscience be found the rock whereon they shipwreck themselves, as others have now done before them in the course wherein God was directing their steerage to a free commonwealth; and the abandoning of all those whom they call sectaries, for the detected falsehood and ambition of some, be a wilful rejection of their own chief strength and interest in the freedom of all protestant religion, under what abusive name soever calumniated.

The other part of our freedom consists in the civil rights and advancements of every person according to his merit: the enjoyment of those never more certain, and the access to these never more open, than in a free commonwealth. Both which, in my opinion, may be best and soonest obtained, if every country in the land were made a kind of subordinate commonalty or commonwealth, and one chief town or more, according as the shire is in circuit, made cities, if they be not so called already; where the nobility and chief gentry, from a proportionable compass of territory annexed to each city, may build houses or palaces befitting their quality, may bear part in the government, make their own judicial laws, or use these that are, and execute them by their own elected judicatures and judges without appeal, in all things of civil government between man and man; so they shall have justice in their own hands, law executed fully and finally in their own counties and precincts, long wished and spoken of, but never yet obtained; they shall have none then to blame but themselves, if it be not well administered; and fewer laws to expect or fear from the supreme authority; or to those that shall be made, of any great concernment to public liberty, they may, without much

trouble in these commonalties, or in more general assemblies called to their cities from the whole territory on such occasion, declare and publish their assent or dissent by deputies, within a time limited, sent to the grand council; yet so as this their judgment declared shall submit to the greater number of other counties or commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of agreement with the rest, as it may in any of the United Provinces, being sovereign within itself, ofttimes to the great disadvantage of that union. In these employments they may, much better than they do now, exercise and sit themselves till their lot fall to be chosen into the grand council, according as their worth and merit shall be taken notice of by the people. As for controversies that shall happen between men of several counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the capital city, or any other more commodious, indifferent place, and equal judges. And this I find to have been practised in the old Athenian commonwealth, reputed the first and ancientest place of civility in all Greece; that they had in their several cities a peculiar, in Athens a common government; and their right, as it befel them, to the administration of both. They should have here also schools and academies at their own choice, wherein their children may be bred up in their own sight to all learning and noble education; not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises. This would soon spread much more knowledge and civility, yea, religion, through all parts of the land, by communicating the natural heat of government and culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie numb and neglected, would soon make the whole nation more industrious, more ingenious at home; more potent, more honourable abroad. To this a free commonwealth will easily assent; (nay, the parliament hath had already some such thing in design;) for of all governments a commonwealth aims most to make the people flourishing, virtuous, noble, and high-spirited. Monarchs will never permit; whose aim is to make the people wealthy indeed perhaps, and well fleeced, for their own shearing, and the supply of regal prodigality; but otherwise softest, basest, viciousest, servilest, easiest to be kept under: and not only in fleece, but in mind also sheepishest; and will have all the benches of judicature annexed to the throne, as a gift of royal grace, that we have justice done us; whenas nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a people, than to have the administration of justice, and all public ornaments, in their own election, and within their own bounds, without long travelling or depending upon remote places to obtain their right, or any civil accomplishment; so it be not supreme, but subordinate to the general power and union of the whole republic. In which happy firmness, as in the particular above-mentioned, we shall also far exceed the United Provinces, by having, not as they, (to the retarding and distracting ofttimes of their counsels or urgentest occasions,) many sovereignties united in one commonwealth, but many commonwealths under one united and intrusted sovereignty. And when we have our forces by sea and land, either of a faithful army, or a settled militia, in our own hands, to the firm establishing of a free commonwealth, public accounts under our own inspection, general laws and taxes, with their causes in our own domestic suffrages, judicial laws, offices, and ornaments at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of lords and commoners, that may any way divide or sever the public interest, removed; what can a perpetual senate have then, wherein to grow corrupt, wherein to encroach upon us, or usurp? or if they do, wherein to be formidable? Yet if all this avail not to remove the fear or envy of a perpetual sitting, it may be easily provided, to change a third part of them yearly, or every two or three years, as was above-mentioned; or that it be at those times in the people's choice, whether they will change them, or renew their power, as they shall find cause.

I have no more to say at present: few words will save us, well considered; few and easy things, now seasonably done. But if the people be so affected as to prostitute religion and liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension, that nothing but kingship can restore trade, not remembering the frequent plagues and pestilences that then wasted this city, such as through God's mercy we never have felt since; and that trade flourishes no where more than in the free commonwealths of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before their eyes at this day; yet if trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of tradesmen, that nothing can support it but the luxurious expenses of a nation upon trifles or superfluities; so as if the people generally should betake themselves to frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, lest tradesmen should mutiny for want of trading; and that therefore we must forego and set to sale religion, liberty, honour, safety, all concernments divine or human, to keep up trading: if, lastly, after all this light among us, the same reason shall pass for current, to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the Jews to return back to Egypt, and to the worship of their idol queen, because they falsely imagined that they then lived in more plenty and prosperity; our condition is not sound but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence; and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those calamities, which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments under foreign and domestic slavery: so far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchising our government, whatever new conceit now possesses us. However, with all hazard I have ventured what I thought my duty to speak in season, and to forewarn my country in time; wherein I doubt not but there be many wise men in all places and degrees, but am sorry the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many circumstances and particulars I could have added in those things whereof I have spoken: but a few main matters now put speedily in execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all right: and there will want at no time who are good at circumstances; but men who set their minds on main matters, and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times I find

not many. What I have spoken, is the language of that which is not called amiss "The good old Cause:" if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones; and had none to cry to, but with the prophet, "O earth, earth, earth!" to tell the very soil itself, what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which thou suffer not, who didst create mankind free! nor thou next, who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty. But I trust I shall have spoken persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous men; to some perhaps, whom God may raise to these stones to become children of reviving liberty; and may reclaim, though they seem now choosing them a captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing; to exhort this torrent also of the people, not to be so impetuous, but to keep their due channel; and at length recovering and uniting their better resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies, to stay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abused multitude.

BRIEF NOTES UPON

A LATE SERMON,

TITLED,

THE FEAR OF GOD AND THE KING;

PREACHED AND SINCE PUBLISHED

BY MATTHEW GRIFFITH, D. D.

AND CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE KING

WHEREIN MANY NOTORIOUS WRESTINGS OF SCRIPTURE, AND OTHER FALSITIES, ARE OBSERVED

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1660.]

I AFFIRMED in the preface of a late discourse, intitled, "The ready Way to establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Dangers of re-admitting Kingship in this Nation," that the humour of returning to our old bondage was instilled of late by some deceivers; and to make good, that what I then affirmed was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people: and if I prove him not such, refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.

He begins in his epistle to the General,* and moves cunningly for a licence to be admitted physician both to church and state; then sets out his practice in physical terms, "a wholesome electuary to be taken every morning next our hearts;" tells of the opposition which he met with from the college of state physicians, then lays before you his drugs and ingredients; "Strong purgatives in the pulpit, contempered of the myrrh of mortification, the aloes of confession and contrition, the rhubarb of restitution and satisfaction;" a pretty fantastic dose of divinity from a pulpit mountebank, not unlike the fox, that turning pedlar opened his pack of ware before the kid; though he now would seem, "to personate the good Samaritan," undertaking to "describe the rise and progress of our national malady, and to prescribe the only remedy;" which how he performs, we shall quickly see.

First, he would suborn St. Luke as his spokesman to the General, presuming, it seems, "to have had as perfect understanding of things from the very first," as the evangelist had of his gospel; that the General, who hath so eminently born his part in the whole action, "might know the certainty of those things" better from him a partial sequestered enemy; for so he presently appears, though covertly, and like the tempter, commencing his address with an impudent calumny and affront to his excellence, that he would be pleased "to carry on what he had so happily begun in the name and cause" not of God only, which we doubt not, but "of his anointed," meaning the late king's son; to charge him most audaciously and falsely with the renouncing of his own public promises and declarations, both to the parliament and the army, and we trust his actions ere long will deter such insinuating slanderers from thus approaching him for the future. But the General may well excuse him; for the Comforter himself scapes not his presumption, avouched as falsely, to have empowered to those designs "him and him only," who hath solemnly declared the contrary. What fanatic, against whom he so often inveighs, could more presumptuously affirm whom the Comforter hath empowered, than this anti-fanatic, as he would be thought?

* Monk.

THE TEXT.

Prov. xxiv. 21, *My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not with them that be seditious, or desirous of change*, &c.

Letting pass matters not in controversy, I come to the main drift of your sermon, the king; which word here is either to signify any supreme magistrate, or else your latter object of fear is not universal, belongs not at all to many parts of christendom, that have no king; and in particular not to us. That we have no king since the putting down of kingship in this commonwealth, is manifest by this last parliament, who, to the time of their dissolving, not only made no address at all to any king, but summoned this next to come by

the writ formerly appointed of a free commonwealth, without restitution or the least mention of any kingly right or power; which could not be, if there were at present any king of England. The main part therefore of your sermon, if it mean a king in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd, exhorting your auditory to fear that which is not; or if king here be, as it is understood, for any supreme magistrate, by your own exhortation they are in the first place not to meddle with you, as being yourself most of all the seditious meant here, and the "desirous of change," in stirring them up to "fear a king," whom the present government takes no notice of.

You begin with a vain vision, "God and the king at the first blush" (which will not be your last blush) "seeming to stand in your text like those two cherubims on the mercy-seat, looking on each other." By this similitude, your conceited sanctuary, worse than the altar of Ahaz, patterned from Damascus, degrades God to a cherub, and raises your king to be his collateral in place, notwithstanding the other differences you put; which well agrees with the court-letters, lately published, from this lord to the other lord, that cry him up for no less than angelical and celestial.

Your first observation, page 8, is, "That God and the king are coupled in the text, and what the Holy Ghost hath thus firmly combined, we may not, we must not dare to put asunder;" and yourself is the first man who puts them asunder by the first proof of your doctrine immediately following, Judg. vii. 20, which couples the sword of the Lord and Gideon, a man who not only was no king, but refused to be a king or monarch, when it was offered him, in the very next chapter, ver. 22, 23, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you." Here we see, that this worthy heroic deliverer of his country thought it best governed, if the Lord governed it in that form of a free commonwealth, which they then enjoyed, without a single person. And thus is your first scripture abused, and most impertinently cited, nay, against yourself, to prove, that "kings at their coronation have a sword given them," which you interpret "the militia, the power of life and death put into their hands," against the declared judgment of our parliaments, nay, of all our laws, which reserve to themselves only the power of life and death, and render you in their just resentment of this boldness another Dr. Manwaring.

Your next proof is as false and frivolous, "The king," say you, "is God's sword-bearer;" true, but not the king only: for Gideon, by whom you seek to prove this, neither was nor would be a king; and as you yourself confess, page 40, "There be divers forms of government." "He bears not the sword in vain," Rom. xiii. 4: This also is as true of any lawful rulers, especially supreme; so that "Rulers," ver. 3, and therefore this present government, without whose authority you excite the people to a king, bear the sword as well as kings, and as little in vain. "They fight against God, who resist his ordinance, and go about to wrest the sword out of the hands of his anointed." This is likewise granted: but who is his anointed? Not every king, but they only who were anointed or made kings by his special command; as Saul, David, and his race, which ended in the Messiah, (from whom no kings at this day can derive their title,) Jehu, Cyrus, and if any other were by name appointed by him to some particular service: as for the rest of kings, all other supreme magistrates are as much the Lord's anointed as they; and our obedience commanded equally to them all; "for there is no power but of God," Rom. xiii. 1: and we are exhorted in the gospel to obey kings, as other magistrates, not that they are called any where the Lord's anointed, but as they are the "Ordinance of man," 1 Pet. ii. 13. You therefore and other such false doctors, preaching kings to your auditory, as the Lord's only anointed, to withdraw people from the present government, by your own text are self-condemned, and not to be followed, not to be "meddled with," but to be noted, as most of all others the "seditious and desirous of change."

Your third proof is no less against yourself. Psal. cv. 15. "Touch not mine anointed." For this is not spoken in behalf of kings, but spoken to reprove kings, that they should not touch his anointed saints and servants, the seed of Abraham, as the verse next before might have taught you: he reproved kings for their sakes, saying, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm;" according to that, 2 Cor. i. 21, "He who hath anointed us, is God." But how well you confirm one wrested scripture with another! 1 Sam viii. 7, "They have not rejected thee, but me:" grossly misapplying these words, which were not spoken to any who had "resisted or rejected" a king, but to them who much against the will of God had sought a king, and rejected a commonwealth, wherein they might have lived happily under the reign of God only, their king. Let the words interpret themselves; ver. 6, 7, "But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us: and Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them." Hence you conclude, "so indissoluble is the conjunction of God and the king." O notorious abuse of Scripture! whenas you should have concluded, so unwilling was God to give them a king, so wide was the disjunction of God from a king. Is this the doctrine you boast of, to be "so clear in itself, and like a mathematical principle, that needs no farther demonstration?" Bad logic, bad mathematics, (for principles can have no demonstration at all,) but worse divinity. O people of an implicit faith, no better than Romish, if these be thy prime teachers, who to their credulous audience dare thus juggle with Scripture, to allege those places for the proof of their doctrine, which are the plain refutation: and this is all the Scripture which he brings to confirm his point.

The rest of his preachment is mere groundless chat, save here and there a few grains of corn scattered to entice the silly fowl into his net, interlaced here and there with some human reading, though slight, and not

without geographical and historical mistakes: as page 29, Suevia the German dukedom, for Suecia the Northern kingdom: Philip of Macedon, who is generally understood of the great Alexander's father only, made contemporary, page 31, with T. Quintus the Roman commander, instead of T. Quintius, and the latter Philip: and page 44, Tully cited "in his third oration against Verres," to say of him, "that he was a wicked consul," who never was a consul: nor "Trojan sedition ever portrayed" by that verse of Virgil, which you cite page 47, as that of Troy: schoolboys could have told you, that there is nothing of Troy in that whole portraiture, as you call it, of Sedition. These gross mistakes may justly bring in doubt your other loose citations, and that you take them up somewhere at the second or third hand rashly, and without due considering.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your fable, "The frogs" (BEING ONCE A FREE NATION, saith the fable) "petitioned Jupiter for a king: he tumbled among them a log: they found it insensible; they petitioned then for a king that should be active: he sent them a crane" (a STORK, saith the fable) "which straight fell to pecking them up." This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change: whereas indeed the true moral shews rather the folly of those who being free seek a king; which for the most part either as a log lies heavy on his subjects, without doing aught worthy of his dignity and the charge to maintain him, or as a stork, is ever pecking them up, and devouring them.

But "by our fundamental laws, the king is the highest power," page 40. If we must hear mooting and law lectures from the pulpit, what shame is it for a doctor of divinity not first to consider, that no law can be fundamental, but that which is grounded on the light of nature or right reason, commonly called moral Law: which no form of government was ever counted, but arbitrary, and at all times in the choice of every free people, or their representers. This choice of government is so essential to their freedom, that longer than they have it, they are not free. In this land not only the late king and his posterity, but kingship itself, hath been abrogated by a law; which involves with as good reason the posterity of a king forfeited to the people, as that law heretofore of treason against the king, attainted the children with the father. This law against both king and kingship they who most question, do not less question all enacted without the king and his antiparliament at Oxford, though called mongrel by himself. If no law must be held good, but what passes in full parliament, then surely in exactness of legality no member must be missing: for look how many are missing, so many counties or cities that sent them want their representers. But if, being once chosen, they serve for the whole nation, then any number, which is sufficient, is full, and most of all in times of discord, necessity, and danger. The king himself was bound by the old mode of parliaments, not to be absent, but in case of sickness, or some extraordinary occasion, and then to leave his substitute; much less might any member be allowed to absent himself. If the king then and many of the members with him, without leaving any in his stead, forsook the parliament upon a mere panic fear, as was that time judged by most men, and to levy war against them that sat, should they who were left sitting, break up, or not dare enact aught of nearest and presentest concernment to public safety, for the punctilio wanting of a full number, which no law-book in such extraordinary cases hath determined? Certainly if it were lawful for them to fly from their charge upon pretence of private safety, it was much more lawful for these to set and act in their trust what was necessary for the public. By a law therefore of parliament, and of a parliament that conquered both Ireland, Scotland, and all their enemies in England, defended their friends, were generally acknowledged for a parliament both at home and abroad, kingship was abolished: this law now of late hath been negatively repealed; yet kingship not positively restored, and I suppose never was established by any certain law in this land, nor possibly could be: for how could our forefathers bind us to any certain form of government, more than we can bind our posterity? If a people be put to war with their king for his misgovernment, and overcome him, the power is then undoubtedly in their own hands how they will be governed. The war was granted just by the king himself at the beginning of his last treaty, and still maintained to be so by this last parliament, as appears by the qualification prescribed to the members of this next ensuing, that none shall be elected, who have borne arms against the parliament since 1641. If the war were just, the conquest was also just by the law of nations. And he who was the chief enemy, in all right ceased to be the king, especially after captivity, by the deciding verdict of war; and royalty with all her laws and pretensions yet remains in the victor's power, together with the choice of our future government. Free commonwealths have been ever counted fittest and properest for civil, virtuous, and industrious, nations, abounding with prudent men worthy to govern; monarchy fittest to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud, luxurious people. If we desire to be of the former, nothing better for us, nothing nobler than a free commonwealth: if we will needs condemn ourselves to be of the latter, despairing of our own virtue, industry, and the number of our able men, we may then, conscious of our own unworthiness to be governed better, sadly betake us to our befitting thraldom: yet choosing out of our number one who hath best aided the people, and best merited against tyranny, the space of a reign or two we may chance to live happily enough, or tolerably. But that a victorious people should give up themselves again to the vanquished, was never yet heard of, seems rather void of all reason and good policy, and will in all probability subject the subduers to the subdued, will expose to revenge, to beggary, to ruin, and perpetual bondage, the victors under the vanquished: than which what can be more unworthy?

From misinterpreting our law, you return to do again the same with Scripture, and would prove the su-

premacy of English kings from 1 Pet. ii. 13, as if that were the apostle's work: wherein if he saith that "the king is supreme," he speaks so of him but as an "ordinance of man," and in respect of those "governors that are sent by him," not in respect of parliaments, which by the law of this land are his bridle; in vain his bridle, if not also his rider: and therefore hath not only co-ordination with him, which you falsely call seditious, but hath superiority above him, and that neither "against religion," nor "right reason:" no nor against common law; for our kings reigned only by law. But the parliament is above all positive law, whether civil or common, makes or unmakes them both; and still the latter parliament above the former, above all the former lawgivers, then certainly above all precedent laws, entailed the crown on whom it pleased; and as a great lawyer saith, "is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons, within any bounds." But your cry is, no parliament without a king. If this be so, we have never had lawful kings, who have all been created kings either by such parliaments, or by conquest: if by such parliaments, they are in your allowance none; if by conquest, that conquest we have now conquered. So that as well by your own assertion as by ours, there can at present be no king. And how could that person be absolutely supreme, who reigned, not under law only, but under oath of his good demeanour, given to the people at his coronation, ere the people gave him his crown? and his principal oath was to maintain those laws, which the people should choose. If then the law itself, much more he who was but the keeper and minister of law, was in their choice, and both he subordinate to the performance of his duty sworn, and our sworn allegiance in order only to his performance.

You fall next on the consistorian schismatics; for so you call Presbyterians, page 40, and judge them to have "enervated the king's supremacy by their opinions and practice, differing in many things only in terms from popery;" though some of those principles, which you there cite concerning kingship, are to be read in Aristotle's Politics, long ere popery was thought on. The presbyterians therefore it concerns to be well forewarned of you betimes; and to them I leave you.

As for your examples of seditious men, page 54, &c. Cora, Absalom, Zimri, Sheba, to these you might with much more reason have added your own name, who "blow the trumpet of sedition" from your pulpit against the present government: in reward whereof they have sent you by this time, as I hear, to your "own place," for preaching open sedition, while you would seem to preach against it.

As for your Appendix annexed of the "Samaritan revived," finding it so foul a libel against all the well affected of this land, since the very time of ship-money, against the whole parliament, both lords and commons, except those that fled to Oxford, against the whole reformed church, not only in England and Scotland, but all over Europe, (in comparison whereof you and your prelatical party are more truly schismatics and sectarians, nay, more properly fanatics in your fanes and gilded temples, than those whom you revile by those names,) and meeting with no more Scripture or solid reason in your "Samaritan wine and oil," than hath already been found sophisticated and adulterate, I leave your malignant narrative, as needing no other confutation, than the just censure already passed upon you by the council of state.

ACCEDENCE

COMMENCED GRAMMAR,

SUPPLIED WITH

SUFFICIENT RULES

FOR THE USE OF SUCH AS, YOUNGER OR ELDER, ARE DESIROUS, WITHOUT MORE TROUBLE THAN NEEDS, TO ATTAIN THE LATIN TONGUE; THE ELDER SORT ESPECIALLY, WITH LITTLE TEACHING, AND THEIR OWN INDUSTRY.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1669.]

TO THE READER.

It hath been long a general complaint, not without cause, in the bringing up of youth, and still is, that the tenth part of man's life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin Tongue. Which tardy proficience may be attributed to several causes: in particular, the making two labours of one, by learning first the Accedence, then the Grammar in Latin, ere the language of those rules be understood. The only remedy of this was to join both books into one, and in the English Tongue; whereby the long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of understanding much more easy: a work supposed not to have been done formerly; or if done, not without such difference here in brevity and alteration, as may be found of moment. That of Grammar, touching letters and syllables, is omitted, as learnt before, and little different from the English Spelling-book; especially since few will be persuaded, to pronounce Latin otherwise than their own English. What will not come under rule, by reason of the much variety in declension, gender, or construction, is also here omitted, lest the course and clearness of method be clogged with catalogues instead of rules, or too much interruption between rule and rule: which Linaker, setting down the various idioms of many verbs, was forced to do by alphabet, and therefore, though very learned, not thought fit to be read in schools. But in such words, a dictionary stored with good authorities will be found the readiest guide. Of figurate construction, what is useful is digested into several rules of Syntaxis: and Prosody, after this Grammar well learned, will not need to be Englished for him who hath a mind to read it. Account might be now given what addition or alteration from other Grammars hath been here made, and for what reason. But he who would be short in teaching, must not be long in prefacing: the book itself follows, and will declare sufficiently to them who can discern.

ACCEDENCE COMMENCED GRAMMAR.

Latin Grammar is the art of right understanding, speaking, or writing Latin, observed from them who have spoken or written it best.

Grammar hath two parts: right wording, usually called Etymology; and right joining of words, or Syntaxis.

Etymology, or right wording, teacheth what belongs to every single word or part of speech.

Of Latin Speech are eight General Parts.

Noun Pronoun Verb Participle	Declined.	Adverb Conjunction Preposition Interjection	Undeclined.

Declined are those words which have divers endings; as homo a man, hominis of a man; amo I love, amas thou lovest. Undeclined are those words which

have but one ending, as bene well, cum when, tum then.

Nouns, pronouns, and participles are declined with gender, number, and case; verbs, as hereafter in the verb.

Of Genders.

GENDERS are three, the masculine, feminine, and neuter. The masculine may be declined with this article hic, as hic vir a man; the feminine with this article, hæc, as hæc mulier a woman; the neuter with this article, hoc, as hoc saxum a stone.

Of the masculine are generally all nouns belonging to the male kind, as also the names of rivers, months, and winds.

Of the feminine, all nouns belonging to the female kind, as also the names of countries, cities, trees, some few of the two latter excepted: of cities, as Agragas and Sulmo, masculine; Argos, Tibur, Præneste, and such as end in um, neuter; Anxur both. Of trees, oleaster and spinus, masculine: but oleaster is read also feminine, Cic. Verr. 4. Acer, siler, suber, thus, robur, neuter.

And of the neuter are all nouns, not being proper names, ending in um, and many others.

Some nouns are of two genders, as hic or hæc dies a day; and all such may be spoken both of male and female, as hic or hæc parens a father or mother: some be of three, as hic hæc and hoc felix happy.

Of Numbers.

WORDS declined have two numbers, the singular and the plural. The singular speaketh but of one, as lapis a stone. The plural of more than one, as lapides stones; yet sometimes but of one, as Athenæ the city of Athens, literæ an epistle, ædes ædium a house.

Note, that some nouns have no singular, and some no plural, as the nature of their signification requires. Some are of one gender in the singular; of another, or two genders, in the plural, as reading will best teach.

Of Cases.

NOUNS, pronouns, and participles are declined with six endings, which are called cases, both in the singular and plural number. The nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, and ablative.

The nominative is the first case, and properly nameth the thing, as liber a book.

The genitive is englished with this sign *of*, as libri of a book.

The dative with this sign *to*, or *for*, as libro to or for a book.

The accusative hath no sign.

The vocative calleth or speaketh to, as O liber, O book, and is commonly like the nominative.

But in the neuter gender the nominative, accusative, and vocative, are like in both numbers, and in the plural end always in a.

The ablative is englished with these signs, *in*, *with*, *of*, *for*, *from*, *by*, and such like, as de libro of or from the book, pro libro for the book; and the ablative plural is always like the dative.

Note, that some nouns have but one ending throughout all cases, as frugi, nequam, nihil; and all words of number from three to a hundred, as quatuor four, quinque five, &c.

Some have but one, some two, some three cases only, in the singular or plural, as use will best teach.

Of a Noun.

A NOUN is the name of a thing, as manus a hand, domus a house, bonus good, pulcher fair.

Nouns be substantives or adjectives.

A noun substantive is understood by itself, as homo a man, domus a house.

An adjective, to be well understood, requireth a substantive to be joined with it, as bonus good, parvus little, which cannot be well understood unless something good or little be either named, as bonus vir a good man, parvus puer a little boy; or by use understood, as honestum an honest thing, boni good men.

The Declining of Substantives.

NOUNS substantives have five declensions or forms of ending their cases, chiefly distinguished by the different ending of their genitive singular.

The first Declension.

THE first is when the genitive and dative singular end in æ, &c. as in the example following.

Singular.	*Plural.*
No. Voc. Abl. musa	*Nom. Voc.* musæ
Gen. Dat. musæ	*Gen.* musarum
Acc. musam.	*Dat. Abl.* musis
	Acc. musas.

This one word familia joined with pater, mater, filius, or filia, endeth the genitive in as, as pater familias, but sometimes familiæ. Dea, mula, equa, liberta, make the dative and ablative plural in abus; filia and nata in is or abus.

The first declension endeth always in a, unless in some words derived of the Greek: and is always of the feminine gender, except in names attributed to men, according to the general rule, or to stars, as cometa, planeta.

Nouns, and especially proper names derived of the Greek, have here three endings, as, es, e, and are declined in some of their cases after the Greek form. Æneas, acc. Ænean, voc. Ænea; Anchises, acc. Anchisen, voc. Anchise, or Anchisa, abl. Anchise. Penelope, Penelopes, Penelopen, voc. abl. Penelope. Sometimes following the Latin, as Marsya, Philocteta, for as and es; Philoctetam, Eriphylam, for an and en. Cic.

The second Declension.

THE second is when the genitive singular endeth in i, the dative in o, &c.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. liber	*Nom. Voc.* libri
Gen. libri	*Gen.* librorum
Dat. Abl. libro	*Dat. Abl.* libris
Acc. librum.	*Acc.* libros.

Note, that when the nominative endeth in us, the vocative shall end in e, as dominus ô domine, except deus ô deus. And these following, agnus, lucus, vulgus, populus, chorus, fluvius, e or us.

When the nominative endeth in ius, if it be the proper name of a man, the vocative shall end in i, as Georgius ô Georgi; hereto add filius ô fili, and genius ô geni.

All nouns of the second declension are of the masculine or neuter gender; of the masculine, such as end in er, or, or us, except some few, humus, domus, alvus, and others derived of the Greek, as methodus, antidotus, and the like, which are of the feminine, and some of them sometimes also masculine, as atomus, phaselus; to which add ficus the name of a disease, grossus, pampinus, and rubus.

Those of the neuter, except virus, pelagus, and vulgus, (which last is sometimes masculine,) end all in um, and are declined as followeth:

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Ac. Voc. studium	*Nom. Ac. Voc.* studia
Gen. studii	*Gen.* studiorum
Dat. Abl. studio.	*Dat. Abl.* studiis.

Some nouns in this declension are of the first example singular, of the second plural, as Pergamus the city Troy, plur. hæc Pergama; and some names of hills, as Mænalus, Ismarus, hæc Ismara; so also Tartarus, and the lake Avernus; others are of both, as sibilus, jocus, locus, hi loci, or hæc loca. Some are of the second example singular, of the first plural, as Argos, cœlum, plur. hi cœli; others of both, as rastrum, capistrum, filum, frænum; plur. fræni or fræna. Nundinum, & epulum, are of the first declension plural, nundinæ, epulæ; balneum of both, balneæ or balnea.

Greek proper names have here three endings, os, on, and us long from a Greek diphthong. Hæc Delos, hanc Delon. Hoc Ilion. The rest regular, Hic Panthus, ô Panthu, Virg.

The third Declension.

The third is when the genitive singular endeth in is, the dative in i, the accusative in em, the ablative in e, and sometimes in i; the nom. acc. voc. plural in es, the genitive in um, and sometimes in ium, &c.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Gen. Voc. panis	*Nom. Acc. Voc.* panes
Dat. pani	*Gen.* panum
Acc. panem	*Dat. Abl.* panibus.
Abl. pane	

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. parens	*Nom. Ac. Voc.* parentes
Gen. parentis	*Gen.* parentum
Dat. parenti	*Dat. Abl.* parentibus.
Acc. parentem	
Abl. parente.	

This third declension, with many endings, hath all genders, best known by dividing all nouns hereto belonging into such as either increase one syllable long or short in the genitive, or increase not at all.

Such as increase not in the genitive are generally feminine, as nubes nubis, caro carnis.

Except such as end in er, as hic venter ventris, and these in is following, natalis, aqualis, lienis, orbis, callis, caulis, collis, follis, mensis, ensis, fustis, funis, panis, penis, crinis, ignis, cassis, fascis, torris, piscis, unguis, vermis, vectis, postis, axis, and the compounds of assis, as centussis.

But canalis, finis, clunis, restis, sentis, amnis, corbis, linter, torquis, anguis, hic or hæc: to these add vepres.

Such as end in e are neuters, as mare, rete, and two Greek in es, as hippomanes, cacoëthes.

Nouns increasing long.

Nouns increasing one syllable long in the genitive are generally feminine, as hæc pietas pietatis, virtus virtutis.

Except such as end in ans masculine, as dodrans, quadrans, sextans; in ens, as oriens, torrens, bidens, a pickaxe.

In or, most commonly derived of verbs, as pallor, clamor; in o, not thence derived, as ternio, senio, sermo, temo, and the like.

And these of one syllable, sal, sol, ren, splen, as, bes, pes, mos, flos, ros, dens, mons, pons, fons, grex.

And words derived from the Greek in en, as lichen; in er, as crater; in as, as adamas; in es, as lebes; to these, hydrops, thorax, phœnix.

But scrobs, rudens, stirps, the body or root of a tree, and calx a heel, hic or hæc.

Neuter, these of one syllable, mel, fel, lac, far, ver, cor, æs, vas vasis, os ossis, os oris, rus, thus, jus, crus, pus. And of more syllables in al and ar, as capital, laquear, but halec hoc or hæc.

Nouns increasing short.

Nouns increasing short in the genitive are generally masculine, as hic sanguis sanguinis, lapis lapidis.

Except, feminine all words of many syllables ending in do or go, as dulcedo, compago; arbor, hyems, cuspis, pecus pecudis: These in ex, forfex, carex, tomex, supellex: In ix, appendix, histrix, coxendix, filix: Greek nouns, in as and is, as lampas, iaspis: To these add chlamys, bacchar, sindon, icon.

But margo, cinis, pulvis, adeps, forceps, pumex, ramex, imbrex, obex, silex, cortex, onyx, and sardonyx, hic or hæc.

Neuters are all ending in a, as problema: in en, except hic pecten; in ar, as jubar: in er these, verber, iter, uber, cadaver, zinziber, laser, cicer, siser, piper, papaver, sometimes in ur, except hic furfur, in us, as onus, in ut, as caput; to these marmor, æquor, ador.

Greek proper names here end in as, an, is, and ens, and may be declined some wholly after the Greek form, as Pallas, Pallados, Palladi, Pallada; others in some cases, as Atlas, acc. Atlanta, voc. Atla. Garamas, plur. Garamantes, acc. Garamantas. Pan, Panos, Pana. Phyllis, Phyllidos, voc. Phylli, plur. Phyllides, acc. Phyllidas. Tethys, Tethyos, acc. Tethyn, voc. Tethy. Neapolis Neapolios, acc. Neapolin. Paris, Paridos or Parios, acc. Parida, or Parin. Orpheus, Orpheos, Orphei, Orphea, Orpheu. But names in eus borrow sometimes their genitive of the second declension, as Erechtheus, Erechthei. Cic. Achilles or Achilleus,

Achillei; and sometimes their accusative in on or um, as Orpheus Orpheon, Theseus Theseum, Perseus Perseum, which sometimes is formed after Greek words of the first declension; Latin, Perseus or Perses, Persæ Persæ Persen Persæ Persa.

The fourth Declension.

The fourth is when the genitive singular endeth in us, the dative singular in ui, and sometimes in u, plural in ibus, and sometimes in ubus.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Gen. Voc. sensus	*Nom. Acc. Voc.* sensus
Dat. sensui	*Gen.* sensuum
Acc. sensum	*Dat. Abl.* sensibus.
Abl. sensu.	

The fourth declension hath two endings, us and u; us generally masculine, except some few, as hæc manus, ficus, the fruit of a tree, acus, porticus, tribus, but penus and specus hic or hæc. U of the neuter, as gelu, genu, veru; but in the singular most part defective.

Proper names in os and o long, pertaining to the fourth declension Greek, may belong best to the fourth in Latin, as Androgeos, gen. Androgeo, acc. Androgeon; hic Athos, hunc Atho, Virg.; hæc Sappho, gen. Sapphus, acc. Sappho. Better authors follow the Latin form, as Dido Didonis Didonem. But Jesus Jesu Jesum Jesu Jesu.

The fifth Declension.

The fifth is when the genitive and dative singular end in ei, &c.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. res	*Nom. Ac. Voc.* res
Gen. Dat. rei	*Gen.* rerum
Acc. rem	*Dat. Abl.* rebus.
Abl. re.	

All nouns of the fifth declension are of the feminine gender, except dies hic or hæc, and his compound meridies hic only.

Some nouns are of more declensions than one, as vas vasis of the third in the singular, of the second in the plural vasa vasorum. Colus, laurus, and some others, of the second and fourth. Saturnalia, saturnalium or saturnaliorum, saturnalibus, and such other names of feasts. Poëmatum, poëmatis or poëmatibus, of the second and third plural. Plebs of the third and fifth, plebis or plebei.

The Declining of Adjectives.

A Noun adjective is declined with three terminations, or with three articles.

An adjective of three terminations is declined like the first and second declension of substantives joined together after this manner.

Singular.	*Plural.*
N. bonus bona bonum	*No. Vo.* boni bonæ bona
G. boni bonæ boni	*G.* bonorum bonarum bonorum
D. bono bonæ bono	*Dat. Abl.* bonis
A. bonum bonam bonum	*A.* bonos bonas bona
V. bone bona bonum	
A. bono bona bono.	

In like manner those in er and ur, as sacer sacra sacrum, satur satura saturum; but unus, totus, solus, alius, alter, ullus, uter, with their compounds neuter, uterque, and the like, make their genitive singular in ius, the dative in i, as unus una unum, gen. unius, dat. uni, in all the rest like bonus, save that alius maketh in the neuter gender aliud, and in the dative alii, and sometimes in the genitive.

Ambo and duo be thus declined in the plural only.

Nom. Voc. ambo ambæ ambo
Gen. amborum ambarum amborum
Dat. Abl. ambobus ambabus ambobus
Acc. ambos or ambo, ambas ambo.

Adjectives of three articles have in the nominative either one ending, as hic, hæc, & hoc felix; or two, as hic & hæc tristis & hoc triste; and are declined like the third declension of substantives, as followeth.

Singular.	*Plural.*
No. hic hæc & hoc felix	*Nom.* hi & hæ felices, & hæc felicia
Gen. felicis	*Gen.* felicium
Dat. felici	*Dat. Abl.* felicibus
Acc. hunc & hanc felicem, & hoc felix	*Acc.* hos & has felices, & hæc felicia
Voc. ô felix.	*Voc.* ô felices, & ô felicia.
Abl. felice or felici.	

Singular.	*Plural.*
No. hic & hæc tristis & hoc triste	*Nom.* hi & hæ tristes & hæc tristia
Gen. tristis	*Gen.* tristium
Dat. Abl. tristi	*Dat Abl.* tristibus
Acc. hunc & hanc tristem, & hoc triste	*Acc.* hos & has tristes, & hæc tristia
Voc. ô tristis, & ô triste.	*Voc.* ô tristes, & ô tristia.

There be also another sort which have in the nominative case three terminations and three articles, as hic acer, hic & hæc acris, hoc acre. In like manner be declined equester, volucer, and some few others, being in all other cases like the examples beforegoing.

Comparisons of Nouns.

Adjectives, whose signification may increase or be diminished, may form comparison, whereof there be two degrees above the positive word itself, The comparative, and superlative.

The positive signifieth the thing itself without comparing, as durus hard.

The comparative exceedeth his positive in signification, compared with some other, as durior harder; and is formed of the first case of his positive that endeth in i, by putting thereto or and us, as of duri, hic & hæc durior, & hoc durius: of dulci, dulcior, dulcius.

The superlative exceedeth his positive in the highest degree, as durissimus hardest; and it is formed of the first case of his positive that endeth in is, by putting thereto simus, as of duris durissimus, dulcis dulcissimus.

If the positive end in er, the superlative is formed of the nominative case by putting to it rimus, as pulcher pulcherrimus. Like to these are vetus veterrimus, maturus maturimus; but dexter dexterrimus, and sinister, sinisterior, sinisterrimus.

All these nouns ending in lis make the superlative

by changing is into limus, as humilis, similis, facilis, gracilis, agilis, docilis docillimus.

All other nouns ending in lis do follow the general rule, as utilis utilissimus.

Of these positives following are formed a different sort of superlatives; of superus, supremus and summus; inferus, infimus and imus; exterus, extimus and extremus; posterus postremus.

Some of these want the positive, and are formed from adverbs; of intra, interior intimus, ultra ulterior ultimus, citra citerior citimus, pridem prior primus, prope propior proximus.

Others from positives without case, as nequam, nequior, nequissimus.

Some also from no positive, as ocior ocissimus. Some want the comparative, as novus novissimus, inclytus inclytissimus.

Some the superlative, as senex senior, juvenis junior, adolescens adolescentior.

Some ending in us, frame their comparative as if they ended in ens, benevolus, maledicus, magnificus magnificentior magnificentissimus.

These following are without rule, bonus melior optimus, malus pejor pessimus, magnus major maximus, parvus minor minimus; multus plurimus, multa plurima, multum plus plurimum.

If a volume come before us, it is compared with magis and maximè, as pius, magis pius, maximè pius; idoneus, magis and maximè idoneus. Yet some of these follow the general rule, as assiduus assiduissimus, strenuus strenuior, exiguus exiguissimus, tenuis tenuior tenuissimus.

Of a Pronoun.

A Pronoun is a part of speech that standeth for a noun substantive, either present or before spoken of, as ille he or that, hic this, qui who.

There be ten pronouns, ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic, is, qui, and quis, besides their compounds, egomet, tute, hicce, idem, quisnam, aliquis, and such others. The rest so called, as meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras, vestras, cujus, and cujas, are not pronouns, but adjectives thence derived.

Of pronouns such as shew the thing present are called demonstratives, as ego, tu, hic; and such as refer to a thing antecedent, or spoken of before, are called relatives, as qui who or which.

Quis, and often qui, because they ask a question, are called interrogatives, with their compounds, ecquis, numquis.

Declensions of Pronouns are three.

Ego, tu, sui, be of the first declension, and be thus declined.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. ego	*Nom. Acc.* nos
Gen. mei	*Gen.* nostrum or nostri
Dat. mihi	*Dat. Abl.* nobis
Acc. Abl. me	*Voc.* caret.
Voc. caret.	

Singular	*Plural.*
Nom. Voc. tu	*Nom. Acc. Voc.* vos
Gen. tui	*Gen.* vestrum *or* vestri
Dat. tibi	*Dat. Abl.* vobis.
Acc. Abl. te.	

Sing.	*Nom. Voc.* caret	*Dat.* sibi
Plur.	*Gen.* sui	*Acc. Abl.* se.

From these three be derived meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras, vestras, (which are called possessives,) whereof the former five be declined like adjectives of three terminations, except that meus in the vocative case maketh mi, mea, meum; nostras, vestras, with three articles, as hic & hæc nostras, & hoc nostras or nostrate, vestrate. In other cases according to rule.

These three, ille, iste, ipse, be of the second declension, making their genitive singular in ius, their dative in i; and the former two be declined like the adjective alius, and the third like unus, before spoken of.

Sing.	*Nom.* ille illa illud, *Gen.* illius, *Dat.* illi.
	Nom. iste ista istud, *Gen.* istius, *Dat.* isti.
	Nom. ipse ipsa ipsum, *Gen.* ipsius, *Dat.* ipsi.

These four, hic, is, qui, and quis, be of the third declension, making their genitive singular in jus, with j consonant, and be declined after this manner.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. hic hæc hoc	*Nom.* hi hæ hæc
Gen. hujus	*Gen.* horum harum horum
Dat. huic	*Dat. Abl.* his
Acc. hunc hanc hoc	*Acc.* hos has hæc
Voc. caret	*Voc.* caret.
Abl. hoc hac hoc.	

Of iste and hic is compounded istic, istæc, istoc or istuc. *Acc.* istunc, istanc, istoc or istuc. *Abl.* istoc, istac, istoc. *Plur.* istæc only.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. is ea id	*Nom.* ii eæ ea
Gen. ejus	*Gen.* eorum earum eorum
Dat. ei	*Dat. Abl.* iis or eis
Acc. eum eam id	*Acc.* eos eas ea
Voc. caret	*Voc.* caret.
Abl. eo ea eo.	

Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom. qui quæ quod	*Nom.* qui, quæ quæ
Gen. cujus	*Gen.* quorum quarum quorum.
Dat. cui	*Dat. Abl.* quibus or queis
Acc. quem quam quod	*Acc.* quos quas quæ
Voc. caret	*Voc.* caret.
Ab. quo qua quo or qui.	

In like manner, quivis, quilibet, and quicunque the compounds.

Sing. Nom. quis, qua or quæ, quid, *Gen. &c.* like qui. So quisquam, quisnam, compounds.

Of quis are made these pronoun adjectives, cujus cuja cujum, whose; and hic & hæc cujas and hoc cujate, of what nation.

Quisquis is defective, and thus declined,

Nom.	Quisquis / Quicquid	*Acc.*	Quicquid	*Ab.*	Quoquo / Quaqua / Quoquo.

Of a Verb.

A Verb is a part of speech, that betokeneth being,

as sum I am; or doing, as laudo I praise; and is declined with mood, tense, number, and person.

Moods.

THERE be four moods, which express the manner of doing; the indicative, the imperative, the potential or subjunctive, and the infinitive.

The indicative mood sheweth or declareth, as laudo I praise.

The imperative biddeth or exhorteth, as lauda praise thou.

The potential or subjunctive is englished with these signs, may, can, might, would, could, should: or without them as the indicative, if a conjunction go before or follow; as laudem I may or can praise. Cum laudarem when I praised. Cavissem, si prævidissem, I had bewared if I had foreseen.

The infinitive is englished with this sign, to, as laudare to praise.

Tenses.

THERE be three tenses which express the time of doing: the present, the preterit or past, and the future.

The present tense speaketh of the time that now is, as laudo I praise.

The preterit speaketh of the time past, and is distinguished by three degrees: the preterimperfect, the preterperfect, and the preterpluperfect.

The preterimperfect speaketh of the time not perfectly past, as laudabam I praised or did praise.

The preterperfect speaketh of the time perfectly past, as laudavi I have praised.

The preterpluperfect speaketh of the time more than perfectly past, as laudaveram I had praised.

The future tense speaketh of the time to come, as laudabo I shall or will praise.

Persons.

THROUGH all moods, except the infinitive, there be three persons in both numbers, as, *sing.* laudo I praise, laudas thou praisest, laudat he praiseth; *plur.* laudamus we praise, laudatis ye praise, laudant they praise. Except some verbs which are declined or formed in the third person only, and have before them this sign, it, as tædet it irketh, oportet it behoveth, and are called impersonals.

The verb which betokeneth being is properly the verb sum only, which is therefore called a verb substantive, and formed after this manner.

Indicative.

Pres. *sing.*	I am. Sum, es, est, *Plur.* sumus, estis, sunt.
Pret. imp.	I was. Eram, eras, erat, *Pl.* eramus, eratis. erant
Pret. perfect.	I have been. Fui, fuisti, fuit, *Plur.* fuimus, fuistis, fuerunt or fuere.
Pret. plup.	I had been. Fueram, fueras, fuerat, *Plur.* fueramus, fueratis, fuerant.
Future.	I shall or will be. Ero, eris, erit. *Plur.* erimus, eritis, erunt.

Imperative.

	Be thou.					
Sing.	Sis, es, esto.	Sit, esto.	*Plur.*	Simus,	Sitis, este, estote,	Sint, sunto.

Potential.

Pres. *sing.*	I may or can be. Sim, sis, sit, *Pl.* simus, sitis, sint.
Preter-imperf.	I might or could be. Essem or forem, es, et, *Pl.* essemus, essetis, essent or forent.
Preter-perfect.	I might or could have been. Fuerim, ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint.
Preterplup. with a conjunction, Si	If I had been. Fuissem, es, et. *Pl.* emus, etis, ent.
Future, Si.	If I shall be, or shall have been. Fuero, ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint.

Infinitive.

Pres. and preter-imperf.	Esse, to be	Preter-perfect, & pret. pluper.	Fuisse, to have or had been.
Future.	Fore, to be hereafter.		

In like manner are formed the compounds; absum, adsum, desum, obsum, præsum, prosum, possum; but possum something varies after this manner.

Indicat. Pres. *Sing.* Possum, potes, potest, *Plur.* possumus, potestis, possunt. The other are regular, poteram, potui, potueram, potero.

Imperative it wants.

Potent. Pres. Possum, &c. Preterimperfect, Possem.

Infin. Pres. Posse. Preterit, Potuisse.

Voices.

IN Verbs that betoken Doing are two voices, the Active and the Passive.

The Active signifieth to do, and always endeth in o, as doceo I teach.

The Passive signifieth what is done to one by another, and always endeth in or, as doceor I am taught.

From these are to be excepted two sorts of verbs. The first are called Neuters, and cannot take or in the passive, as curro I run, sedeo I sit; yet signify sometimes passively, as vapulo I am beaten.

The second are called Deponents, and signify actively, as loquor I speak; or neuters, as glorior I boast: but are formed like passives.

Conjugations.

VERBS both active and passive have four conjugations, or forms of declining, known and distinguished by their infinitive mood active, which always endeth in re.

In the first conjugation, after a long, as laudare to praise.

In the second, after e long, as habere to have.

In the third, after e short, as legere to read.

In the fourth, after i long, as audire to hear.

In these four conjugations, verbs are declined or formed by mood, tense, number, and person, after these examples.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

Singular.			*Plural.*		
I praise.	Thou praisest.	He praiseth.	We praise.	Ye praise.	They praise.
Laudo,	laudas,	laudat,	laudamus,	laudatis,	laudant.
Habeo,	habes,	habet,	habemus,	habetis,	habent.
Lego,	legis,	legit,	legimus,	legitis,	legunt.
Audio,	audis,	audit,	audimus,	auditis,	audiunt.

Preter-imperfect tense *sing.* Laudabam, Habebam, Legebam, Audiebam, — I praised, or did praise. — bas, bat, *Pl.* bamus, batis, bant.

Preter-perfect tense *sing.* Laudavi, Habui, Legi, Audivi — I have praised. — isti, it, *Pl.* imus, istis, erunt or ere.

Preter-pluperfect tense *sing.* Laudaveram, Habueram, Legeram, Audiveram. — I had praised. — ras, rat, *Pl.* ramus, ratis, rant.

Future tense *sing.* Laudabo, Habebo — bis, bit, *Pl.* bimus, bitis, bunt. Legam, Audiam — es, et, *Plur.* emis, etis, ent.

Imperative Mood.

	Praise thou.	Let him praise.	Let us praise.	Praise ye.	Let them praise.
Pres. sing.	Lauda, laudato.	Laudet, laudato.	*Pl.* Laudemus.	Laudate, laudatote.	Laudent, laudanto.
	Habe, habeto.	Habeat, habeto.	*Pl.* Habeamus.	Habete, habetote.	Habeant, habento.
	Lege, legito.	Legat, legito.	*Pl.* Legamus.	Legite, legitote.	Legant, legunto.
	Audi, audito.	Audiat, audito.	*Pl.* Audiamus.	Audite, auditote.	Audiant, audiunto.

Potential Mood.

Present tense *sing.* Laudem, laudes, laudet, *Pl.* laudemus, laudetis, laudent. Habeam, Legam, Audiam. — as, at, *Pl.* amus, atis, ant.

Preterim-perfect tense *sing.* Laudarem, Haberem, Legerem, Audirem. — I might or could praise. — res, ret, *Pl.* remus, retis, rent.

I might or could have praised.

Preter-perfect tense *sing.* Laudaverim, Habuerim, Legerim, Audiverim. — ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint.

If I had praised.

Preterplu. sing. with a conjunction, Si Laudavissem, Habuissem, Legissem, Audivissem, — ses, set, *Plur.* semus, setis, sent.

If I shall praise, or shall have praised.

Future tense *sing.* Si Laudavero, Habuero, Legero, Audivero, — ris, rit, *Plur.* rimus, ritis, rint

Infinitive Mood.

Present and Preterimperfect tense. Laudare, Habere, Legere, Audire, — To Praise. Have. Read. Hear.

Preterperfect & Preterpluperfect tense, Laudavisse, Habuisse, Legisse, Audivisse, — To have or had Praised. Had. Read. Heard.

Verbs of the third conjugation irregular in some Tenses of the Active Voice.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Volo, vis, vult,	Volumus, vultis, volunt.
Nolo, ———	Nolumus——— nolunt.
The rest is wanting in this Tense.	
Malo, mavis, mavult,	Malumus, mavultis, malunt.

Preterit. Volui. Nolui. Malui.

Volo and Malo want the Imperative Mood.

Imperative.

Sing. Noli, Nolito. | *Plur.* Nolite, Nolitote.

Potential.

Present tense *sing.* Velim, Nolim, Malim, — is, it, *Plur.* imus, itis, int.

Preterimperfect tense *sing.* Vellem, Nollem, Mallem, — es, et, *Plur.* emus, etis, ent.

Infinitive.

Present. Velle, Nolle, Malle.

Indicat, Pres. Edo, edis or es, edit or est, *Plur.* editis or estis.

Imper. Ede or es. Edito or esto. Edat, edito or esto. *Plur.* Edite or este. Editote or estote.

Poten. Preterimperfect Tense, Ederem or essem.

Infinit. Edere or esse.

Verbs of the fourth Conjugation irregular, in some Tenses active.

Eo, and queo with his compound nequeo, make eunt and queunt in the plural indicative present, and in their preterimperfect ibam and quibam; their future, ibo and quibo.

Imperat. I, ito. Eat, ito. *Plur.* Eamus. Ite, itote. Eant, eunto.

Potent. Eam, Irem, &c.

The forming of the Passive Voice.

Indicative.

I am praised.

	Pres. Sing.	Plur.
	Laudor, aris or are, atur,	amur, amini, antur.
	Habeor, eris or ere, etur,	emur, emini, entur.
	Legor, eris or ere, itur,	imur, imini, untur.
	Audior, iris or ire, itur,	imur, imini, iuntur.

I was praised.

Preterimperfect tense *sing.* Laudabar, Habebar, Legebar, Audiebar — baris or bare, batur, *Plur.* bamur, bamini, bantur.

Note that the passive voice hath no preterperfect, nor the tenses derived from thence in any mood.

I shall or will be praised.

Future tense *sing.* Laudabor, Habebor, } beris or bere, bitur, *Plur.* bimur, bimini, buntur.
Legar, Audiar, } eris or ere, etur, *Pl.* emur, emini, entur.

Imperative.

Pres. sing.	Be thou praised.	Let him be praised.
	Laudare, laudatar.	Laudetur, laudator,
	Habere, habetor.	Habeatur, habetor,
	Legere, legitor.	Legatur, legitor.
	Audire, auditor.	Audiatur, auditor.

Pres. plur.	Let us be praised.	Be ye praised.	Let them be praised.
	Laudemur.	Laudamini, laudaminor.	Laudentur, laudantor.
	Habeamur.	Habemini, habeminor.	Habeantur, habentor.
	Legamur.	Legimini, legiminor.	Legantur, leguntor.
	Audiamur.	Audimini, audiminor.	Audiantur, audiuntor.

Potential.

I may or can be praised.

Present *sing.* Lauder, eris or ere, etur, *Plur.* emur, emini, entur.
Habear, Legar, Audiar, } aris or are, atur, *Plur.* amur, amini, antur.

I might or should be praised.

Preterimperfect *sing.* Laudarer, Haberer, Legerer, Audirer, } reris or rere, retur, *Plur.* remur, remini, rentur.

Infinitive.

Present and preterimperfect. Laudari, Haberi, Legi, Audiri } To be { Praised. Had. Read. Heard.

Verbs irregular in some Tenses passive.

Edor, editur or estur: the rest is regular.

The verb Fio, is partly of the third, and partly of the fourth conjugation, and hath only the infinitive of the passive form.

Indicat. Pres. *sing.* Fio, fis, fit, *plur.* fimus, fitis, fiunt. Preterimperfect, Fiebam. Preterperfect it wants. Future, Fiam, &c.

Imperat. Fi, fito. *plur.* Fite, fitote, Fiunt, fiunto.

Poten. Pres. Fiam, &c. Preterimperfect, Fierem.

Infinit. Fieri.

Also this verb Fero, is contracted or shortened in some tenses, both active and passive, as Fers, fert, for feris, ferit, &c.

Indicat. Pres. *sing.* Fero, fers, fert. *plur.*—fertis—Preterperfect, Tuli.

Imperat. Fer, ferto, &c. *pl.* Ferte, fertote.

Potent. Preterimperfect, Ferrem, &c.

Infinit. Ferre.

Passive.

Indic. Pres. *sing.* Feror, ferris or ferre, fertur, &c.

Imperat. *sing.* Ferre, fertor, &c.

Potent. Preterimperfect, Ferrer.

Infinit. Feri.

Of Gerunds and Supines.

There be also belonging to the infinitive mood of all verbs certain voices called gerunds and supines, both of the active and passive signification.

The first gerund in di, as laudandi of praising or of being praised. The second in do, as laudando in praising or in being praised. The third in dum, as laudandum to praise or to be praised.

Note that in the two latter conjugations the gerunds end sometimes in undi, do, dum, as dicendi or dicundi: but from eo always eundi, except in the compound ambiendi.

Supines are two. The first signifieth actively, as laudatum to praise; the latter passively, as laudatu to be praised. Note that most neuters of the second conjugation, and volo, nolo, malo, with many other verbs, have no supine.

Verbs of the four conjugations irregular in the preterperfect tense or supines.

Verbs of the first conjugation form their preterperfect tense in avi, supine in atum, as laudo laudavi laudatum.

Except

Poto potavi potatum or potum; neco necavi necatum or nectum.

Domo, tono, sono, crepo, veto, cubo, form ui, itum, as cubui cubitum; but secui sectum, fricui frictum, mico micui: yet some of these are found regular in the preterperfect tense or supine, especially compounded, as increpavit, discrepavit, dimicavit, sonatum, dimicatum, intonatum, infricatum, and the like.

Plico and his compounds form ui or avi, as explicui or explicavi, explicitum or explicatum; except supplico, and such as are compounded with a noun, as duplico, multiplico in avi only.

But lavo lavi lautum lotum or lavatum, juvo juvi, adjuvo adjuvi adjutum.

Do dedi datum. Sto steti statum, in the compounds, stitum, and sometimes stato, as præstum præstiti præstitum and præstatum.

Verbs of the second conjugation form their preterperfect tense in ui, their supine in itum, as habeo habui habitum.

Some are regular in their preterperfect tense, but not in their supines, as doceo docui doctum, misceo miscui mistum, teneo tenui tentum, torreo torrui tostum, censeo censui censum, pateo patui passum, careo carui cassum and caritum.

Others are irregular both in preterperfect tense and supines, as jubeo jussi jussum, sorbeo sorbui and sorpsi sorptum, mulceo mulsi mulsum, luceo luxi.

Deo in di, as sedeo sedi sessum, video vidi visum, pran-

deo prandi pransum. And some in si, as suadeo suasi suasum, rideo risi risum, ardeo arsi arsum. Four double their first letters, as pendeo pependi pensum, mordeo momordi morsum, spondeo spopondi sponsum, tondeo totondi tonsum; *but not in their compounds,* as dependi depensum.

Geo in si, and some in xi, as urgeo ursi, mulgeo mulsi and mulxi mulctum, augeo auxi auctum, indulgeo indulsi indultum, frigeo frixi, lugeo luxi.

Ieo, leo, and neo nevi, vieo vievi vietum: but cieo cievi citum, deleo delevi deletum, fleo flevi fletum, compleo complevi completum; as also the compounds of oleo, except redoleo and suboleo; but adolevi adultum, neo nevi netum, but maneo mansi, torqueo torsi tortum, hæreo hæsi.

Veo in vi, as ferveo fervi, but deferveo deferbui, conniveo connivi and connixi, movi motum, vovi votum, cavi cautum, favi fautum.

The third conjugation formeth the preterperfect tense by changing o of the present tense into i: the supine without certain rule, as lego legi lectum, bibo bibi bibitum, lambo lambi, scabo scabi, ico ici ictum, mando mandi mansum, pando pandi passum, edo edi esum or estum, in like manner comedo, the other compounds esum only; rudo rudi, sallo salli salsum, psallo psalli, emo emi emptum, viso visi visum, verto verti versum, solvo solvi solutum, volvo volvi volutum, exuo exui exutum, but ruo rui ruitum, in compound rutum, as derui derutum; ingruo, metuo metui.

Others are irregular both in preterperfect tense and supine.

In bo, scribo scripsi scriptum, nubo nupsi nuptum, cumbo cubui cubitum.

In co, vinco vici victum, dico dixi dictum; in like manner duco; par[illegible]peperci and parsi parsum and parcitum.

In do, these three lose n, findo fidi fissum, scindo scidi scissum, fundo fudi fusum. These following, vado, rado, lædo, ludo, divido, trudo, claudo, plaudo, rodo, si and sum, as rosi rosum, but cedo cessi cessum. The rest double their first letters in the preterperfect tense, but not compounded, as tundo tutudi tunsum, contundo contudi contusum, and so in other compounds. Pendo pependi pensum, dependo dependi, tendo tetendi tensum and tentum, contendo contendi, pedo pepedi peditum, cado cecidi casum, occido, recido recidi recasum. The other compounds have no supine. Cædo cecidi cæsum, occido occidi occisum. To these add all the compounds of do in this conjugation, addo, credo, edo, dedo, reddo, perdo, abdo, obdo, condo, indo, trado, prodo, vendo vendidi venditum, except the double compound, obscondo obscondi.

In go, ago egi actum, dego degi, satago sategi, frango fregi fractum, pango to join pegi pactum, pango to sing panxi, ango anxi, jungo junxi junctum; but these five, fingo mingo pingo stringo ringo lose n in their supines, as finxi fictum; mingo minxi, figo fixi fixum, rego rexi rectum; diligo, negligo, intelligo, lexi lectum, spargo sparsi sparsum. These double their first letter, tango tetigi tactum, but not in his compounds, as contingo contigi, *pango to bargain pepigi pactum.* pungo and repungo pupugi *and punxi punctum, the* other compounds punxi only.

Ho in xi, traho traxi tractum, veho vexi vectum.

In lo, vello velli and vulsi vulsum, colo colui cultum; excello, præcello, cellui celsum; alo alui alitum and altum. The rest not compounded, double their first letter, fallo fefelli falsum, refello refelli, pello pepuli pulsum, compello compuli, cello ceculi, percello perculi and perculsi perculsum.

In mo, vomo vomui vomitum, tremo tremui, premo pressi pressum, como, premo, demo, sumo, after the same manner as sumpsi sumptum.

In no, sino sivi situm, sterno stravi stratum, sperno sprevi spretum, lino levi lini and livi litum, cerno crevi cretum, temno tempsi, contemno contempsi contemptum, gigno genui genitum, pono posui positum, cano cecini cantum, concino concinui concentum.

In po, rumpo rupi ruptum, scalpo scalpsi scalptum; the rest in ui, strepo strepui strepitum.

In quo, linquo liqui, relinquo reliqui relictum, coquo coxi coctum.

In ro, verro verri and versi versum, sero to sow sevi satum, in compound, situm, as inserto insitum; sero of another signification most used in his compounds, assero, consero, desero, exero, serui sertum; uro ussi ustum, gero gessi gestum, quæro quæsivi quæsitum, tero trivi tritum, curro, excurro, præcurro, cucurri cursum, the other compounds double not, as concurro concurri.

In so, accerso, arcesso, incesso, lacesso, ivi itum, capesso both i and ivi, pinso pinsui pistum and pinsitum.

In sco, pasco pavi pastum; compesco, dispesco, ui; posco poposci, disco didici, quinisco quexi, nosco novi notum, but agnosco agnitum, cognosco cognitum.

In to, sisto stiti statum, flecto flexi flexum, pecto pexui and pexi pexum and pectitum, necto nexui and nexi nexum, plecto plexi plexum, sterto stertui, meto messui messum, mitto misi missum, peto petivi petitum.

In vo, vivo vixi victum.

In xo, texo texui textum, nexo nexui nexum.

In cio, facio feci factum, jacio jeci jactum, lacio lexi lectum, specio spexi spectum, with their compounds, but elicio elicui elicitum.

In dio, fodio fodi fossum.

In gio, fugio fugi fugitum.

In pio, capio cepi captum, rapio rapui raptum, cupio cupivi cupitum, sapio sapui and sapivi sapitum.

In rio, pario peperi partum.

In tio, quatio quassi quassum, concutio concussi concussum.

In uo, pluo plui and pluvi plutum, struo struxi structum, fluo fluxi fluxum.

The fourth conjugation formeth the preterperfect tense in ivi, the supine in itum.

Except, Venio veni ventum, comperio, reperio reperi repertum, cambio campsi campsum, sepio sepsi septum, sarcio sarsi sartum, fulceo fulci fultum, sentio sensi sensum, haurio hausi haustum, sancio sanxi sanctum and sancitum, vincio vinxi vinctum, salio salui saltum,

in compound sultum, as desilio desilui desultum, amicio amicui amictum, aperio, operio perui pertum, veneo venivi venum, singultivi singultum, sepelivi sepultum.

Of Verbs Compounded.

These verbs compounded change a into e throughout, damno, lacto, sacro, fallo, arceo, tracto, partio, farcio, carpo, patro, scando, spargo, as conspergo conspersi conspersum.

These following change their first vowel into i, and some of them their supines into e, habeo, lateo, salio, statuo, cado, lædo, cano, quæro, cædo, tango, egeo, teneo, taceo, sapio, rapio, placeo, displiceo displicui displicitum; except complaceo, perplaceo, posthabeo.

Scalpo, calco, salto, change a into u, as exculpo; claudo, quatio, lavo, lose a, as excludo, excutio, eluo.

These following change their first vowel into i, but not in the preterperfect tense, and sometimes a into e in the supine, emo, sedeo, rego, frango, capio, jacio, lacio, specio, premo, as comprimo compressi compressum, conjicio conjeci conjectum, pango in two only, compingo, impingo: ago, in all but perago, satago, circumago, dego, and cogo coegi: facio with a preposition only, not in other compounds, as inficio, olfacio: lego in these only, diligo, eligo, intelligo, negligo, seligo, in the rest not, as prælego, add to these supersedeo.

Of Verbs Defective.

Verbs called inceptives, ending in sco, borrow their preterperfect tense from the verb whereof they are derived, as tepesco tepui from tepeo, ingemisco ingemui from ingemo; as also these verbs cerno to see, vidi from video, sido sedi from sedeo, fero tuli from tulo out of use, in the supine latum, tollo sustuli sublatum from suffero.

These want the preterperfect tense.

Verbs ending in asco, as puerasco; in isco, as satisco; in urio, except parturio, esurio; these also, vergo, ambigo, ferio, furo, polleo, nideo, have no preterperfect tense.

Contrary, these four, odi, cœpi, novi, memini, are found in the preterperfect tense only, and the tenses derived, as odi, oderam, oderim, odisse, except memini, which hath memento mementote in the imperative.

Others are defective both in tense and person, as aio, ais, ait, Plur. aiunt. The preterimperfect aiebam is intire. Imperative, ai. Potential, aias, aiat, Plur. aiamus, aiant.

Ausim, for ausus sim, ausis, ausit, Plur. ausint.

Salveo, salvebis, salve salveto, salvete salvetote, salvere.

Ave aveto, avete avetote.

Faxo, faxis, faxit, faxint.

Quæso, Plur. quæsumus.

Infit, infiunt.

Inquio or inquam, inquis, inquit, Plur. inquiunt. Inquiebat. Cic. Topic. inquisti, inquit. Future, inquies, inquiet. Imperat. inque inquito. Potent. inquiat.

Dor the first person passive of do, and for before faris or farre in the indicative, are not read, nor der or fer in the potential.

Of a Participle.

A Participle is a part of speech, partaking with the verb from whence it is derived in voice, tense, and signification, and with a noun adjective in manner of declining.

Participles are either of the active or passive voice.

Of the active two. One of the present tense ending in ans, or ens, as laudans praising, habens, legens, audiens, and is declined like fœlix, as hic hæc & hoc habens, Gen. habentis, Dat. habenti, &c. Docens, docentis, &c. But from eo, euns, and in the compounds iens euntis, except ambiens ambientis. Note that some verbs otherwise defective have this participle, as aiens, inquiens.

The other of the future tense is most commonly formed of the first supine, by changing m into rus, as of laudatum laudaturus to praise or about to praise, habiturus, lecturus, auditurus; but some are not regularly formed, as of sectum secaturus, of jutum juvaturus, sonitum soniturus, partum pariturus, argutum arguiturus, and such like; of sum, futurus: this as also the other two participles following are declined like bonus.

This participle, with the verb sum, affordeth a second future in the active voice, as laudaturus sum, es, est, &c. as also the future of the infinitive, as laudaturum esse to praise hereafter, futurum esse, &c.

Participles of the passive voice are also two, one of the preterperfect tense, another of the future.

A participle of the preterperfect tense is formed of the latter supine, by putting thereto s, as of laudatu laudatus praised, of habitu habitus, lectu lectus, auditu auditus.

This participle, joined with t[illegible]b sum, supplieth the want of a preterperfect and preterpluperfect tense in the indicative mood passive, and both them and the future of the potential; as also the preterperfect and preterpluperfect of the infinitive, and with ire or fore the future; as laudatus sum or fui I have been praised, Plur. laudati sumus or fuimus we have been praised, laudatus eram or fueram, &c. Potential, laudatus sim or fuerim, laudatus essem or fuissem, laudatus ero or fuero. Infinit. laudatum esse or fuisse to have or had been praised; laudatum ire or fore to be praised hereafter.

Nor only passives, but some actives also or neuters, besides their own preterperfect tense borrow another from this participle; Cœno cœnavi and cœnatus sum, Juravi and juratus, Potavi and potus sum, Titubavi and titubatus, Careo carui cassus sum, Prandeo prandi and pransus, Pateo patui and passus sum, Placeo placui placitus, Suesco suevi suetus sum, Libet libuit and libitum est, Licet licuit licitum, Pudet puduit puditum, Piget piguit pigitum, Tædet tæduit pertæsum est, and this deponent Mereor merui and meritus sum.

These neuters following, like passives, have no other preterperfect tense, but by this participle, Gaudeo gavisus sum, Fido fisus, Audeo ausus, Fio factus, Soleo solitus sum.

These deponents also form this participle from supines irregular; Labor lapsus, patior passus, perpetior perpessus, fateor fassus, confiteor confessus, diffiteor diffessus, gradior gressus, ingredior ingressus, fatiscor fessus, metior mensus, utor usus, ordior to spin orditus, to begin orsus, nitor nisus and nixus, ulciscor ultus, irascor iratus, reor ratus, obliviscor oblitus, fruor fructus or fruitus, misereor misertus, tuor and tueor tuitus, loquor locutus, sequor secutus, experior expertus, pacicor pactus, nanciscor nactus, apiscor aptus, adipiscor adeptus, queror questus, proficiscor profectus, expergiscor experrectus, comminiscor commentus, nascor natus, morior mortuus, orior ortus sum.

A participle of the future passive is formed of the gerund in dum, by changing m into s, as of laudandum laudandus to be praised, of habendum habendus, &c. And likewise of this participle with the verb Sum, may be formed the same tenses in the passive, which were formed with the participle of the preterperfect tenses, as laudandus sum or fui, &c.

Infinit. Landandum esse or fore.

Of verbs deponent come participles both of the active and passive form, as loquor loquens locutus locoturus loquendus; whereof the participle of the preter tense signifieth sometimes both actively and passively, as dignatus, testatus, meditatus, and the like.

Of an Adverb.

An Adverb is a part of speech joined with some other to explain its signification, as valdè probus very honest, benè est it is well, valdè doctus very learned, benè mane early in the morning.

Of adverbs, some be of Time, as hodie to-day, cras to-morrow, &c.

Some be of Place, as ubi where, ibi there, &c. And of many other sorts needless to be here set down.

Certain adverbs also are compared, as doctè learnedly, doctiùs doctissimè, fortiter fortiùs fortissime, sæpe sæpius sæpissimè, and the like.

Of a Conjunction.

A Conjunction is a part of speech that joineth words and sentences together.

Of Conjunctions some be copulatives, as et and, quoque also, nec neither.

Some be disjunctive, as aut or.

Some be causal, as nam for, quia because, and many such like.

Adverbs when they govern mood and tense, and join sentences together, as cum, ubi, postquam, and the like, are rather to be called conjunctions.

Of a Preposition.

A Preposition is a part of speech most commonly either set before nouns in apposition, as ad patrem, or joined with any other words in composition, as indoctus.

These six, di, dis, re, se, am, con, are not read but in composition.

As adverbs having cases after them may be called prepositions, so prepositions having none, may be counted adverbs.

Of an Interjection.

An Interjection is a part of speech, expressing some passion of the mind.

Some be of sorrow, as heu, hei.

Some be of marvelling, as papæ.

Some of disdaining, as vah.

Some of praising, as euge.

Some of exclaiming, as ô, proh, and such like.

Figures of Speech.

Words are sometimes increased or diminished by a letter or syllable in the beginning, middle, or ending, which are called Figures of speech.

Increased.

In the beginning, as Gnatus for natus, tetuli for tuli. Prothesis.

In the middle, as Rettulit for retulit, cinctutus for cinctus. Epenthesis.

In the end, as Dicier for dici. Paragoge.

Diminished.

In the beginning, as Ruit for eruit. Apherisis.

In the middle, as Audiit for audivit, dixti for dixisti, lamna for lamina. Syncope.

In the end, as Consili for consilii; scin for scisne. Apocope.

THE

SECOND PART OF GRAMMAR,

COMMONLY CALLED

SYNTAXIS, OR CONSTRUCTION.

HITHERTO the eight parts of speech declined and undeclined have been spoken of single, and each one by itself: now followeth Syntaxis or Construction, which is the right joining of these parts together in a sentence.

Construction consisteth either in the agreement of words together in number, gender, case, and person, which is called concord; or the governing of one the other in such case or mood as is to follow.

Of the Concords.

THERE be Three concords or agreements.

The first is of the adjective with his substantive.

The second is of the verb with his nominative case.

The third is of the relative with his antecedent.

An adjective (under which is comprehended both pronoun and participle) with his substantive or substantives, a verb with his nominative case or cases, and a relative with his antecedent or antecedents, agree all in number, and the two latter in person also: as Amicus certus. Viri docti. Præceptor prælegit, vos vero negligitis. Xenophon et Plato fuere æquales. Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur. Pater et præceptor veniunt. Yea though the conjunction be disjunctive, as, Quos neque desidia neque luxuria vitiaverant. Celsus. Pater et præceptor, quos quæritis. But if a verb singular follow many nominatives, it must be applied to each of them apart, as, Nisi foro et curiæ officium ac verecundia sua constiterit. Val. Max.

An adjective with his substantive, and a relative with his antecedent agree in gender and case; but the relative not in case always, being ofttimes governed by other constructions: as, Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur. Liber quem dedisti mihi.

And if it be a participle serving the infinitive mood future, it ofttimes agrees with the substantive neither in gender nor in number, as, Hanc sibi rem præsidio sperat futurum. Cic. Audierat non datum iri filio uxorem. Terent. Omnia potius actum iri puto quam de provinciis. Cic.

But when a verb cometh between two nominative cases not of the same number, or a relative between two substantives not of the same gender, the verb in number, and the relative in gender may agree with either of them; as, Amantium iræ amoris reintegratio est. Quid enim nisi vota supersunt. Tuentur illum globum qui terra dicitur. Animal plenum rationis, quem vocamus hominem. Lutetia est quam nos Parisios dicimus.

And if the nominative cases be of several persons, or the substantives and antecedents of several genders, the verb shall agree with the second person before the third, and with the first before either; and so shall the adjective or relative in their gender; as, Ego et tu sumus in tuto. Tu et pater periclitamini. Pater et mater mortui sunt. Frater et soror quos vidisti.

But in things that have not life, an adjective or relative of the neuter gender may agree with substantives or antecedents masculine or feminine, or both together; as, Arcus et calami sunt bona. Arcus et calami quæ fregisti. Pulchritudinem, constantiam, ordinem in consiliis factisque conservanda putat. Cic. Off. 1. Ira et ægritudo permista sunt. Sal.

Note that the infinitive mood, or any part of a sentence, may be instead of a nominative case to the verb, or of a substantive to the adjective, or of an antecedent to the relative, and then the adjective or relative shall be of the neuter gender: and if there be more parts of a sentence than one, the verb shall be in the plural number; Diluculo surgere saluberrimum est. Virtutem sequi, vita est honestissima. Audito proconsulem in Ciliciam tendere. In tempore veni, quod omnium rerum est primum. Tu multum dormis et sæpe potas, quæ duo sunt corpori inimica.

Sometimes also an adverb is put for the nominative case to a verb, and for a substantive to an adjective; as, Partim signorum sunt combusta. Prope senties et vicies erogatum est. Cic. Verr. 4.

Sometimes also agreement, whether it be in gender or number, is grounded on the sense, not on the words; as, Illum senium, for illum senem. Iste scelus, for iste scelestus. Ter. Transtulit in Eunuchum suam, meaning comœdiam. Ter. Pars magna obligati, meaning homines. Liv. Impliciti laqueis nudus uterque, for ambo. Ov. Alter in alterius jactantes lumina vultus,

Ovid: that is, Alter et alter. Insperanti ipsa refers te nobis, for mihi. Catul. Disce omnes, Virg. Æn. 2, for tu quisquis es. Dua importuua prodigia, quos egestas tribuno plebis constrictos addixerat. Cic. pro Sest. Pars mersi tenuêre ratem. Rhemus cum fratre Quirino jura dabant, Virg: that is, Rhemus et frater Quirinus. Divellimur inde Iphitus et Pelias mecum. Virg.

Construction of Substantives.

Hitherto of concord or agreement; the other part followeth, which is Governing, whereby one part of speech is governed by another, that is to say, is put in such case or mood as the word that governeth or goeth before in construction requireth.

When two substantives come together betokening divers things, whereof the former may be an adjective in the neuter gender taken for a substantive, the latter (which also may be a pronoun) shall be in the genitive case; as, Facundia Ciceronis. Amator studiorum. Ferimur per opaca locorum. Corruptus vanis rerum, Hor. Desiderium tui. Pater ejus.

Sometimes, the former substantive, as this word officium or mos, is understood; as Oratoris est, it is the part of an orator. Extremæ est dementiæ, it is the manner of extreme madness. Ignavi est, it is the quality of a slothful man. Ubi ad Dianæ veneris; templum is understood. Justitiæne prius mirer belline laborum, Virg: understand causâ. Neque ille sepositi ciceris, neque longæ invidit avenæ. Hor. Supply partem.

But if both the substantives be spoken of one thing, which is called apposition, they shall be both of the same case; as, Pater meus vir amat me puerum.

Words that signify quality, following the substantive whereof they are spoken, may be put in the genitive or ablative case; as, Puer bonæ indolis, or bonâ indole. Some have a genitive only; as, Ingentis rex nominis. Liv. Decem annorum puer. Hujusmodi pax. Hujus generis animal. But genus is sometimes in the accusative: as, Si hoc genus rebus non proficitur. Varr. de Re rust. And the cause or manner of a thing in the ablative only: as, Sum tibi naturâ parens, præceptor consiliis.

Opus and Usus, when they signify need, require an ablative; as, Opus est mihi tuo judicio. Viginti minis usus est filio. But opus is sometimes taken for an adjective undeclined, and signifieth needful: as, Dux nobis et auctor opus est. Alia quæ opus sunt para.

Construction of Adjectives, governing a Genitive.

Adjectives that signify desire, knowledge, ignorance, remembrance, forgetfulness, and such like; as also certain others derived from verbs, and ending in ax, require a genitive; as Cupidus auri. Peritus belli. Ignarus omnium. Memor præteriti. Reus furti. Tenax propositi. Tempus edax rerum.

Adjectives called nouns partitive, because they signify part of some whole quantity or number, govern the word that signifieth the thing parted or divided, in the genitive; as Aliquis nostrum. Primus omnium. Aurium mollior est sinistra. Oratorum eloquentissimus. And oft in the neuter gender; as Multum lucri. Id negotii. Hoc noctis. Sometimes, though seldom, a word signifying the whole, is read in the same case with the partitive, as Habet duos gladios quibus altero te occisurum minatur, altero villicum, Plaut. for Quorum altero. Magnum opus habeo in manibus; quod jampridem ad hunc ipsum (me autem dicebat) quædam institui. Cic. Acad. 1. Quod quædam for cujus quædam.

A Dative.

Adjectives that betoken profit or disprofit, likeness or unlikeness, fitness, pleasure, submitting or belonging to any thing, require a dative; as Labor est utilis corpori. Æqualis Hectori. Idoneus bello. Jucundus omnibus. Parenti supplex. Mihi proprium.

But such as betoken profit or disprofit have sometimes an accusative with a preposition; as Homo ad nullam partem utilis. Cic. Inter se æquales.

And some adjectives signifying likeness, unlikeness, or relation, may have a genitive. Par hujus. Ejus culpæ affines. Domini similis es. Commune animantium est conjunctionis appetitus. Alienum dignitatis ejus. Cic. Fin. 1. Fuit hoc quondam proprium populi Romani, longè a domo bellare. But propior and proximus admit sometimes an accusative; as proximus Pompeium sedebam. Cic.

An Accusative.

Nouns of measure are put after adjectives of like signification in the accusative, and sometimes in the ablative; as Turris alta centum pedes. Arbor lata tres digitos. Liber crassus tres pollices, or tribus pollicibus. Sometimes in the genitive: as Areas latas pedum denûm facito.

All words expressing part or parts of a thing, may be put in the accusative, or sometimes in the ablative; as Saucius frontem or fronte. Excepto quòd non simul esses cætera lætus. Hor. Nuda pedem. Ov. Os humerosque deo similis. Virg. Sometimes in the genitive; as Dubius mentis.

An Ablative.

Adjectives of the comparative degree englished with this sign then or by, as dignus, indignus, præditus, contentus, and these words of price, carus, vilis, require an ablative; as Frigidior glacie. Multo doctior. Uno pede altior. Dignus honore. Virtute præditus. Sorte suâ contentus. Asse charum.

But of comparatives, plus, amplius, and minus, may govern a genitive; also a nominative, or an accusative; as Plus quinquaginta hominum. Amplius duorum millium. Ne plus tertia pars eximatur mellis. Varro. Paulo plus quingentos passus. Ut ex suâ cujusque parte ne minus dimidium ad fratrem perveniret, Cic. Verr. 4. And dignus, indignus, have sometimes a genitive after them; as Militia est operis altera digna tui. Indignus avorum. Virg.

Adjectives betokening plenty or want, will have an ablative, and sometimes a genitive; as Vacuus irâ, or iræ. Nulla epistola inanis re aliquâ. Ditissimus agri.

Stultorum plena sunt omnia. Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus. Expers omnium. Vobis immunibus hujus esse mali dabitur.

Words also betokening the cause, or form, or manner of a thing, are put after adjectives in the ablative case; as Pallidus irâ. Trepidus morte futurâ. Nomine Grammaticus, re Barbarus.

Of Pronouns.

PRONOUNS differ not in construction from nouns, except that possessives, Meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, by a certain manner of speech, are sometimes joined to a substantive, which governs their primitive understood with a noun or participle in a genitive case; as Dico meâ unius operâ rempublicam esse liberatam, Cic. for Mei unius operâ. In like manner Nostra duorum, trium, paucorum, omnium virtute, for nostrum, duorum, &c. Meum solius peccatum, Cic. Ex tuo ipsius animo, for Tui ipsius. Ex suâ cujusque parte, Id. Verr. 2. Ne tua quidem recentia proximi prætoris vestigia persequi poterat. Cic. Verr. 4. Si meas præsentis preces non putas profuisse, Id. pro. Planc. Nostros vidisti flentis ocellos. Ovid.

Also a relative, as qui or is, sometimes answers to an antecedent noun or pronoun primitive understood in the possessive; as, Omnes laudare fortunas meas, qui filium haberem tali ingenio præditum. Terent.

Construction of Verbs.

VERBS for the most part govern either one case after them, or more than one in a different manner of construction.

Of the Verb substantive Sum, and such like, with a nominative and other oblique cases.

VERBS that signify being, as Sum, existo, fio; and certain passives, as Dicor, vocor, salutor, appellor, habeor, existimor, videor; also verbs of motion or rest, as incedo, discedo, sedeo, with such like, will have a nominative case after them, as they have before them, because both cases belong to the same person or thing, and the latter is rather in an apposition with the former, than governed by the verb; as Temperantia est virtus. Horatius salutatur poeta. Ast ego quæ divum incedo regina.

And if est be an impersonal, it may sometimes govern a genitive, as Usus poetæ, ut moris est, licentia. Phædrus l. 4. Negavit moris esse Græcorum ut, &c. Cic. Verr. 2.

But if the following noun be of another person, or not directly spoken of the former, both after Sum and all his compounds, except possum, it shall be put in the dative; as Est mihi domi pater. Multa petentibus desunt multa.

And if a thing be spoken of, relating to the person, it may be also in the dative; as Sum tibi præsidio. Hæc res est mihi voluptati. Quorum alteri Capitoni cognomen fuit. Cic. Pastori nomen Faustulo fuisse ferunt. Liv.

Of Verbs transitive with an accusative, and the exceptions thereto belonging.

VERBS active or deponent, called transitive, because their action passeth forth on some person or thing, will have an accusative after them of the person or thing to whom the action is done; as Amo te. Vitium fuge. Deum venerare. Usus promptos facit. Juvat me. Oportet te.

Also verbs called neuters, may have an accusative of their own signification; as Duram servit servitutem. Longam ire viam. Endymionis somnum dormis. Pastillos Rusillus olet. Nec vox hominem sonat. Cum glaucum saltasset. Patere. Agit lætum convivam. Horat. Hoc me latet.

But these verbs, though transitive, Misereor and miseresco, pass into a genitive; as Miserere mei. Sometimes into a dative: Huic misereor. Sen. Dilige bonos, miseresce malis. Boetius.

Reminiscor, obliviscor, recordor, and memini, sometimes also require a genitive; as Datæ fidei reminiscitur. Memini tui. Obliviscor carminis. Sometimes retain the accusative; as Recordor pueritiam. Omnia quæ curant senes meminerunt. Plaut.

These impersonals also, interest and refert, signifying to concern, require a genitive, except in these ablatives feminine, Mea, tua, sua, nostra, vestra, cuja. And the measure of concernment is often added in these genitives, magni, parvi, tanti, quanti, with their compounds; as Interest omnium rectè agere. Tuâ refert teipsum nosse. Vestrâ parvi interest.

But verbs of profiting or disprofiting, believing, pleasing, obeying, opposing, or being angry with, pass into a dative: as Non potes mihi commodare nec incommodare. Placeo omnibus. Crede mihi. Nimium ne crede colori. Pareo parentibus. Tibi repugno. Adolescenti nihil est quod succenseat. But of the first and third sort, Juvo, adjuvo, lædo, offendo, retain an accusative.

Lastly these transitives, fungor, fruor, utor, potior, and verbs betokening want, pass direct into an ablative. Fungitur officio. Alienâ frui insaniâ. Utere sorte tuâ. But fungor, fruor, utor, had anciently an accusative. Verbs of want, and potior, may have also a genitive. Pecuniæ indiget. Quasi tu hujus indigeas patris. Potior urbe, or urbis.

Sometimes a phrase of the same signification with a single verb, may have the case of the verb after it; as Id operam do, that is to say, id ago. Idne estis authores mihi? for id suadetis. Quid me vobis tactio est? for tangitis. Plaut. Quid tibi hanc curatio est rem? Id.

The Accusative with a Genitive.

HITHERTO of transitives governing their accusative, or other case, in single and direct construction: now of such as may have after them more cases than one in construction direct and oblique, that is to say, with an accusative, a genitive, dative, other accusative, or ablative.

Verbs of esteeming, buying, or selling, besides their

accusative, will have a genitive betokening the value or price: Flocci, nihili, pili, hujus, and the like after verbs of esteeming: Tanti, quanti, pluris, minoris, and such like, put without a substantive, after verbs of buying or selling; as Non hujus te æstimo. Ego illum flocci pendo. Æqui boni hoc facio or consulo. Quanti mercatus es hunc equum? Pluris quam vellem.

But the word of value is sometimes in the ablative; as Parvi or parvo æstimas probitatem. And the word of price most usually; as Teruncio cum non emerim. And particularly in these adjectives, Vili, paulo, minimo, magno, nimio, plurimo, duplo, put without a substantive; as Vili vendo triticum. Redimite captum quàm queas minimo. And sometimes minore for minoris. Nam a Cælio propinqui minore centessimis nummum movere non possunt. Cic. Att. 1. 1. But verbs neuter or passive have only the oblique cases after them; as Tanti eris aliis, quanti tibi fueris. Pudor parvi penditur. Which is also to be observed in the following rules.

And this neuter valeo governeth the word of value in the accusative; as Denarii dicti quod denos æris valebant. Varr.

Verbs of admonishing, accusing, condemning, acquitting, will have, besides their accusative, a genitive of the crime, or penalty, or thing; as Admonuit me errati. Accusas me furti? Vatem sceleris damnat. Furem dupli condemnavit. And sometimes an ablative with a preposition, or without; as Condemnabo eodem ego te crimine. Accusas furti, an stupri, an utroque? De repetundis accusavit, or damnavit. Cic.

Also these impersonals, pœnitet, tædet, miseret, miserescit, pudet, piget, to their accusative will have a genitive, either of the person, or of the thing; as Nostri nosmet pœnitet. Urbis me tædet. Pudet me negligentiæ.

An Accusative with a Dative.

Verbs of giving or restoring, promising or paying, commanding or shewing, trusting or threatening, add to their accusative a dative of the person; as Fortuna multis nimium dedit. Hæc tibi promitto. Æs alienum mihi numeravit. Frumentum imperat civitatibus. Quod et cui dicas, videto. Hoc tibi suadeo. Tibi or ad te scribo. Pecuniam omnem tibi credo. Utrique mortem minatus est.

To these add verbs active compounded with these prepositions, præ, ad, ab, con, de, ex, ante, sub, post, ob, in, and inter; as Præcipio hoc tibi. Admovit urbi exercitum. Collegæ suo imperium abrogavit. Sic parvis componere magna solebam.

Neuters have a dative only; as Meis majoribus virtute præluxi. But some compounded with præ and ante may have an accusative; as Præstat ingenio alius alium. Multos anteit sapientia. Others with a preposition; as Quæ ad ventris victum conducunt. In hæc studia incumbite. Cic.

Also all verbs active, betokening acquisition, likening, or relation, commonly englished with to or for, have to their accusative a dative of the person; as Magnam laudem sibi peperit. Huic habeo, non tibi. Se illis æquarunt. Expedi mihi hoc negotium: but mihi, tibi, sibi, sometimes are added for elegance, the sense not requiring; as Suo hunc sibi jugulat gladio. Terent. Neuters a dative only; as Non omnibus dormio. Libet mihi. Tibi licet.

Sometimes a verb transitive will have to his accusative a double dative, one of the person, another of the thing; as Do tibi vestem pignori. Verto hoc tibi vitio. Hoc tu tibi laudi duces.

A double Accusative.

Verbs of asking, teaching, arraying, and concealing, will have two accusatives, one of the person, another of the thing; as Rogo te pecuniam. Doceo te literas. Quod te jamdudum hortor. Induit se calceos. Hoc me celabas.

And being passives, they retain one accusative of the thing, as Sumtumque recingitur anguem. Ovid. Met. 4. Induitur rogam. Mart.

But verbs of arraying sometimes change the one accusative into an ablative or dative; as Induo te tunicâ, or tibi tunicam. Instravit equum penulâ, or equo penulam.

An Accusative with an Ablative.

Verbs transitive may have to their accusative an ablative of the instrument or cause, matter or manner of doing; and neuters the ablative only; as Ferit eum gladio. Taceo metu. Malis gaudet alienis. Summa eloquentia causam egit. Capitolium saxo quadrato substructum est. Tuo consilio nitor. Vescor pane. Affluis opibus. Amore abundas. Sometimes with a preposition of the manner; as Summâ cum humanitate me tractavit.

Verbs of endowing, imparting, depriving, discharging, filling, emptying, and the like, will have an ablative, and sometimes a genitive; as Dono te hoc annulo. Plurimâ salute te impertit. Aliquem familiarem suo sermone participavit. Paternum servum sui participavit consilii. Interdico tibi aquâ et igni. Libero te hoc metu. Implentur veteris Bacchi.

Also verbs of comparing or exceeding, will have an ablative of the excess; as Præfero hunc multis gradibus. Magno intervallo eum superat.

After all manner of verbs, the word signifying any part of a thing may be put in the genitive, accusative, or ablative; as Absurdè facis qui angas te animi. Pendet animi. Discrucior animi. Desipit mentis. Candet dentes. Rubet capillos. Ægrotat animo, magis quam corpore.

Nouns of Time and Place after Verbs.

Nouns betokening part of time be put after verbs in the ablative, and sometimes in the accusative; as Nocte vigilas, luce dormis. Nullam partem noctis requiescit. Cic. Abhinc triennium ex Andro commigravit. Ter. Respondit triduo illum, ad summum quatriduo periturum. Cic. Or if continuance of time, in the accusative, sometimes in the ablative; as Sexaginta annos natus. Hyemem totam stertis. Imperium de-

ponere maluerunt, quam id tenere punctum temporis contra religionem. Cic. Imperavit triennio, et decem mensibus. Suet. Sometimes with a preposition; as Ferè in diebus paucis, quibus hæc acta sunt. Ter. Rarely with a genitive; as, Temporis angusti mansit concordia discors. Lucan.

Also nouns betokening space between places are put in the accusative, and sometimes in the ablative; as, Pedem hinc ne discesseris. Abest ab urbe quingentis millibus passuum. Terrâ marique gentibus imperavit.

Nouns that signify place, and also proper names of greater places, as countries, be put after verbs of moving or remaining, with a preposition, signifying to, from, in, or by, in such case as the preposition requireth; as Proficiscor ab urbe. Vivit in Angliâ. Veni per Galliam in Italiam.

But if it be the proper name of a lesser place, as of a city, town, or lesser island, or any of these four, Humus, domus, militia, bellum, with these signs, on, in, or at, before them, being of the first or second declension, and singular number, they shall be put in the genitive; if of the third declension, or plural number, or this word rus, in the dative or ablative; as, Vixit Romæ, Londini. Ea habitabat Rhodi. Conon plurimum Cypri vixit. Cor. Nep. Procumbit humi bos. Domi bellique simul viximus. Militavit Carthagini, or Carthagine. Studuit Athenis. Ruri or rure educatus est.

If the verb of moving be to a place, it shall be put in the accusative; as Eo Romam, domum, rus. If from a place, in the ablative; as Discessit Londino. Abiit domo. Rure est reversus.

Sometimes with a preposition; as A Brundusio profectus est, Cic. Manil. Ut ab Athenis in Bœotiam irem. Sulpit. apud Cic. Fam. l. 4. Cum te profectum ab domo scirem. Liv. l. 8.

Construction of Passives.

A Verb passive will have after it an ablative of the doer, with the preposition a or ab before it, sometimes without, and more often a dative; as Virgilius legitur a me. Fortes creantur fortibus. Hor. Tibi fama petatur. And neutro-passives, as Vapulo, veneo, liceo, exulo, fio, may have the same construction; as Ab hoste venire.

Sometimes an accusative of the thing is found after a passive: as Coronari Olympia. Hor. Epist. 1. Cyclopa movetur. Hor. for saltat or egit. Purgor bilem. Id.

Construction of Gerunds and Supines.

Gerunds and supines will have such cases as the verb from whence they come; as Otium scribendi literas. Eo auditum poetas. Ad consulendum tibi.

A gerund in di is commonly governed both of substantives and adjectives in manner of a genitive; as Causa videndi. Amor habendi. Cupidus visendi. Certus eundi. And sometimes governeth a genitive plural; as Illorum videndi gratiâ. Ter.

Gerunds in do are used after verbs in manner of an ablative, according to former rules, with or without a preposition; as, Defessus sum ambulando. A discendo facile deterretur. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, gloriam adeptus est. In apparando consumunt diem.

A gerund in dum is used in manner of an accusative after prepositions governing that case; as, Ad capiendum hostes. Ante domandum ingentes tollent animos. Virg. Ob redimendum captivos. Inter cœnandum.

Gerunds in signification are ofttimes used as participles in dus; Tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causâ. Cic. Orationem Latinam legendis nostris efficies pleniorem. Cic. Ad accusandos homines præmio ducitur.

A gerund in dum joined with the impersonal est, and implying some necessity or duty to do a thing, may have both the active and passive construction of the verb from whence it is derived; as Utendum est ætate. Ov. Pacem Trojano a rege petendum. Virg. Iterandum eadem ista mihi. Cic. Serviendum est mihi amicis. Plura dixi, quam dicendum fuit. Cic. pro Sest.

Construction of Verb with Verb.

When two verbs come together, without a nominative case between them, the latter shall be in the infinitive mood; as Cupio discere. Or in the first supine after verbs of moving; as Eo cubitum, spectatum. Or in the latter with an adjective; as Turpe est dictu. Facile factu. Opus scitu.

But if a case come between, not governed of the former verb, it shall always be an accusative before the infinitive mood; as Te rediisse incolumem gaudeo. Malo me divitem esse, quam haberi.

And this infinitive esse, will have always after it an accusative, or the same case which the former verb governs; as Expedit bonos esse vobis. Quo mihi commisso, non licet esse piam. But this accusative agreeeth with another understood before the infinitive; as Expedit vobis vos esse bonos. Natura beatis omnibus esse dedit. Nobis non licet esse tam disertis. The same construction may be used after other infinitives neuter or passive like to esse in signification; as Maximo tibi postea et civi, et duci evadere contigit. Val. Max. l. 6.

Sometimes a noun adjective or substantive governs an infinitive: as Audax omnia perpeti. Dignus amari. Consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere. Cæs. Minari divisoribus ratio non erat. Cic. Verr. 1.

Sometimes the infinitive is put absolute for the preterimperfect or preterperfect tense: as, Ego illud sedulo negare factum. Ter. Galba autem multas similitudines afferre. Cic. Ille contra hæc omnia ruere, agere vitam. Ter.

Construction of Participles.

Participles govern such cases as the verb from whence they come, according to their active or passive signification; as, Fruiturus amicis. Nunquam audita mihi. Diligendus ab omnibus. Sate sanguine divûm. Telamone creatus. Corpore mortali cretus. Lucret. Nate dea. Edite regibus. Lævo suspensi loculos tabulasque lacerto. Hor. Census equestrem summam. Id.

Abeundum est mihi. Venus orta mari. Exosus bella. Virg. Exosus diis. Gell. Arma perosus. Ovid. But Pertæsus hath an accusative otherwise than the verb; as Pertæsus ignaviam. Semet ipse pertæsus. Suet. To these add participial adjectives ending in bilis of the passive signification, and requiring like case after them; as Nulli penetrabilis astro lucus erat.

Participles changed into adjectives have their construction by the rules of adjectives, as Appetens vini. Fugitans litum. Fidens animi.

An Ablative put absolute.

Two Nouns together, or a noun and pronoun with a participle expressed or understood, put absolutely, that is to say, neither governing nor governed of a verb, shall be put in the ablative; as Authore senatu bellum geritur. Me duce vinces. Cæsare veniente hostes fugerunt. Sublato clamore prælium committitur.

Construction of Adverbs.

En and ecce will have a nominative, or an accusative, and sometimes with a dative; En Priamus. Ecce tibi status noster. En habitum. Ecce autem alterum.

Adverbs of quantity, time, and place require a genitive; as Satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum satis. Also compounded with a verb; as Is rerum suarum satagit. Tunc temporis ubique gentium. Eo impudentiæ processit. Quoad ejus fieri poterit.

To these add Ergo signifying the cause; as Illius ergo. Virg. Virtutis ergo. Fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abiturus. Liv.

Others will have such cases as the nouns from whence they come; as Minime gentium. Optime omnium. Venit obviam illi. Canit similiter huic. Albanum, sive Falernum te magis oppositis delectat. Hor.

Adverbs are joined in a sentence to several moods of verbs.

Of time. Ubi, postquam, cum or quum, to an indicative or subjunctive; as Hæc ubi dicta dedit. Ubi nos laverimus. Postquam excessit ex ephebis. Cum faciam vitula. Virg. Cum canerem reges. Id.

Donec while, to an indicative. Donec eris fœlix. Donec until, to an indicative or subjunctive; Cogere donec oves jussit. Virg. Donec ea aqua decocta sit. Colum.

Dum while, to an indicative. Dum apparatur virgo. Dum until, to an indicative or subjunctive; as Dum redeo. Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit æstas. Dum for dummodo so as, or so that, to a subjunctive; Dum prosim tibi.

Quoad while, to an indicative. Quoad expectas contubernalem. Quoad until, to a subjunctive. Omnia integra servabo, quoad exercitus huc mittatur.

Simulac, simulatque to an indicative or subjunctive; as Simulac belli patiens erat, simulatque adoleverit ætas.

Ut as, to the same moods. Ut salutabis, ita resalutaberis. Ut sementem feceris, ita et metos. Hor. Ut so soon as, to an indicative only: as Ut ventum est in urbem.

Quasi, tanquam, perinde, ac si, to a subjunctive only; as Quasi non norimus nos inter nos. Tanquam feceris ipse aliquid.

Ne of forbidding, to an imperative or subjunctive; as Ne sævi. Ne metuas.

Certain adverbs of quantity, quality, or cause; as Quam, quoties, cur, quare, &c. Thence also qui, quis, quantus, qualis, and the like, coming into a sentence after the principal verb, govern the verb following in a subjunctive; as Videte quàm valdè malitiæ suæ confidat. Cic. Quid est cur tu in isto loco sedeas? Cic. pro Cluent. Subsideo mihi diligentiam comparavi, quæ quanta sit intelligi non potest, nisi, &c. Cic. pro Quint. Nam quid hoc iniquius dici potest. Quam me qui caput alterius fortunasque defendam, priore loco discere. Ibid. Nullum est officium tam sanctum atque solenne, quod non avaritia violare soleat. Ibid. Non me fallit, si consulamini quid sitis responsuri. Ibid. Dici vix potest quam multa sint quæ respondeatis ante fieri oportere. Ibid. Docui quo die hunc sibi promisisse dicat, eo die ne Romæ quidem eum fuisse. Ibid. Conturbatus discedit neque mirum cui hæc optio tam misera daretur. Ibid. Narrat quo in loco viderit Quintium. Ibid. Recte majores eum qui socium fefellisset in virorum bonorum numero non putarunt haberi oportere. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. Quæ concursatio percontantium quid prætor edixisset, ubi cœnaret, quid enunti asset. Cic. Agrar. 1.

Of Conjunctions.

Conjunctions copulative and disjunctive, and these four, Quam, nisi, præterquam, an, couple like cases; as Socrates docuit Xenophontem et Platonem. Aut dies est, aut nox. Nescio albus an ater sit. Est minor natu quàm tu. Nemini placet præterquam sibi.

Except when some particular construction requireth otherwise; as Studui Romæ et Athenis. Emi fundum centum nummis et pluris. Accusas furti, an stupri, an utroque?

They also couple for the most part like moods and tenses, as Recto stat corpore, despicitque terras. But not always like tenses; as Nisi me lactasses, et vanâ spe produceres. Et habetur, et referetur tibi a me gratia.

Of other conjunctions, some govern an indicative, some a subjunctive, according to their several significations.

Etsi, tametsi, etiamsi, quanquam, an indicative; quamvis and licet, most commonly a subjunctive; as Etsi nihil novi afferebatur. Quanquam animus meminisse horret. Quamvis Elysios miretur Græcia campos. Ipse licet venias.

Ni, nisi, si, siquidem, quod, quia, postquam, posteaquam, antequam, priusquam, an indicative or subjunctive; as Nisi vi mavis eripi. Ni faciat. Castigo te, non quòd odeo habeam, sed quòd amem. Antequam dicam. Si for quamvis, a subjunctive only. Redeam? Non si me obsecret.

Si also conditional may sometimes govern both verbs of the sentence in a subjunctive; as Respiraro si te videro. Cic. ad Attic.

Quando, quandoquidem, quoniam, an indicative; as

Dicite quandoquidem in molli consedimus herbâ. Quoniam convenimus ambo.

Cum, seeing that, a subjunctive; as Cum sis officiis Gradive virilibus aptus.

Ne, an, num, of doubting, a subjunctive; as Nihil refert, feceris ne, an persuaseris. Vise num redierit.

Interrogatives also of disdain or reproach understood, govern a subjunctive; as Tantum dem, quantum ille poposcerit? Cic. Verr. 4. Sylvam tu Scantiam vendas? Cic. Agrar. Hunc tu non ames? Cic. ad Attic. Furem aliquem aut rapacem accusaris? Vitanda semper erit omnis avaritiæ suspicio. Cic. Ver. 4. Sometimes an infinitive; as Mene incœpto desistere victam? Virg.

Ut that, lest not, or although, a subjunctive; as Te oro, ut redeat jam in viam. Metuo ut substet hospes. Ut omnia contingat quæ volo.

Of Prepositions.

Of Prepositions some will have an accusative after them, some an ablative, some both, according to their different signification.

An accusative these following, Ad, apud, ante, adversus, adversum, cis, citra, circum, circa, circiter, contra, erga, extra, inter, intra, infra, juxta, ob, ponè, per, propè, propter, post, penes, præter, secundum, supra, secùs, trans, ultra, usque, versus: but versus is most commonly set after the case it governs, as Londinum versus.

And for an accusative after ad, a dative sometimes is used in poets; as It clamor cœlo. Virg. Cœlo si gloria tollit Æneadum. Sil. for ad cœlum.

An ablative these, A, ab, abs, absque, cum, coram, de, e, ex, pro, præ, palàm, sine, tenus, which last is also put after his case, being most usually a genitive, if it be plural; as Capulo tenus. Aurium tenus.

These, both cases, In, sub, super, subter, clam, procul.

In, signifying to, towards, into, or against, requires an accusative; as Pisces emptos obolo in cœnam seni. Animus in Teucros benignus. Versa est in cineres Troja. In te committere tantum quid Troes potuere? Lastly, when it signifies future time, or for; as Bellum in trigesimum diem indixerunt. Designati consules in annum sequentem. Alii pretia faciunt in singula capita canum. Var. Otherwise in will have an ablative; as In urbe. In terris.

Sub, when it signifies to, or in time, about, or a little before, requires an accusative; as Sub umbram properemus. Sub id tempus. Sub noctem. Otherwise an ablative. Sub pedibus. Sub umbrâ.

Super signifying beyond, or present time, an accusative; as Super Garamantas et Indos. Super cœnam, Suet. at supper time. Of or concerning, an ablative; as Multa super Priamo rogitans. Super hac re.

Super, over or upon, may have either case; as Super ripas Tiberis effusus. Sæva sedens super arma. Fronde super viridi.

So also may subter; as Pugnatum est super subterque terras. Subter densâ testudine. Virg. Clam patrem or patre. Procul muros. Liv. Patriâ procul.

Prepositions in composition govern the same cases as before in apposition. Adibo hominem. Detrudunt naves scopulo. And the preposition is sometimes repeated; as Detrahere de tuâ famâ nunquam cogitavi. And sometimes understood, governeth his usual case; as Habeo te loco parentis. Apparuit humana specie. Cumis erant oriundi. Liv. Liberis parentibus oriundis. Colum. Mutat quadrata rotundis. Hor. Pridie compitalia. Pridie nonas or calendas. Postridie idus. Postridie ludos. Before which accusatives ante or post is to be understood. Filii id ætatis. Cic. Hoc noctis. Liv. Understand Secundum. Or refer to part of time. Omnia Mercurio similis. Virg. Understand per.

Of Interjections.

CERTAIN interjections have several cases after them. O, a nominative, accusative, or vocative; as O festus dies hominis. O ego lævus. Hor. O fortunatos. O formose puer.

Others a nominative or an accusative; as Heu prisca fides! Heu stirpem invisam! Proh sancte Jupiter! Proh deum atque hominum fidem! Hem tibi Davum!

Yea, though the interjection be understood; as Me miserum! Me cœcum, qui hæc ante non viderim

Others will have a dative; as Hei mihi. Væ misero mihi. Terent.

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

THAT PART ESPECIALLY, NOW CALLED ENGLAND;

FROM THE FIRST TRADITIONAL BEGINNING, CONTINUED TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

COLLECTED OUT OF THE ANCIENTEST AND BEST AUTHORS THEREOF.

[PUBLISHED FROM A COPY CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR HIMSELF, 1670.]

THE FIRST BOOK.

The beginning of nations, those excepted of whom sacred books have spoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding ages, yea, periods of ages, either wholly unknown, or obscured and blemished with fables. Whether it were that the use of letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themselves, at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into sloth and ignorance; whereby the monuments of more ancient civility have been some destroyed, some lost. Perhaps disesteem and contempt of the public affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly ofttimes we see that wise men, and of best ability, have forborn to write the acts of their own days, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all history, the persons and their actions were; who, either by fortune or some rude election, had attained, as a sore judgment and ignominy upon the land, to have chief sway in managing the commonwealth. But that any law, or superstition of our philosophers, the Druids, forbad the Britains to write their memorable deeds, I know not why any out of Cæsar[a] should allege: he indeed saith, that their doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to letters; but in most matters else, both private and public, among which well may history be reckoned, they used the Greek tongue; and that the British Druids, who taught those in Gaul, would be ignorant of any language known and used by their disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of recording be ever children in the knowledge of times and ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reason, this we find, that of British affairs, from the first peopling of the island to the coming of Julius Cæsar, nothing certain, either by tradition, history, or ancient fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious antiquaries been long rejected for a modern fable.

Nevertheless there being others, besides the first supposed author, men not unread, nor unlearned in antiquity, who admit that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction; and seeing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true, as what we read in poets of the flood, and giants little believed, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not feigned; I have therefore determined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce example, as Diodorus among the Greeks, Livy and others among the Latins, Polydore and Virunnius accounted among our own writers. But I intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of history; much less to argue and debate long who were the first inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath been upheld; but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the British nation, I now begin.

THAT the whole earth was inhabited before the flood, and to the utmost point of habitable ground from those effectual words of God in the creation, may be more than conjectured. Hence that this island also had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her stories, even in that old world those many hundred years, with much

a Cæs. l. 6.

reason we may infer. After the flood, and the dispersing of nations, as they journeyed leisurely from the east, Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, and his offspring, as by authorities, arguments, and affinity of divers names is generally believed, were the first that peopled all these west and northern climes. But they of our own writers, who thought they had done nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this island, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit authors a certain Samothes or Dis, a fourth or sixth son of Japhet, (who they make, about 200 years after the flood, to have planted with colonies, first the continent of Celtica or Gaul, and next this island; thence to have named it Samothea,) to have reigned here, and after him lineally four kings, Magus, Saron, Druis, and Bardus. But the forged Berosus, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into Britain, or send their people hither. So that this outlandish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room here so much as of a British fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, that these Samotheans under the reign of Bardus were subdued by Albion, a giant, son of Neptune; who called the island after his own name, and ruled it 44 years. Till at length passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hasting out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight, and Bergion also his brother.

Sure enough we are, that Britain hath been anciently termed Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans. And Mela, the geographer, makes mention of a stony shore in Languedoc, where by report such a battle was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the isle, or even landing here, depends altogether upon late surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond invention, that wafted hither the fifty daughters of a strange Dioclesian king of Syria; brought in, doubtless, by some illiterate pretender to something mistaken in the common poetical story of Danaus king of Argos, while his vanity, not pleased with the obscure beginning which truest antiquity affords the nation, laboured to contrive us a pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These daughters by appointment of Danaus on the marriage-night having murdered all their husbands, except Linceus, whom his wife's loyalty saved, were by him, at the suit of his wife their sister, not put to death, but turned out to sea in a ship unmanned; of which whole sex they had incurred the hate: and as the tale goes, were driven on this island. Where the inhabitants, none but devils, as some write, or as others, a lawless crew left here by Albion, without head or governor, both entertained them, and had issue by them a second breed of giants, who tyrannized the isle, till Brutus came.

The eldest of these dames in their legend they call Albina; and from thence, for which cause the whole scene was framed, will have the name Albion derived. Incredible it may seem so sluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authorized by the elder Ninnius, reputed to have lived above a thousand years ago. This I find not in him: but that Histion, sprung of Japhet, had four sons; Francus, Romanus, Alemannus, and Britto, of whom the Britains;* as true, I believe, as that those other nations, whose names are resembled, came of the other three; if these dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the book itself, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have given us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of Brutus and his line, with the whole progeny of kings, to the entrance of Julius Cæsar, we cannot so easily be discharged; descents of ancestry, long continued, laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrowed, or devised, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; defended by many, denied utterly by few. For what though Brutus and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded up; (seeing they who first devised to bring us from some noble ancestor, were content at first with Brutus the consul; till better invention, although not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous age, and by the same remove lighting on the Trojan tales in affectation to make the Britain of one original with the Roman, pitched there;) yet those old and inborn names of successive kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mentioned, that which hath received approbation from so many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient writers from books more ancient, I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of story. The principal author is well known to be Geoffrey of Monmouth; what he was, and whence his authority, who in his age, or before him, have delivered the same matter, and such like general discourses, will better stand in a treatise by themselves. All† of them agree in this, that Brutus was the son of Silvius; he of Ascanius; whose father was Eneas a Trojan prince, who at the burning of that city, with his son Ascanius, and a collected number that escaped, after long wandering on the sea, arrived in Italy. Where at length by the assistance of Latinus king of Latiam, who had given him his daughter Lavinia, he obtained to succeed in that kingdom, and left it to Ascanius, whose son Silvius (though Roman histories deny Silvius to be the son of Ascanius) had married secretly a niece of Lavinia.

She being with child, the matter became known to Ascanius. Who commanding his "magicians to inquire by art, what sex the maid had conceived," had answer, "that it was one who should be the death of both his parents; and banished for the fact, should after all, in a far country, attain the highest honour." The prediction failed not, for in travail the mother died. And

* Hollinshed.

† Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster.

Brutus (the child was so called) at fifteen years of age, attending his father to the chace, with an arrow unfortunately killed him.

Banished therefore by his kindred, he retires into Greece. Where meeting with the race of Helenus king Priam's son, held there in servile condition by Pandrasus then king, with them he abides. For Pyrrhus, in revenge of his father slain at Troy, had brought thither with him Helenus, and many others into servitude. There Brutus among his own stock so thrives in virtue and in arms, as renders him beloved to kings and great captains, above all the youth of that land. Whereby the Trojans not only began to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege their numbers, and the promised help of Assaracus a noble Greekish youth, by the mother's side a Trojan; whom for that cause his brother went about to dispossess of certain castles bequeathed him by his father. Brutus considering both the forces offered him, and the strength of those holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore having fortified those castles, he with Assaracus and the whole multitude betake them to the woods and hills, as the safest place from whence to expostulate; and in the name of all sends to Pandrasus this message, "That the Trojans holding it unworthy their ancestors to serve in a foreign kingdom had retreated to the woods; choosing rather a savage life than a slavish: if that displeased him, that then with his leave they might depart to some other soil."

As this may pass with good allowance that the Trojans might be many in these parts, (for Helenus was by Pyrrhus made king of the Chaonians, and the sons of Pyrrhus by Andromache Hector's wife, could not but be powerful through all Epirus,) so much the more it may be doubted, how these Trojans could be thus in bondage, where they had friends and countrymen so potent. But to examine these things with diligence, were but to confute the fables of Britain, with the fables of Greece or Italy: for of this age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other countries, as this island, is equally under question. Be how it will, Pandrasus not expecting so bold a message from the sons of captives, gathers an army; and marching towards the woods, Brutus who had notice of his approach nigh to the town called Sparatinum, (I know not what town, but certain of no Greek name,) over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with slaughter of the Greeks pursues him to the passage of a river, which mine author names Akalon, meaning perhaps Achelous or Acheron; where at the ford he overlays them afresh. This victory obtained, and a sufficient strength left in Sparatinum, Brutus with Antigonus, the king's brother, and his friend Anacletus, whom he had taken in the fight, returns to the residue of his friends in the thick woods; while Pandrasus with all speed recollecting, besieges the town. Brutus to relieve his men besieged, who earnestly called him, distrusting the sufficiency of his force, bethinks himself of this policy. Calls to him Anacletus, and threatening instant death else, both to him and his friend Antigonus, enjoins him, that he should go at the second hour of night to the Greekish leagre, and tell the guards he had brought Antigonus by stealth out of prison to a certain woody vale, unable through the weight of his fetters to move him further, entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. Anacletus to save both himself and his friend Antigonus, swears this, and at a fit hour sets on alone toward the camp; is met, examined, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his tale, as had been taught him; and they now fully assured, with a credulous rashness leaving their stations, fared accordingly by the ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus divided his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear execution, till he with his squadron possessed of the king's tent, gave signal to them by trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping and unguarded enemy, whom the besieged also now sallying forth, on the other side assail. Brutus the while had special care to seize and secure the king's person; whose life still within his custody, he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the town, there distributes the king's treasury, and leaving the place better fortified, returns with the king his prisoner to the woods. Straight the ancient and grave men he summons to council, what they should now demand of the king.

After long debate Mempricius, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in Greece, unless they meant to be deluded with a subtle peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose friends they had slain, advises them to demand first the king's eldest daughter Innogen in marriage to their leader Brutus with a rich dowry, next shipping, money, and fit provision for them all to depart the land.

This resolution pleasing best, the king now brought in, and placed in a high seat, is briefly told, that on these conditions granted, he might be free; not granted he must prepare to die.

Pressed with fear of death, the king readily yields; especially to bestow his daughter on whom he confessed so noble and so valiant: offers them also the third part of his kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be their hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The marriage therefore solemnized, and shipping from all parts got together, the Trojans in a fleet, no less written than three hundred four and twenty sail, betake them to the wide sea: where with a prosperous course, two days and a night bring them on a certain island long before dispeopled and left waste by sea-rovers, the name whereof was then Leogecia, now unknown. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruined city, where was a temple and image of Diana that gave oracles: but not meeting first or last, save wild beasts, they return with this notice to their ships; wishing their general would inquire of that oracle what voyage to pursue.

Consultation had, Brutus taking with him Gerion

his diviner, and twelve of the ancientest, with wanton ceremonies before the inward shrine of the goddess, in verse (as it seems the manner was) utters his request, "Diva potens nemorum," &c.

Goddess of shades, and huntress, who at will
Walk'st on the rolling sphere, and through the deep
On thy third reign the earth look now, and tell
What land, what seat of rest thou bidd'st me seek,
What certain seat, where I may worship thee
For aye, with temples vow'd, and virgin choirs.

To whom sleeping before the altar, Diana in a vision that night thus answered, "Brute sub occasum solis," &c.

Brutus, far to the west, in th' ocean wide,
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,
Seagirt it lies, where giants dwelt of old,
Now void it fits thy people; thither bend
Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat,
Where to thy sons another Troy shall rise;
And kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold.

These verses originally Greek, were put in Latin, saith Virunnius, by Gildas a British poet, and him to have lived under Claudius. Which granted true, adds much to the antiquity of this fable; and indeed the Latin verses are much better, than of the age for Geoffrey ap Arthur, unless perhaps Joseph of Exeter, the only smooth poet of those times, befriended him. In this, Diana overshot her oracle thus ending, "Ipsis totius terræ subditus orbis erit," That to the race of Brute, kings of this island, the whole earth shall be subject.

But Brutus, guided now, as he thought, by divine conduct, speeds him towards the west; and after some encounters on the Afric side, arrives at a place on the Tyrrhene sea; where he happens to find the race of those Trojans, who with Antenor came into Italy; and Corineus, a man much famed, was their chief: though by surer authors it be reported, that those Trojans with Antenor were seated on the other side of Italy, on the Adriatic, not the Tyrrhene shore. But these joining company, and past the Herculean Pillars, at the mouth of Ligeris in Aquitania cast anchor: where after some discovery made of the place, Corineus, hunting nigh the shore with his men, is by messengers of the king Goffarius Pictus met, and questioned about his errand there. Who not answering to their mind, Imbertus, one of them, lets fly an arrow at Corineus, which he avoiding, slays him: and the Pictavian himself hereupon levying his whole force, is overthrown by Brutus, and Corineus; who with the battle-axe which he was wont to manage against the Tyrrhene giants, is said to have done marvels. But Goffarius having drawn to his aid the whole country of Gaul, at that time governed by twelve kings, puts his fortune to a second trial; wherein the Trojans, overborn by multitude, are driven back, and besieged in their own camp, which by good foresight was strongly situate. Whence Brutus unexpectedly issuing out, and Corineus in the mean while, whose device it was, assaulting them behind from a wood, where he had conveyed his men the night before: the Trojans are again victors, but with the loss of Turon a valiant nephew of Brutus: whose ashes, left in that place, gave name to the city of Tours, built there by the Trojans. Brutus finding now his powers much lessened, and this yet not the place foretold him, leaves Aquitain, and with an easy course arriving at Totness in Devonshire, quickly perceives here to be the promised end of his labours.

The island, not yet Britain but Albion, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of giants, whose excessive force and tyranny had consumed the rest. Them Brutus destroys, and to his people divides the land, which with some reference to his own name he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwall, as now we call it, fell by lot; the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants in rocks and caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of monsters to deal with was his old exercise.

And here with leave bespoken to recite a grand fable, though dignified by our best poets: while Brutus, on a certain festival day solemnly kept on that shore, where he first landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these savages breaking in upon them, began on a sudden another sort of game, than at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Goemagog the hugest, in height twelve cubits, is reserved alive, that with him Corineus, who desired nothing more, might try his strength; whom in a wrestle the giant catching aloft, with a terrible hug broke three of his ribs: nevertheless Corineus enraged, heaving him up by main force, and on his shoulders bearing him to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all shattered, into the sea, and left his name on the cliff, called ever since Langoemagog, which is to say, the giant's leap.

After this, Brutus in a chosen place builds Troja Nova, changed in time to Trinovantum, now London: and began to enact laws; Heli being then high priest in Judæa: and having governed the whole isle twenty-four years, died, and was buried in his new Troy. His three sons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, divide the land by consent. Locrine had the middle part Lœgria; Camber possessed Cambria, or Wales; Albanact, Albania, now Scotland. But he in the end by Humber king of the Hunds, who with a fleet invaded that land, was slain in fight, and his people drove back into Lœgria. Locrine and his brother go out against Humber; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a river drowned, which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his camp and navy, were found certain young maids, and Estrildis above the rest, passing fair, the daughter of a king in Germany; from whence Humber, as he went wasting the sea coast, had led her captive: whom Locrine, though before contracted to the daughter of Corineus, resolves to marry. But being forced and threatened by Corineus, whose authority and power he feared, Guendolen the daughter he yields to marry, but in secret loves the other: and ofttimes retiring, as to some private sacrifice, through vaults and passages made under ground, and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a daughter equally fair, whose name was Sabra.

But when once his fear was off by the death of Corineus. not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing Guendolen, he makes Estrildes now his queen. Guendolen, all in rage, departs into Cornwall, where Madan, the son she had by Locrine, was hitherto brought up by Corineus his grandfather. And gathering an army of her father's friends and subjects, gives battle to her husband by the river Sture; wherein Locrine, shot with an arrow, ends his life. But not so ends the fury of Guendolen; for Estrildis, and her daughter Sabra, she throws into a river: and, to leave a monument of revenge, proclaims that the stream be thenceforth called after the damsel's name; which, by length of time, is changed now to Sabrina, or Severn.

Fifteen years she governs in behalf of her son; then resigning to him at age, retires to her father's dominion. This, saith my author, was in the days of Samuel. Madan hath the praise to have well and peacefully ruled the space of forty years, leaving behind him two sons, Mempricius, and Malim. Mempricius had first to do with the ambition of his brother, aspiring to share with him in the kingdom; whom therefore, at a meeting to compose matters, with a treachery, which his cause needed not, he slew.

Nor was he better in the sole possession, whereof so ill he could endure a partner, killing his nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly, given over to unnatural lust, in the twentieth of his reign, hunting in a forest, he was devoured by wolves.

His son Ebranc, a man of mighty strength and stature, reigned forty years. He first, after Brutus, wasted Gaul; and returning rich and prosperous, builded Caerebranc, now York; in Albania, Alclud, Mount Agned, or the Castle of Maidens, now Edinburgh. He had twenty sons and thirty daughters by twenty wives. His daughters he sent to Silvius Alba into Italy, who bestowed them on his peers of the Trojan line. His sons, under the leading of Assaracus their brother, won them lands and signiories in Germany; thence called from these brethren, Germania; a derivation too hastily supposed, perhaps before the word Germanus, or the Latin tongue was in use. Some who have described Henault, as Jacobus Bergomas, and Lassabeus, are cited to affirm, that Ebranc, in his war there, was by Brunchildis, lord of Henault, put to the worse.

Brutus, therefore, surnamed Greenshield, succeeding, to repair his father's losses, as the same Lessabeus reports, fought a second battle in Henault, with Brunchild, at the mouth of Scaldis, and encamped on the river Hania. Of which our Spencer also thus sings:

> Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,
> And let the marsh of Esthambruges tell
> What colour were their waters that same day,
> And all the moor 'twixt Elversham and Dell,
> With blood of Henalois, which therein fell;
> How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see
> The Greenshield dyed in dolorous vermeil, &c.

But Henault, and Brunchild, and Greenshield, seem newer names than for a story pretended thus ancient.

Him succeeded Leil, a maintainer of peace and equity; but slackened in his latter end, whence arose some civil discord. He built, in the North, Cairleil;[d] and in the days of Solomon.

Rudhuddibras, or Hudibras, appeasing the commotions which his father could not, founded Caerkeynt or Canterbury, Caerguent or Winchester, and Mount Paladur, now Septonia or Shaftesbury: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his son built Caerbadus or Bath, and those medicinal waters he dedicated to Minerva; in whose temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great invention, and taught necromancy; till having made him wings to fly, he fell down upon the temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and so died after twenty years reign.

Hitherto, from father to son, the direct line hath run on: but Leir, who next reigned, had only three daughters, and no male issue: governed laudibly, and built Caerleir, now Leicester, on the bank of Sora. But at last, falling through age, he determines to bestow his daughters, and so among them to divide his kingdom. Yet first, to try which of them loved him best, (a trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seemed to know how much the trying behooved him,) he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believe. Gonorill the eldest, apprehending too well her father's weakness, makes answer, invoking Heaven, "That she loved him above her soul." "Therefore," quoth the old man, overjoyed, "since thou so honourest my declining age, to thee and the husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my realm." So fair a speeding, for a few words soon uttered, was to Regan, the second, ample instruction what to say. She, on the same demand, spares no protesting; and the gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that "She loved him above all creatures;" and so receives an equal reward with her sister. But Cordeilla, the youngest, though hitherto best beloved, and now before her eyes the rich and present hire of a little easy soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and virtuous answer. "Father," saith she, "my love towards you is as my duty bids: what should a father seek, what can a child promise more? They, who pretend beyond this, flatter." When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking; with a loyal sadness at her father's infirmity, but something, on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her sisters than speaking her own mind, "Two ways only," saith she, "I have to answer what you require me: the former, your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you." "Then hear thou," quoth Leir, now all in passion, "what thy ingratitude hath gained thee; because thou hast not reverenced thy aged father equal to thy sisters, part in my kingdom, or what else is mine, reckon to have none." And,

d Called now Carlisle.

without delay, gives in marriage his other daughters, Gonorill to Maglaunus duke of Albania, Regan to Henninus duke of Cornwal; with them in present half his kingdom; the rest to follow at his death. In the mean while, fame was not sparing to divulge the wisdom and other graces of Cordeilla, insomuch that Aganippus, a great king in Gaul, (however he came by his Greek name, not found in any register of French kings,) seeks her to wife; and nothing altered at the loss of her dowry, receives her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this King Leir, more and more drooping with years, became an easy prey to his daughters and their husbands; who now, by daily encroachment, had seized the whole kingdom into their hands: and the old king is put to sojourn with his eldest daughter attended only by threescore knights. But they in a short while grudged at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual guests, are reduced to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old king betakes him to his second daughter: but there also, discord soon arising between the servants of differing masters in one family, five only are suffered to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his eldest could not but have more pity on his gray hairs: but she now refuses to admit him, unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest, Cordeilla, comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had been, though with little hope from whom he had so injured, be it but to pay her the last recompense she can have from him, his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his misery, the proof and experiment of her wisdom, might something soften her, he takes his journey into France. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or downright spoken affection of some children to their parents, and the talkative obsequiousness of others; while the hope of inheritance overacts them, and on the tongue's end enlarges their duty. Cordeilla, out of mere love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the message only of her father in distress, pours forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his messenger declared, discreetly appoints one of her trusted servants first to convey him privately towards some good sea-town, there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, furnish him with such attendance and state as beseemed his dignity; that then, as from his first landing, he might send word of his arrival to her husband Aganippus. Which done, with all mature and requisite contrivance, Cordeilla, with the king her husband, and all the barony of his realm, who then first had news of his passing the sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, Aganippus, as to his wife's father, and his royal guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the power and disposal of his whole dominion: permitting his wife Cordeilla to go with an army, and set her father upon his throne. Wherein her piety so prospered, as that she vanquished her impious sisters, with those dukes; and Leir again, as saith the story, three years obtained the crown. To whom, dying, Cordeilla, with all regal solemnities, gave burial in the town of Leicester: and then, as right heir succeeding, and her husband dead, ruled the land five years in peace. Until Marganus and Cunedagius, her two sisters' sons, not bearing that a kingdom should be governed by a woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a woman so worthy, make war against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercised to suffer, she there, as is related, killed herself. The victors between them part the land; but Marganus, the eldest sister's son, who held, by agreement, from the north side of Humber to Cathness, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own right, wars on Cunedagius, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a town of Wales, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.

Cunedagius was now sole king, and governed with much praise many years, about the time when Rome was built.

Him succeeded Rivallo his son, wise also and fortunate; save what they tell us of three days raining blood and swarms of stinging flies, whereof men died. In order then Gurgustius, Jago or Lago, his nephew; Sisilius, Kinmarcus. Then Gorbogudo, whom others name Gorbodego, and Gorbodion, who had two sons, Ferrex, and Porrex. They, in the old age of their father, falling to contend who should succeed, Porrex, attempting by treachery his brother's life, drives him into France; and in his return, though aided with the force of that country, defeats and slays him. But by his mother Videna, who less loved him, is himself, with the assistance of her women, soon after slain in his bed: with whom ended, as is thought, the line of Brutus. Whereupon the whole land, with civil broils, was rent into five kingdoms, long time waging war each on other; and some say fifty years. At length Dunwallo Molmutius, the son of Cloten king of Cornwal, one of the foresaid five, excelling in valour and goodliness of person, after his father's decease, found means to reduce again the whole island into a monarchy; subduing the rest at opportunities. First, Ymner king of Loegria, whom he slew; then Rudaucus of Cambria, Staterius of Albania, confederate together. In which fight Dunwallo is reported, while the victory hung doubtful, to have used this art. He takes with him 600 stout men, bids them put on the armour of their slain enemies; and so unexpectedly approaching the squadron, where those two kings had placed themselves in fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults and dispatches them. Then displaying his own ensigns, which before he had concealed, and sending notice to the other part of his army what was done, adds to them new courage, and gains a final victory. This Dunwallo was the first in Britain that wore a crown of gold; and therefore by some reputed the first king. He established the Molmutine laws, famous among the English to this day; written long after in Latin by Gildas, and in Saxon by King Alfred: so saith Geoffrey, but Gildas denies to have known aught of the Britains before Cæsar; much less knew

Alfred. These laws, whoever made them, bestowed on temples the privilege of sanctuary; to cities also, and the ways thither leading, yea to plows, granted a kind of like refuge; and made such riddance of thieves and robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty years he governed alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the memory of peace restored, had built in Trinovant.

His two sons, Belinus and Brennus, contending about the crown, by decision of friends, came at length to an accord: Brennus to have the north of Humber, Belinus the sovereignty of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whispered to him, whose valour had so oft repelled the invasions of Ceulphus the Morine duke, should now be subject to his brother, upon new design sails into Norway; enters league and affinity with Elsing that king: which Belinus perceiving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the north. Brennus, with a fleet of Norwegians, makes towards Britain; but encountered by Guithlac, the Danish king, who, laying claim to his bride, pursued him on the sea, his haste was retarded, and he bereft of his spouse; who, from the fight, by a sudden tempest, was with the Danish king driven on Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus, nevertheless, finding means to recollect his navy, lands in Albania, and gives battle to his brother in the wood Calaterium; but losing the day, escapes with one single ship into Gaul. Meanwhile the Dane, upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prize, Belinus returns his thoughts to the administering of justice, and the perfecting of his father's law. And to explain what highways might enjoy the foresaid privileges, he caused to be drawn out and paved four main roads to the utmost length and breadth of the island, and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the Romans. Brennus, on the other side, soliciting to his aid the kings of Gaul, happens at last on Seginus duke of the Allobroges; where his worth, and comeliness of person, won him the duke's daughter and heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and, by obtained leave, passing with a great host through the length of Gaul, gets footing once again in Britain. Now was Belinus unprepared: and now the battle ready to join, Conuvenna, the mother of them both, all in a fright, throws herself between; and calling earnestly to Brennus her son, whose absence had so long deprived her of his sight, after embracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against Belinus.

Then are hands joined, reconciliation made firm, and counsel held to turn their united preparations on foreign parts. Thence that by these two all Gallia was overrun, the story tells; and what they did in Italy, and at Rome, (if these be they, and not Gauls, who took that city,) the Roman authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the Monmouth Chronicle; which here, against the stream of history, carries up and down these brethren, now into Germany, then again to Rome, pursuing Gabius and Porsena, two unheard-of consuls. Thus much is more generally believed, that both this Brennus, and another famous captain, Britomarus, whom the epitomist Florus and others mention, were not Gauls, but Britains; the name of the first in that tongue signifying a king, and of the other a great Britain. However, Belinus, after a while, returning home, the rest of his days ruled in peace, wealth, and honour, above all his predecessors; building some cities, of which one was Caerose upon Osca, since Caerlegion; beautifying others, as Trinovant, with a gate, haven, and a tower, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top whereof his ashes are said to have been laid up in a golden urn.

After him Gurguntius Barbirus was king, mild and just; but yet, inheriting his father's courage, he subdued the Dacian, or Dane, who refused to pay the tribute covenanted to Belinus for his enlargement. In his return, finding about the Orkneys thirty ships of Spain, or Biscay, fraught with men and women for a plantation, whose captain also Bartholinus, wrongfully banished, as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his territory might be assigned them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own men to Ireland, which then lay unpeopled, and gave them that island, to hold of him as in homage. He was buried in Caerlegion, a city which he had walled about.

Guitheline his son is also remembered as a just and good prince; and his wife Martia to have excelled so much in wisdom, as to venture upon a new institution of laws. Which King Alfred translating, called Marchen Leage; but more truly thereby is meant the Mercian law, not translated by Alfred, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her son she had the rule; and then, as may be supposed, brought forth these laws, not herself, for laws are masculine births, but by the advice of her sagest counsellors; and therein she might do virtuously, since it befel her to supply the nonage of her son; else nothing more awry from the law of God and nature, than that a woman should give laws to men.

Her son Sisilius coming to years, received the rule; then, in order, Kimarus; then Danius, or Elanius, his brother. Then Morindus, his son by Tanguestela, a concubine, who is recorded a man of excessive strength, valiant, liberal, and fair of aspect, but immanely cruel; not sparing, in his anger, enemy or friend, if any weapon were in his hand. A certain king of the Morines, or Picards, invaded Northumberland; whose army this king, though not wanting sufficient numbers, chiefly by his own prowess overcame; but dishonoured his victory by the cruel usage of his prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence, put all to several deaths: well fitted to such a bestial cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge monster, that from the Irish sea infested the coast, and, in the pride of his strength, foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a brute vastness, when his weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catched up and devoured.

Gorbonian, the eldest of his five sons, than whom a juster man lived not in his age, was a great builder of

temples, and gave to all what was their due: to his gods, devout worship; to men of desert, honour and preferment; to the commons, encouragement in their labours and trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppressions; so that the land flourished above her neighbours; violence and wrong seldom was heard of. His death was a general loss: he was buried in Trinovant.

Archigallo, the second brother, followed not his example; but depressed the ancient nobility; and, by peeling the wealthier sort, stuffed his treasury, and took the right way to be deposed.

Elidure, the next brother, surnamed the Pious, was set up in his place: a mind so noble, and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have been ever found. For, having held the sceptre five years, hunting one day in the forest of Calater, he chanced to meet his deposed brother, wandering in a mean condition; who had been long in vain beyond the seas, importuning foreign aids to his restorement; and was now, in a poor habit, with only ten followers, privately returned to find subsistence among his secret friends. At the unexpected sight of him, Elidure himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open arms; and, after many dear and sincere welcomings, conveys him to the city Alclud; there hides him in his own bedchamber. Afterwards feigning himself sick, summons all his peers, as about greatest affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endured not the disturbance of more at once, causes them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear allegiance to Archigallo. Whom, after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to York; and, from his own head, places the crown on the head of his brother. Who thenceforth, vice itself dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold, with the admiration of a deed so heroic, became a true converted man; ruled worthily ten years, died, and was buried in Caerleir. Thus was a brother saved by a brother, to whom love of a crown, the thing that so often dazzles and vitiates mortal men, for which thousands of nearest blood have destroyed each other, was in respect of brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing.

Elidure now in his own behalf re-assumes the government, and did as was worthy such a man to do. When Providence, that so great a virtue might want no sort of trial to make it more illustrious, stirs up Vigenius and Peredure, his youngest brethren, against him who had deserved so nobly of that relation, as least of all by a brother to be injured. Yet him they defeat, him they imprison in the tower of Trinovant, and divide his kingdom; the North to Peredure, the South to Vigenius. After whose death Peredure obtaining all, so much the better used his power, by how much the worse he got it: so that Elidure now is hardly missed. But yet, in all right owing to his elder the due place whereof he had deprived him, fate would that he should die first: and Elidure, after many years imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the throne; which at last he enjoyed long in peace, finishing the interrupted course of his mild and just reign, as full of virtuous deeds as days to his end.

After these five sons of Morindus, succeeded also their sons in order. [e] Regin of Gorbonian, Marganus of Archigallo, both good kings. But Enniaunus, his brother, taking other courses, was after six years deposed. Then Idwallo, taught by a near example, governed soberly. Then Runno, then Geruntius, he of Peredure, this last the son of Elidure. From whose loins (for that likely is the durable and surviving race that springs of just progenitors) issued a long descent of kings, whose names only for many successions, without other memory, stand thus registered: Catellus, Coillus, Porrex, Cherin, and his three sons, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Andragius, his son Urianus; Eliud, Eledaucus, Clotenus, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bleduno, Capis, Oenus, Sisillius; twenty kings in a continued row, that either did nothing, or lived in ages that wrote nothing; at least, a foul pretermission in the author of this, whether story or fable; himself weary, as seems, of his own tedious tale.

But to make amends for this silence, Blegabredus next succeeding, is recorded to have excelled all before him in the art of musick; opportunely, had he but left us one song of his twenty predecessors' doings.

Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; his brother Archimailus, Eldol, Redion, Rederchius, Samulius, Penissel, Pir, Capoirus; but Cliguellius, with the addition of modest, wise, and just.

His son Heli reigned forty years, and had three sons, Lud, Cassibelan, and Nennius. This Heli seems to be the same whom Ninius, in his Fragment, calls Minocan; for him he writes to be the father of Cassibelan. Lud was he who enlarged and walled about Trinovant; there kept his court, made it the prime city, and called it from his own name Caerlud, or Lud's town, now London. Which, as is alleged out of Gildas, became matter of great dissension betwixt him and his brother Nennius; who took it heinously that the name of Troy, their ancient country, should be abolished for any new one. Lud was hardy, and bold in war; in peace, a jolly feaster. He conquered many islands of the sea, saith Huntingdon,[f] and was buried by the gate, which from thence we call Ludgate.[g] His two sons, Androgeus and Tenuantius, were left to the tuition of Cassibelan; whose bounty and high demeanour so wrought with the common people, as got him easily the kingdom transferred upon himself. He nevertheless, continuing to favour and support his nephews, confers freely upon Androgeus London with Kent; upon Tenuantius, Cornwal; reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other princes to himself, till the Romans for awhile circumscribed his power. Thus far, though leaning only on the credit of Geoffrey Monmouth, and his assertors, I yet, for the specified causes, have thought it not beneath my purpose to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the belief of other person, nor overhastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing or collating

e Matth. Westm.
f Huntingd. l. 1.
g Verstegan denies this; and says it was called so by the Saxons, from Lud, in our ancient language, people, and gate, *quasi porta populi*; of all the gates of the city, that having the greatest passage of people; especially before Newgate was built, which was about the reign of Henry II.

years and chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things, whereof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true colours and shapes. For albeit Cæsar, whose authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who taxed him of misrepresenting in his Commentaries, yea in his civil war against Pompey, much more, may we think, in the British affairs, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted; yet now, in such variety of good authors, we hardly can miss, from one hand or other, to be sufficiently informed, as of things past so long ago. But this will better be referred to a second discourse.

THE SECOND BOOK.

I am now to write of what befel the Britains from fifty and three years before the birth of our Saviour, when first the Romans came in, till the decay and ceasing of that empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somewhat more, collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the writers, which those two, the civilest and the wisest of European nations, both Italy and Greece, afforded to the actions of that puissant city. For worthy deeds are not often destitute of worthy relaters: as by a certain fate, great acts and great eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same ages. It is true, that in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilful writers, the indistinct noise of many battles and devastations of many kingdoms, overrun and lost, hath come to our ears. For what wonder, if in all ages ambition and the love of rapine hath stirred up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wasting and ruining wars, which to posterity have left the work of wild beasts and destroyers, rather than the deeds and monuments of men and conquerors? But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of war and dominion not to destroy, but to prevent destruction, to bring in liberty against tyrants, law and civility among barbarous nations, knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer Time or Detraction, wisely conscious of this his want, as well as of his worth not to be forgotten or concealed, honours and hath recourse to the aid of eloquence, his friendliest and best supply; by whose immortal record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, become fixed and durable against the force of years and generations, he fails not to continue through all posterity, over Envy, Death, and Time also victorious. Therefore when the esteem of science and liberal study waxes low in the commonwealth, we may presume that also there all civil virtue and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then eloquence as it were consorted in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of virtue, corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her office of relating to illiterate and frivolous historians, such as the persons themselves both deserve, and are best pleased with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining and searching style of an intelligent and faithful writer to the survey of their unsound exploits, better befriended by obscurity than fame. As for these, the only authors we have of British matters, while the power of Rome reached hither, (for Gildas affirms that of the Roman times no British writer was in his days extant, or if any were, either burnt by enemies or transported with such as fled the Pictish and Saxon invasions,) these therefore only Roman authors there be, who in the Latin tongue have laid together as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a history of Britain. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so near to the beginning, I should have judged this labour, wherein so little seems to be required above transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if aught by diligence may be added or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explained or more expressed, I shall assay.

Julius Cæsar (of whom, and of the Roman free state more than what appertains, is not here to be discoursed) having subdued most part of Gallia, which by a potent faction he had obtained of the senate as his province for many years, stirred up with a desire of adding still more glory to his name, and the whole Roman empire to his ambition; some[a] say, with a far meaner and ignobler, the desire of British pearls, whose bigness he delighted to balance in his hand; determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to try his force in the conquest also of Britain. For he understood that the Britains in most of his Gallian wars had sent supplies against him; had received fugitives of the Bellovaci his enemies; and were called over to aid the cities of Armorica, which had the year before conspired all in a new rebellion. Therefore Cæsar,[b] though now the summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a war, yet judged it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the isle, knowledge of men, the places, the ports, the accesses; which then, it seems, were even to the Gauls our neighbours almost unknown. For except merchants and traders, it is not oft,[c] saith he, that any use to travel thither; and to those that do, besides the sea-coast, and the ports next to Gallia, nothing else is known. But here I must require, as Pollio did, the diligence, at least the memory, of Cæsar: for if it were true, as they of Rhemes told him, that Divitiacus, not long before a puissant king of the Soissons, had Britain also under his command, besides the Belgian colonies which he affirms to have named, and peopled many provinces there; if also the Britains had so frequently given them aid in all their wars; if lastly, the Druid learning honoured so much among them, were first taught them out of Britain, and they who soonest

a Suet. vit. Cæs.

b Year before Christ 53.

c Cæs. Com. l. 1.

would attain that discipline, sent hither to learn;[d] it appears not how Britain at that time should be so utterly unknown in Gallia, or only known to merchants, yea to them so little, that being called together from all parts, none could be found to inform Cæsar of what bigness the isle, what nations, how great, what use of war they had, what laws, or so much as what commodious havens for bigger vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends Caius Volusenus, in a long galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the Morine coast, whence the shortest passage was into Britain. Hither his navy, which he used against the Armoricans, and what else of shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in Britain, the embassadors are sent from many of the states there, who promise hostages and obedience to the Roman empire. Them, after audience given, Cæsar as largely promising and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them Comius of Arras, whom he had made king of that country, and now secretly employed to gain a Roman party among the Britains, in as many cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them that he himself was speeding thither. Volusenus, with what discovery of the island he could make from aboard his ship, not daring to venture on the shore, within five days returns to Cæsar. Who soon after, with two legions, ordinarily amounting, of Romans and their allies, to about 25,000 foot, and 4500 horse, the foot in 80 ships of burden, the horse in 18, besides what galleys were appointed for his chief commanders, sets off, about the third watch of night, with a good gale to sea; leaving behind him Sulpitius Rufus to make good the port with a sufficient strength. But the horse, whose appointed shipping lay windbound eight mile upward in another haven, had much trouble to embark. Cæsar, now within sight of Britain, beholds on every hill multitudes of armed men ready to forbid his landing; and [e]Cicero writes to his friend Atticus, that the accesses of the island were wondrously fortified with strong works or moles. Here from the fourth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at anchor the coming up of his whole fleet. Meanwhile, with his legates and tribunes, consulting and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in such a various and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow bay, close environed with hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open shore eight miles distant; commonly supposed about Deal in Kent.[f] Which when the Britains perceived, their horse and chariots, as then they used in fight scowering before, their main power speeding after, some thick upon the shore, others not tarrying to be assailed, ride in among the waves to encounter, and assault the Romans even under their ships, with such a bold and free hardihood, that Cæsar himself between confessing and excusing that his soldiers were to come down from their ships, to stand in water heavy armed, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terror of such new and resolute opposition made them forget their wonted valour. To succour which he commands his galleys, a sight unusual to the Britains, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger vessels, to row against the open side of the enemy, and thence with slings, engines, and darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amazed at the strangeness of those new seacastles, bearing up so near, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of oars, the battering of fierce engines against their bodies barely exposed, did the Britains give much ground, or the Romans gain; till he who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, yet in the galleys, first beseeching his gods, said thus aloud, "Leap down soldiers, unless you mean to betray your ensign; I for my part will perform what I owe to the commonwealth and my general." This uttered, overboard he leaps, and with his eagle fiercely advanced runs upon the enemy; the rest heartening one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh losing their chief standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew their own advantages, and expertly used them, now in the shallows, now on the sand, still as the Romans went trooping to their ensigns, received them, dispatched them, and with the help of their horse, put them every where to great disorder. But Cæsar causing all his boats and shallops to be filled with soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with relief where they saw need; whereby at length all the foot now disembarked, and got together in some order on firm ground, with a more steady charge put the Britains to flight: but wanting all their horse, whom the winds yet withheld from sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused fight,[g] Scæva a Roman soldier having pressed too far among the Britains, and beset round, after incredible valour shown, single against a multitude, swam back safe to his general; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against discipline; which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed, wherein valour and ingenuity so much outweighed transgression, easily made amends and preferred him to be a centurion. Cæsar also is brought in by Julian,[h] attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustained) of being the first that left his ship, and took land: but this were to make Cæsar less understand what became him than Scæva. The Britains finding themselves mastered in fight, forthwith send ambassadors to treat of peace, promising to give hostages, and to be at command. With them Comius of Arras also returned; whom hitherto, since his first coming from Cæsar, they had detained in prison as a spy: the blame whereof they lay on the common people; for whose violence, and their own imprudence, they crave pardon. Cæsar complaining they had first sought peace, and then without cause had begun war, yet content to pardon them, commands hostages: whereof part they bring in straight, others, far up in the country to be sent for, they promise in a few days. Meanwhile the people disbanded and sent

d Cæs. Com. e Cic. Att l 4. Ep. 17. f Camden.

g Valer. Max. Plutarch. h In Cæsaribus.

home, many princes and chief men from all parts of the isle submit themselves and their cities to the dispose of Cæsar, who lay then encamped, as is thought, on Barham down. Thus had the Britains made their peace; when suddenly an accident unlooked for put new counsels into their minds. Four days after the coming of Cæsar, those eighteen ships of burden, which from the upper haven had taken in all the Roman horse, borne with a soft wind to the very coast, in sight of the Roman camp, were by a sudden tempest scattered and driven back, some to the port from whence they loosed, others down into the west country; who finding there no safety either to land or to cast anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled sea; and, as Orosius reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being full moon, the galleys left upon dry land, were, unaware to the Romans, covered with a springtide, and the greater ships, that lay off at anchor, torn and beaten with waves, to the great perplexity of Cæsar, and his whole army; who now had neither shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay here, intending to have wintered in Gallia. All this the Britains well perceiving, and by the compass of his camp, which without baggage appeared the smaller, guessing at his numbers, consult together, and one by one slyly withdrawing from the camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a peace, resolve to stop all provisions, and to draw out the business till winter. Cæsar, though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and their other hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, against what might happen; lays in corn, and with materials fetched from the continent, and what was left of those ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant labour of his soldiers, all but twelve were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the legions being sent out to forage, as was accustomed, and no suspicion of war, while some of the Britains were remaining in the country about, others also going and coming freely to the Roman quarters, they who were in station at the camp gates sent speedily word to Cæsar, that from that part of the country, to which the legion went, a greater dust than usual was seen to rise. Cæsar guessing the matter, commands the cohorts of guard to follow him thither, two others to succeed in their stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not marched long, when Cæsar discerns his legion sore overcharged: for the Britains not doubting but that their enemies on the morrow would be in that place, which only they had left unreaped of all their harvest, had placed an ambush; and while they were dispersed and busiest at their labour, set upon them, killed some, and routed the rest. The manner of their fight was from a kind of chariots; wherein riding about and throwing darts, with the clutter of their horse, and of their wheels, they ofttimes broke the rank of their enemies; then retreating among the horse, and quitting their chariots, they fought on foot. The charioteers in the mean while somewhat aside from the battle, set themselves in such order that their masters at any time oppressed with odds, might retire safely thither, having performed with one person both the nimble service of a horseman, and the stedfast duty of a foot soldier. So much they could with their chariots by use and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swiftly, now running on the beam, now on the yoke, then in the seat. With this sort of new skirmishing the Romans now over-matched and terrified, Cæsar with opportune aid appears; for then the Britains make a stand: but he considering that now was not fit time to offer battle, while his men were scarce recovered of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his legions to the camp. Further action for many days following was hindered on both sides by foul weather; in which time the Britains dispatching messengers round about, learn to how few the Romans were reduced, what hope of praise and booty, and now, if ever, of freeing themselves from the fear of like invasions hereafter, by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp their enemies; at this intimation multitudes of horse and foot coming down from all parts, make towards the Romans. Cæsar foreseeing that the Britains, though beaten and put to flight, would easily evade his foot, yet with no more than thirty horse, which Comius had brought over, draws out his men to battle, puts again the Britains to flight, pursues with slaughter, and returning burns and lays waste all about. Whereupon embassadors the same day being sent from the Britains to desire peace, Cæsar as his affairs at present stood, for so great a breach of faith, only imposes on them double the former hostages to be sent after him into Gallia: and because September was nigh half spent, a season not fit to tempt the sea with his weatherbeaten fleet, the same night with a fair wind he departs towards Belgia; whither two only of the British cities sent hostages, as they promised, the rest neglected. But at Rome when the news came of Cæsar's acts here, whether it were esteemed a conquest or a fair escape, supplication of twenty days is decreed by the senate, as either for an exploit done, or a discovery made, wherein both Cæsar and the Romans gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him or to the commonwealth.

The winter following,[1] Cæsar, as his custom was, going into Italy, whenas he saw that most of the Britains regarded not to send their hostages, appoints his legates whom he left in Belgia, to provide what possible shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to be, as thereby easier both to freight, and to hale ashore; nor needed to be higher, because the tide so often changing, was observed to make the billows less in our sea than those in the Mediterranean: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of horses, and all other freightage, being intended chiefly to that end. These all about six hundred in a readiness, with twenty-eight ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks about two hun-

[1] Dion, Cæsar Com. 5.

dred, Cotta one of the legates wrote them, as Athenæus affirms, in all one thousand; Cæsar from port Iccius, a passage of some thirty mile over, leaving behind him Labienus to guard the haven, and for other supply at need, with five legions, though but two thousand horse, about sunset hoisting sail with a slack south-west, at midnight was becalmed. And finding when it was light, that the whole navy lying on the current, had fallen off from the isle, which now they could descry on their left hand; by the unwearied labour of his soldiers, who refused not to tug the oar, and kept course with ships under sail, he bore up as near as might be, to the same place where he had landed the year before; where about noon arriving,[k] no enemy could be seen. For the Britons, which in great number, as was after known, had been there, at sight of so huge a fleet durst not abide. Cæsar forthwith landing his army, and encamping to his best advantage, some notice being given him by those he took, where to find his enemy; with the whole power, save only ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, left to Quintus Atrius for the guard of his ships, about the third watch of the same night, marches up twelve miles into the country. And at length by a river, commonly thought the Stowre in Kent, espies embattled the British forces. They with their horses and chariots advancing to the higher banks, oppose the Romans in their march, and begin the fight; but repulsed by the Roman cavalry, give back into the woods to a place notably made strong both by art and nature; which, it seems, had been a fort, or hold of strength raised heretofore in time of wars among themselves. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge trees overthwart one another, was quite barred up; and within these the Britons did their utmost to keep out the enemy. But the soldiers of the seventh legion locking all their shields together like a roof close over head, and others raising a mount, without much loss of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the woods. Pursuit they made not long, as being through ways unknown; and now evening came on, which they more wisely spent in choosing out where to pitch and fortify their camp that night. The next morning Cæsar had but newly sent out his men in three bodies to pursue, and the last no further gone than yet in sight, when horsemen all in post from Quintus Atrius bring word to Cæsar, that almost all his ships in a tempest that night had suffered wreck, and lay broken upon the shore. Cæsar at this news recalls his legions, himself in all haste riding back to the seaside, beheld with his eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn and shaken, as not to be new-rigged without much labour. Straight he assembles what number of shipwrights either in his own legions or from beyond sea could be summoned; appoints Labienus on the Belgian side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting the soldiers day or night, drew up all his ships, and intrenched them round within the circuit of his camp. This done, and leaving to their defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole forces to the same wood, where he had defeated the Britons; who preventing him with greater powers than before, had now repossessed themselves of the place, under Cassibelan their chief leader: whose territory from the states bordering on the sea was divided by the river Thames about eighty miles inward. With him formerly other cities had continual war; but now in the common danger had all made choice of him to be their general. Here the British horse and charioteers meeting with the Roman cavalry fought stoutly; and at first, something overmatched, they retreat to the near advantage of their woods and hills, but still followed by the Romans, made head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while Cæsar, who thought the day's work had been done, was busied about the intrenching of his camp, march out again, give fierce assault to the very stations of his guards and sentries; and while the main cohorts of two legions, that were sent to the alarm, stood within a small distance of each other, terrified at the newness and boldness of their fight, charged back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the Romans that day was slain Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune; the Britons having fought their fill at the very entrance of Cæsar's camp, and sustained the resistance of his whole army intrenched, gave over the assault. Cæsar here acknowledges, that the Roman way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of enemy; for that the foot in heavy armour could not follow their cunning flight, and durst not by ancient discipline stir from their ensign; and the horse alone disjoined from the legions, against a foe that turned suddenly upon them with a mixed encounter both of horse and foot, were in equal danger both following and retiring. Besides their fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions and open distances to make their onset; appointing others at certain spaces, now to relieve and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argued no small experience, and use of arms. Next day the Britons afar off upon the hills begin to show themselves here and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the Roman horse. But at noon Cæsar having sent out three legions, and all his horse, with Trebonius the legate, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the foragers, and charge up after them to the very legions, and their standards. The Romans with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, being well seconded by the legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from their chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the Britons that dwelt farther off betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a power against Cæsar. Whereof advertised, he marches onward to the frontiers of Cassibelan,[l] which on this side was bounded by the Thames, not passable except in one place, and that difficult, about Coway-stakes near Oatlands, as is conjectured. Hither coming he descries on the other side great forces of the enemy, placed in

k Before the birth of Christ, 53.

l Camden.

good array; the bank set all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, covered with water; whereof the marks, in Beda's time, were to be seen, as he relates. This having learned by such as were taken, or had run to him, he first commands his horse to pass over; then his foot, who wading up to the neck, went on so resolutely and so fast, that they on the other side, not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. Cassibelan no more now in hope to contend for victory, dismissing all but four thousand of those charioteers, through woods and intricate ways attends their motion; where the Romans are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual sallies upon the horse, where they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compels them so close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or booty without ill success. Whereupon Cæsar strictly commanding all not to part from the legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty fields and houses, which he spoiled and burnt. Meanwhile the Trinobantes, a state or kingdom, and perhaps the greatest then among the Britons, less favouring Cassibelan, send ambassadors, and yield to Cæsar upon this reason. Immanuentius had been their king; him Cassibelan had slain, and purposed the like to Mandubratius his son, whom Orosius calls Androgorius, Beda Androgius; but the youth escaping by flight into Gallia, put himself under the protection of Cæsar. These entreat, that Mandubratius may be still defended, and sent home to succeed in his father's right. Cæsar sends him, demands forty hostages and provision for his army, which they immediately bring in, and have their confines protected from the soldiers. By their example the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi (so I write them, for the modern names are but guessed) on like terms make their peace. By them he learns that the town of Cassibelan, supposed to be Verulam, was not far distant; fenced about with woods and marshes, well stuffed with men and much cattle. For towns then in Britain were only woody places ditched round, and with a mud wall encompassed against the inroads of enemies. Thither goes Cæsar with his legions, and though a place of great strength both by art and nature, assaults it in two places. The Britons after some defence fled out all at another end of the town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of cattle found there. Cassibelan for all these losses yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his authority so much impaired, but that in Kent, though in a manner possessed by the enemy, his messengers and commands find obedience enough to raise all the people. By his direction, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, four kings reigning in those countries which lie upon the sea, lead them on to assault that camp, wherein the Romans had entrenched their shipping: but they whom Cæsar left there issuing out slew many, and took prisoner Cingetorix a noted leader, without loss of their own. Cassibelan after so many defeats, moved especially by revolt of the cities from him, their inconstancy and falsehood one to another, uses mediation by Comius of Arras to send ambassadors about treaty of yielding. Cæsar, who had determined to winter in the continent, by reason that Gallia was unsettled, and not much of the summer now behind, commands him only hostages, and what yearly tribute the island should pay to Rome, forbids him to molest the Trinobantes, or Mandubratius; and with his hostages, and a great number of captives, he puts to sea, having at twice embarked his whole army. At his return to Rome, as from a glorious enterprise, he offers to Venus, the patroness of his family, a corslet of British pearls.[m]

Howbeit other ancient writers have spoken more doubtfully of Cæsar's victories here; and that in plain terms he fled from hence; for which the common verse in Lucan, with divers passages here and there in Tacitus, is alleged. Paulus Orosius,[n] who took what he wrote from a history of Suetonius now lost, writes, that Cæsar in his first journey, entertained with a sharp fight, lost no small number of his foot, and by tempest nigh all his horse. Dion affirms, that once in the second expedition all his foot were routed; Orosius that another time all his horse. The British author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial discourses of Cæsar's being here, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of Cassibelan, than what the same story tells, how he warred soon after with Androgeus, about his nephew slain by Evelinus nephew to the other; which business at length composed, Cassibelan dies, and was buried in York, if the Monmouth book fable not. But at Cæsar's coming hither, such likeliest were the Britons, as the writers of those times,[o] and their own actions represent them; in courage and warlike readiness to take advantage by ambush or sudden onset, not inferiour to the Romans, nor Cassibelan to Cæsar; in weapons, arms, and the skill of encamping, embattling, fortifying, overmatched; their weapons were a short spear and light target, a sword also by their side, their fight sometimes in chariots fanged at the axle with iron sithes, their bodies most part naked, only painted with woad in sundry figures, to seem terrible,[p] as they thought, but, pursued by enemies, not nice of their painting to run into bogs worse than wild Irish up to the neck, and there to stay many days holding a certain morsel in their mouths no bigger than a bean, to suffice hunger;[q] but that receipt, and the temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us: their towns and strong holds were spaces of ground fenced about with a ditch, and great trees felled overthwart each other, their buildings within were thatched houses for themselves and their cattle: in peace the upland inhabitants, besides hunting, tended their flocks and herds, but with little skill of country affairs; the making of cheese they commonly knew not, wool or flax they spun not, gardening and planting many of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what the skins of beasts afforded them,[r] and that not always; yet gallantry they had,[s] painting their own skins with several portraitures of beast, bird, or flower, a vanity which hath not yet left us, removed only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many coloured ribands and gewgaws: towards the seaside they tilled

m Plinv. n Oros. lib. 6, c. 7, and 8. o Dion, Mela, Cæsar p Herodian q Dion r Herodian. s Solinus

the ground, and lived much after the manner of the Gauls their neighbours, or first planters:[t] their money was brazen pieces or iron rings, their best merchandize tin, the rest trifles of glass, ivory, and such like:[u] yet gems and pearls they had, saith Mela, in some rivers: their ships of light timber wickered with ozier between, and covered over with leather, served not therefore to transport them far, and their commodities were fetched away by foreign merchants: their dealing, saith Diodorus, plain and simple without fraud; their civil government under many princes and states,[x] not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and ofttimes warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easy conquest to the Romans: their religion was governed by a sort of priests or magicians, called Druids from the Greek name of an oak, which tree they had in great reverence, and the mistletoe especially growing thereon. Pliny writes them skilled in magic no less than those of Persia; by their abstaining from a hen, a hare, and a goose, from fish also, saith Dion, and their opinion of the soul's passing after death into other bodies,[y] they may be thought to have studied Pythagoras; yet philosophers I cannot call them, reported men factious and ambitious, contending sometimes about the archpriesthood not without civil war and slaughter; nor restrained they the people under them from a lewd, adulterous, and incestuous life, ten or twelve men, absurdly against nature, possessing one woman as their common wife, though of nearest kin, mother, daughter, or sister; progenitors not to be gloried in. But the gospel, not long after preached here, abolished such impurities, and of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some civility; likely else to have continued longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life. After Julius (for Julius before his death tyrannously had made himself emperor of the Roman commonwealth, and was slain in the senate for so doing) he who next obtained the empire, Octavianus Cæsar Augustus, either contemning the island, as Strabo would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having nor enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholesome state-maxim, as some say, to moderate and bound the empire from growing vast and unwieldy, made no attempt against the Britons. But the truer cause was party civil war among the Romans, partly other affairs more urging. For about twenty years after,[a] all which time the Britons had lived at their own dispose, Augustus, in imitation of his uncle Julius, either intending or seeming to intend an expedition hither, was come into Gallia, when the news of a revolt in Pannonia diverted him:[b] about seven years after in the same resolution, what with the unsettledness of Gallia, and what with ambassadors from Britain which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference arising about covenants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in Spain. Nevertheless some of the British potentates omitted not to seek his friendship by gifts offered in the Capitol, and other obsequious addresses. Insomuch that the whole island[c] became even in those days well known to the Romans; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were so like to prove enemies. But as for tribute, the Britons paid none to Augustus, except what easy customs were levied on the slight commodities wherewith they traded into Gallia.

After Cassibelan, Tenantius the younger son of Lud, according to the Monmouth story, was made king. For Androgeus the elder, conceiving himself generally hated for siding with the Romans, forsook his claim here, and followed Cæsar's fortune. This king is recorded just and warlike.

His son Kymbeline, or Cunobeline, succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the court of Augustus, and with him held friendly correspondences to the end; was a warlike prince; his chief seat Camalodunum, or Maldon, as by certain of his coins, yet to be seen, appears. Tiberius, the next emperor, adhering always to the advice of Augustus, and of himself less caring to extend the bounds of his empire, sought not the Britons; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the soldiers of Germanicus, that by shipwreck had been cast on the British shore.[d] But Caligula,[e] his successor, a wild and dissolute tyrant, having passed the Alps with intent to rob and spoil those provinces, and stirred up by Adminius the son of Cunobeline; who, by his father banished, with a small number fled thither to him, made semblance of marching toward Britain; but being come to the ocean, and there behaving himself madly and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting letters to the senate, as if all Britain had been yielded him. Cunobeline now dead, Adminius the eldest by his father banished from his country, and by his own practice against it from the crown, though by an old coin seeming to have also reigned; Togodumnus, and Caractacus the two younger, uncertain whether unequal or subordinate in power, were advanced into his place. But through civil discord, Bericus (what he was further, is not known) with others of his party flying to Rome,[f] persuaded Claudius the emperor to an invasion. Claudius now consul the third time, and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the honour of a triumph, at the persuasion of these fugitives, whom the Britons demanding, he had denied to render, and they for that cause had denied further amity with Rome, makes choice of this island for his province:[g] and sends before him Aulus Plautius the prætor, with this command, if the business grew difficult, to give him notice. Plautius with much ado persuaded the legions to move out of Gallia, murmuring that now they must be put to make war beyond the world's end, for so they counted Britain; and what welcome Julius the dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevailed with, and hoisting sail from three several ports, lest their landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross

t Cæsar. u Tacitus, Diodor, Strabo, Lucan. x Tacitus y Cæsar. z Strabo, l. 2. a Year before the birth of Christ, 32.
b Dion, l. 49: year before the birth of Christ, 25: Dion, l 53, 21.

c Strabo, l. 4. d Tacit. an. l. 2.
e Year after the birth of Christ, 16. Dion. Sueton. Cal. Ano. Dom. 40.
f Dion. g 43. Sueton.

winds, they were cast back and disheartened; till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the East, and as they fancied directing their course, they took heart again to try the sea, and without opposition landed. For the Britons, having heard of their unwillingness to come, had been negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the woods and moors, intended to frustrate and wear them out with delays, as they had served Cæsar before. Plautius, after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with Caractacus, then with Togodumnus, overthrew them; and receiving into conditions part of the Boduni, who were then subject to the Catuellani, and leaving there a garrison, went on toward a river: where the Britons not imagining that Plautius without a bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he sending first the Germans, whose custom was, armed as they were, to swim with ease the strongest current, commands them to strike especially at the horses, whereby the chariots, wherein consisted their chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent Vespasian, who in his latter days obtained the empire, and Sabinus his brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the Britons dismayed; but reuniting the next day, fought with such a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the victory: till Caius Sidius Geta, at point to have been taken, recovered himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at Rome he received high honours. After this the Britons drew back toward the mouth of Thames, and, acquainted with those places, crossed over; where the Romans following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the Germans getting over, and others by a bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry alarms and great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into bogs and mires, lost as many of their own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the Britons more enraged at the death of Togodumnus, who in one of these battles had been slain, Plautius fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoined him, sends to Claudius. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flower of all his Romans, like a great Eastern king, with armed elephants marches through Gallia. So full of peril was this enterprise esteemed, as not without all this equipage, and stranger terrours than Roman armies, to meet the native and the naked British valour defending their country. Joined with Plautius, who encamping on the bank of Thames attended him, he passes the river. The Britons, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct of old Cassibelan, laying all stratagem aside, in downright manhood scruple not to affront in open field almost the whole power of the Roman empire. But overcome and vanquished, part by force, others by treaty come in and yield. Claudius therefore, who took Camalodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, was often by the army saluted Imperator; a military title which usually they gave their general after any notable exploit; but to others, not above once in the same war; as if Claudius, by these acts, had deserved more than the laws of Rome had provided honour to reward. Having therefore disarmed the Britons, but remitted the confiscation of their goods,[h] for which they worshipped him with sacrifice and temple as a god, leaving Plautius to subdue what remained; he returns to Rome, from whence he had been absent only six months, and in Britain but sixteen days; sending the news before him of his victories, though in a small part of the island. By which is manifestly refuted that which Eutropius and Orosius write of his conquering at that time also the Orcades islands, lying to the North of Scotland; and not conquered by the Romans (for aught found in any good author) till above forty years after, as shall appear. To Claudius the senate, as for achievements of highest merit, decreed excessive honours; arches, triumphs, annual solemnities, and the surname of Britannicus both to him and his son.

Suetonius writes, that Claudius found here no resistance, and that all was done without stroke: but this seems not probable. The Monmouth writer names these two sons of Cunobeline, Guiderius and Arviragus; that Guiderius being slain in fight, Arviragus, to conceal it, put on his brother's habiliments, and in his person held up the battle to a victory; the rest, as of Hano the Roman captain, Genuissa the emperor's daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of truth. Plautius after this, employing his fresh forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of triumphant riding into the Capitol side by side with the emperor.[i] Vespasian also under Plautius had thirty conflicts with the enemy; in one of which encompassed, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescued by his son Titus:[k] two powerful nations he subdued here, above twenty towns and the Isle of Wight; for which he received at Rome triumphal ornaments, and other great dignities. For that city in reward of virtue was ever magnificent; and long after when true merit was ceased among them, lest any thing resembling virtue should want honour, the same rewards were yet allowed to the very shadow and ostentation of merit. Ostorius in the room of Plautius vicepraetor met with turbulent affairs;[l] the Britons not ceasing to vex with inroads all those countries that were yielded to the Romans; and now the more eagerly,[m] supposing that the new general, unacquainted with his army, and on the edge of winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he weighing that first events were most available to breed fear or contempt, with such cohorts as were next at hand, sets out against them: whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every day molested with the cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldened enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many garrisons upon the rivers of Antona and Sabrina. But the Icenians, a stout people, untouched yet by

h Dion, l. 60. Tacit. an. 14, 41 i Sueton. Claud. 5, 24.

k Sueton. Vesp. Dio. l. 60, 47. l 50. Tacit. an. 12 m Eutropius.

these wars, as having before sought alliance with the Romans, were the first that brooked not this. By their example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenced with high banks of earth and narrow lanes to prevent the horse, warily encamp. Ostorius though yet not strengthened with his legions, causes the auxiliar bands, his troops also alighting, to assault the rampart. They within, though pestered with their own number, stood to it like men resolved, and in a narrow compass did remarkable deeds. But overpowered at last, and others by their success quieted, who till then wavered, Ostorius next bends his force upon the Cangians, wasting all even to the sea of Ireland, without foe in his way, or them, who durst, ill handled; when the Brigantes, attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punished, the rest forgiven, soon gave over; but the Silures, no way tractable, were not to be repressed without a set war. To further this, Camalodunum was planted with a colony of veteran soldiers; to be a firm and ready aid against revolts, and a means to teach the natives Roman law and civility. Cogidunus also a British king, their fast friend, had to the same intent certain cities given him:[n] a haughty craft, which the Romans used, to make kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the Silures, hardy of themselves, relied more on the valour of Caractacus; whom many doubtful, many prosperous successes had made eminent above all that ruled in Britain. He, adding to his courage policy, and knowing himself to be of strength inferior, in other advantages the better, makes the seat of his war among the Ordovices; a country wherein all the odds were to his own party, all the difficulties to his enemy. The hills and every access he fortified with heaps of stones, and guards of men; to come at whom a river of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as Camden conjectures, had thence the name of Caer-caradoc on the west edge of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his officers and leaders, that "this was the day, this the field, either to defend their liberty, or to die free;" calling to mind the names of his glorious ancestors, who drove Cæsar the dictator out of Britain, whose valour hitherto had preserved them from bondage, their wives and children from dishonour. Inflamed with these words, they all vow their utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amazed the Roman general; but the soldiers less weighing, because less knowing, clamoured to be led on against any danger. Ostorius, after wary circumspection, bids them pass the river: the Britons no sooner had them within reach of their arrows, darts, and stones, but slew and wounded largely of the Romans. They on the other side closing their ranks, and over head closing their targets, threw down the loose rampires of the Britons, and pursue them up the hills, both light and armed legions; till what with galling darts and heavy strokes, the Britons, who wore neither helmet nor cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the Romans thought a famous victory; wherein the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken, his brothers also reduced to obedience; himself escaping to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, against faith given was to the victors delivered bound; having held out against the Romans nine years, saith Tacitus, but by truer computation, seven. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoining provinces, even to Italy and Rome; many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the Roman puissance: and Cæsar, to extol his own victory, extolled the man whom he had vanquished. Being brought to Rome, the people as to a solemn spectacle were called together, the emperor's guard stood in arms. In order came first the king's servants, bearing his trophies won in other wars, next his brothers, wife, and daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others, through fear, was low and degenerate; he only neither in countenance, word, or action submissive, standing at the tribunal of Claudius, briefly spake to this purpose: "If my mind, Cæsar, had been as moderate in the height of fortune, as my birth and dignity was eminent, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city. Nor couldst thou have disliked him for a confederate, so noble of descent, and ruling so many nations. My present estate to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious. I had riches, horses, arms, and men; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if by fate, yours only must be empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had been brought to yield, my misfortune had been less notorious, your conquest had been less renowned; and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgotten. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so near divine, the clemency of a conqueror." Cæsar moved at such a spectacle of fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissly thank him, and did like reverence to Agrippina the emperor's wife, who sat by in state; a new and disdained sight to the manly eyes of Romans, a woman sitting public in her female pride among ensigns and armed cohorts. To Ostorius triumph is decreed; and his acts esteemed equal to theirs, that brought in bonds to Rome famousest kings. But the same prosperity attended not his later actions here; for the Silures, whether to revenge their loss of Caractacus, or that they saw Ostorius, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, beset the prefect of his camp, left there with legionary bands to appoint garrisons: and had not speedy aid come in from the neighbouring holds and castles, had cut them all off; notwithstanding which, the prefect with eight centurions, and many their stoutest men, were slain: and upon the neck of this, meeting first with Roman foragers, then with other troops hasting to their relief, utterly foiled and broke them also. Ostorius sending more after, could hardly stay their flight; till the weighty l gions coming on, at first poised the battle, at length turned the scale: to the Britons without

[n] Tacit. vit. Agric.

much loss, for by that time it grew night. Then was the war shivered, as it were, into small frays and bickerings; not unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in woods, at waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashness, led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the Silures, was a report of certain words cast out by the emperor, "That he would root them out to the very name." Therefore two cohorts more of auxiliars, by the avarice of their leaders too securely pillaging, they quite intercepted; and bestowing liberally the spoils and captives, whereof they took plenty, drew other countries to join with them. These losses falling so thick upon the Romans, Ostorius with the thought and anguish thereof ended his days; the Britons rejoicing, although no battle, that yet adverse war had worn out so great a soldier. Cæsar in his place ordains Aulus Didius; but ere his coming, though much hastened, that the province might not want a governor, the Silures had given an overthrow to Manlius Valens with his legion, rumoured on both sides greater than was true, by the Silures to animate the new general; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he quelled them, or the more excuse if he failed. Meantime the Silures forgot not to infest the Roman pale with wide excursions; till Didius marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after Caractacus should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of war, Venutius, a prince of the Brigantes, merited to be their chief. He at first faithful to the Romans, and by them protected, was the husband of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betrayed Caractacus and her country to adorn the triumph of Claudius, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the Romans, presuming on the hire of her treason, deserted her husband; and marrying Vellocatus one of his squires, confers on him the kingdom also. This deed so odious and full of infamy, disturbed the whole state; Venutius with other forces, and the help of her own subjects, who detested the example of so foul a fact, and withal the uncomeliness of their subjection to the monarchy of a woman, a piece of manhood not every day to be found among Britons, though she had got by subtile train his brother with many of his kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When imploring the Roman aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter, she escaped the punishment which was ready to have seized her. Venutius thus debarred the authority of ruling his own household, justly turns his anger against the Romans themselves; whose magnanimity not wont to undertake dishonourable causes, had arrogantly intermeddled in his domestic affairs, to uphold the rebellion of an adulteress against her husband. And the kingdom he retained against their utmost opposition; and of war gave them their fill; first in a sharp conflict of uncertain event, then against the legion of Cæsius Nasica. Insomuch that Didius growing old, and managing the war by deputies, had work enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small castle. And Nero[o] (for in that part of the isle things continued in the same plight to the reign of Vespasian) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the Roman forces out of Britain: in other parts whereof, about the same time other things befel.[p] Verannius, whom Nero sent hither to succeed Didius, dying in his first year, save a few inroads upon the Silures, left only a great boast behind him, "That in two years, had he lived, he would have conquered all." But Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither, esteemed a soldier equal to the best in that age, for two years together went on prosperously, both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last over-confident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it seems, had both entertained fugitives, and given good assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him boats with flat bottoms, fitted to the shallows which he expected in that narrow frith; his foot so passed over, his horse waded or swam. Thick upon the shore stood several gross bands of men well weaponed, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit, with hair loose about their shoulders, held torches in their hands. The Druids (those were their priests, of whom more in another place) with hands lift up to Heaven uttering direful prayers, astonished the Romans; who at so strange a sight stood in amaze, though wounded: at length awakened and encouraged by their general, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down scorched and rolling in their own fire. Then were they yoked with garrisons, and the places consecrate to their bloody superstitions destroyed. For whom they took in war, they held it lawful to sacrifice; and by the entrails of men used divination. While thus Paulinus had his thought still fixed before to go on winning, his back lay broad open to occasion of losing more behind: for the Britons, urged and oppressed with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a general revolt. The particular causes are not all written by one author; Tacitus who lived next those times of any to us extant, writes that Prasutagus, king of the Icenians, abounding in wealth, had left Cæsar coheir with his two daughters; thereby hoping to have secured from all wrong both his kingdom and his house; which fell out far otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the emperor's new inheritance, his kingdom became a prey to centurions, his house to ravening officers, his wife Boadicea violated with stripes, his daughters with rape, the wealthiest of his subjects, as it were, by the will and testament of their king thrown out of their estates, his kindred made little better than slaves. The new colony also at Camalodunum took house or land from whom they pleased, terming them slaves and vassals; the soldiers complying with the colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselves. Moreover the temple erected to Claudius as a badge of their eternal slavery, stood a

o Tacit. vit. Agric.

p Tacit. Hist. 3. Sueton.

great eyesore; the priests whereof, under pretext of what was due to the religious service, wasted and embezzled each man's substance upon themselves. And Catus Decianus the procurator endeavoured to bring all their goods within the compass of new confiscation,[q] by disavowing the remitment of Claudius. Lastly, Seneca, in his books a philosopher, having drawn the Britons unwillingly to borrow of him vast sums upon fair promises of easy loan, and for repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provoked by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of Paulinus, the Icenians, and by their examples the Trinobantes, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in arms. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signs appeared; the image of victory at Camalodunum fell down of itself with her face turned, as it were, to the Britons; certain women, in a kind of ecstacy, foretold of calamities to come: in the council-house were heard by night barbarous noises; in the theatre hideous howlings, in the creek horrid sights, betokening the destruction of that colony; hereto the ocean seeming of a bloody hue, and human shapes at low ebb, left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the Britons new courage, in the Romans unwonted fears. Camalodunum, where the Romans had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortified; against that therefore the Britons make first assault. The soldiers within were not very many. Decianus the procurator could send them but two hundred, those ill armed: and through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favoured the insurrection, they had deferred both to entrench, and to send out such as bore not arms; such as did, flying to the temple, which on the second day was forcibly taken, were all put to the sword, the temple made a heap, the rest rifled and burnt. Petilius Cerealis coming to his succour, is in his way met and overthrown, his whole legion cut to pieces; he with his horse hardly escaping to the Roman camp. Decianus, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into Gallia. But Suetonius at these tidings not dismayed, through the midst of his enemy's country, marches to London (though not termed a colony, yet full of Roman inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade, and other commodities, a town even then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of war. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of Petilius, he chooses rather with the loss of one town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who through weakness of sex or age, or love of the place, went not along, perished by the enemy; so did Verulam, a Roman free town. For the Britons omitting forts and castles, flew thither first where richest booty and the hope of pillaging tolled them on. In this massacre about seventy thousand Romans and their associates, in the places above mentioned, of certain lost their lives. None might be spared, none ransomed, but tasted all either a present or a lingering death; no cruelty that either outrage or the insolence of success put into their heads, was left unacted. The Roman wives and virgins hanged up all naked,[r] had their breasts cut off, and sewed to their mouths; that in the grimness of death they might seem to eat their own flesh; while the Britons fell to feasting and carousing in the temple of Andate their goddess of victory. Suetonius adding to his legion other old officers and soldiers thereabout, which gathered to him, were near upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to defer battle, had chosen a place narrow, and not to be overwinged, on his rear a wood; being well informed that his enemy were all in front on a plain unapt for ambush: the legionaries stood thick in order, empaled with light armed; the horse on either wing. The Britons in companies and squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckoned than two hundred and thirty thousand: so fierce and confident of victory, that their wives also came in waggons to sit and behold the sports, as they made full account of killing Romans: a folly doubtless for the serious Romans to smile at, as a sure token of prospering that day: a woman also was their commander in chief. For Boadicea and her daughters ride about in a chariot, telling the tall champions as a great encouragement, that with the Britons it was usual for women to be their leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth not worth recital; how she was lashed, how her daughters were handled, things worthier silence, retirement, and a vail, than for a woman to repeat, as done to her own person, or to hear repeated before a host of men. The Greek historian[s] sets her in the field on a high heap of turves, in a loose-bodied gown, declaiming, a spear in her hand, a hare in her bosom, which after a long circumlocution, she was to let slip among them for luck's sake; then praying to Andate the British goddess, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their history with the strangeness of our manners, not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, as if in Britain women were men, and men women. I affect not set speeches in a history, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they are written, nor then, unless worth rehearsal: and to invent such, though eloquently, as some historians have done, is an abuse of posterity, raising in them that read other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious orations without decorum, though in their authors composed ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of Cassibelan, Togadumnus, Venusius, and Caractacus, hath been full of magnanimity, soberness, and martial skill: but the truth is, that in this battle and whole business the Britons never more plainly manifested themselves to be right Barbarians; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience, or estimation, either of themselves or of their

q Dion.

r Dion. l. 62.

s Dion.

enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seemed likest not to a war, but to the wild hurry of a distracted woman, with as mad a crew at her heels. Therefore Suetonius, contemning their unruly noises and fierce looks, heartens his men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood nearest, the rest would be a purchase rather than a toil. And so it fell out; for the legion, when they saw their time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what opposed them; all else only held out their necks to the slayer; for their own carts and waggons were so placed by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The Roman slew all; men, women, and the very drawing horses lay heaped along the field in a gory mixture of slaughter. About fourscore thousand Britons are said to have been slain on the place; of the enemy scarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. Boadicea poisoned herself, or, as others say, sickened and died. [t] She was of stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of voice, her hair of a bright colour flowing down to her hips; she wore a plaited garment of divers colours, with a great golden chain; buttoned over all a thick robe. Gildas calls her the crafty lioness, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings. Dion sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the Britons to give another battle, had not the death of Boadicea come between. Howbeit Suetonius, to preserve discipline, and to dispatch the reliques of war, lodged with all the army in the open field; which was supplied out of Germany with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot; thence dispersed to winter, and with incursions to waste those countries that stood out. But to the Britons famine was a worse affliction; having left off, during this uproar, to till the ground, and made reckoning to serve themselves on the provisions of their enemy. Nevertheless those nations that were yet untamed, hearing of some discord risen between Suetonius and the new procurator Classicianus, were brought but slowly to terms of peace; and the rigour used by Suetonius on them that yielded, taught them the better course to stand on their defence.[u] For it is certain that Suetonius, though else a worthy man, overproud of his victory, gave too much way to his anger against the Britons. Classician therefore sending such word to Rome, that these severe proceedings would beget an endless war, Polycletus, no Roman but a courtier, was sent by Nero to examine how things went. He admonishing Suetonius to use more mildness, awed the army, and to the Britons gave matter of laughter. Who so much even till then were nursed up in their native liberty, as to wonder that so great a general with his whole army should be at the rebuke and ordering of a court-servitor. But Suetonius a while after, having lost a few galleys on the shore, was bid resign his command to Petronius Turpilianus, who not provoking the Britons, nor by them provoked, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloth. Trebellius Maximus followed his steps, usurping the name of gentle government to any remissness or neglect of discipline; which brought in first license, next disobedience into his camp; incensed against him partly for his covetousness, partly by the incitement of Roscius Cælius, legate of a legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that civil war began in the empire, he fell to open discord;[w] charging him with disorder and sedition, and him Cælius with peeling and defrauding the legions of their pay; insomuch that Trebellius, hated and deserted of the soldiers, was content a while to govern by base entreaty, and forced at length to flee the land. Which notwithstanding remained in good quiet, governed by Cælius and the other legate of a legion, both faithful to Vitellius then emperor; who sent hither Vectius Bolanus; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the Britons nothing was done, nor in their own discipline reformed.[x] Petilius Cerealis by appointment of Vespasian succeeding, had to do with the populous Brigantes in many battles, and some of those not unbloody. For as we heard before, it[y] was Venusius who even to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquished, and some part of his country not so much as reached. It appears also by several passages in the histories of Tacitus,[z] that no small matter of British forces were commanded over sea the year before to serve in those bloody wars between Otho and Vitellius, Vitellius and Vespasian contending for the empire. To Cerealis succeeded Julius Frontinus in the government of Britain,[a] who by taming the Silures, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation. But Julius Agricola, whom Vespasian in his last year sent hither, trained up from his youth in the British wars, extended with victories the Roman limit beyond all his predecessors. His coming was in the midst of summer; and the Ordivices to welcome the new general had hewn in pieces a whole squadron of horse which lay upon their bounds, few escaping. Agricola, who perceived that the noise of this defeat had also in the province desirous of novelty stirred up new expectations, resolves to be beforehand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his legions with a competent number of auxiliaries, not being met by the Ordovices, who kept the hills, himself at the head of his men, hunts them up and down through difficult places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole nation. With the same current of success, what Paulinus had left unfinished he conquers in the isle of Mona: for the islanders altogether fearless of his approach, whom they knew to have no shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the auxiliars, whose country-use had taught them to swim over with horse and arms, were compelled to yield. This gained Agricola much opinion: who at his very entrance, a time which others bestowed of course in hearing compliments and gratulations, had made such

t Dion.
u Tacit vit. Agric.
w Tac. hist l. 1. and vit Agric. Anno post Christ 69.
x Tacit. hist. 2 and vit. Agric.
y Calvis
z Tacit. hist. 3 and vit. Agric
a Post Christ. 79.

early progress into laborious and hardest enterprises. But by far not so famous was Agricola in bringing war to a speedy end, as in cutting off the causes from whence war arises. For he knowing that the end of war was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own house; permitted not his attendants and followers to sway, or have to do at all in public affairs: lays on with equality the proportions of corn and tribute that were imposed; takes off exactions, and the fees of encroaching officers, heavier than the tribute itself. For the countries had been compelled before, to sit and wait the opening of public granaries, and both to sell and to buy their corn at what rate the publicans thought fit; the purveyors also commanding when they pleased to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excused, or by causing a dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These grievances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into some credit; which before, since the Romans coming, had as ill a name as war. The summer following, Titus then emperor,[b] he so continually with inroads disquieted the enemy over all the isle, and after terrour so allured them with his gentle demeanour, that many cities which till that time would not bend, gave hostages, admitted garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The winter he spent all in worthy actions; teaching and promoting like a public father the institutes and customs of civil life. The inhabitants rude and scattered, and by that the proner to war, he so persuaded to build houses, temples, and seats of justice; and by praising the forward, quickening the slow, assisting all, turned the name of necessity into an emulation. He caused moreover the noblemen's sons to be bred up in liberal arts; and by preferring the wits of Britain before the studies of Gallia, brought them to affect the Latin eloquence, who before hated the language. Then were the Roman fashions imitated, and the gown; after a while the incitements also and materials of vice, and voluptuous life, proud buildings, baths, and the elegance of banqueting; which the foolisher sort called civility, but was indeed a secret art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the field, and with a prosperous expedition wasted as far northward as frith of Taus all that obeyed not, with such a terrour, as he went, that the Roman army, though much hindered by tempestuous weather, had the leisure to build forts and castles where they pleased, none daring to oppose them. Besides, Agricola had this excellence in him, so providently to choose his places where to fortify, as not another general then alive. No sconce or fortress of his raising was ever known either to have been forced, or yielded up or quitted. Out of these impregnable by siege, or in that case duly relieved, with continual irruptions he so prevailed, that the enemy, whose manner was in winter to regain what in summer he had lost, was now alike in both seasons kept short and streightened. For these exploits, then esteemed so great and honourable, Titus, in whose reign they were achieved, was the fifteenth time saluted imperator;[c] and of him Agricola received triumphal honours. The fourth summer, Domitian then ruling the empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the year before he had travelled over with a running conquest. And had the valour of his soldiers been answerable, he had reached that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of Britain. For Glota and Bodotria, now Dunbritton, and the frith of Edinburgh, two opposite arms of the sea, divided only by a neck of land, and all the creeks and inlets on this side, were held by the Romans, and the enemy driven as it were into another island. In his fifth year[d] he passed over into the Orcades, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch isles; discovering and subduing nations, till then unknown. He gained also with his forces that part of Britain which faces Ireland, as aiming also to conquer that island; where one of the Irish kings driven out by civil wars coming to him, he both gladly received, and retained him as against a fit time. The summer ensuing, on mistrust that the nations beyond Bodotria would generally rise, and forelay the passages by land, he caused his fleet, making a great show, to bear along the coast, and up the friths and harbours; joining most commonly at night on the same shore both land and sea-forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight whereof the Britons, not wont to see their sea so ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit the Caledonians[e] with great preparation, and by rumour, as of things unknown much greater, taking arms, and of their own accord beginning war by the assault of sundry castles, sent back some of their fear to the Romans themselves: and there were of the commanders, who cloaking their fear under show of sage advice, counselled the general to retreat back on this side Bodotria. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the enemy would fall on in many bodies, divided also his army into three parts. Which advantage the Britons quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjointed, assail by night with all their forces that part of the Roman army which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the camp, surprised between sleep and fear, had begun some execution. When Agricola, who had learnt what way the enemies took, and followed them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his horse, and foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to affright them with clamour, so plied them without respite, that by approach of day the Roman ensigns glittering all about, had encompassed the Britons: who now after a sharp fight in the very ports of the camp, betook them to their wonted refuge, the woods and fens, pursued a while by the Romans; that day else in all appearance had ended the war. The legions reincouraged by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembled, cry all to be led on as far as there was British ground. The Britons also not acknowledging the loss of that day to Roman valour, but to the policy of their captain, abated nothing of their stoutness; but arming their youth, conveying their

b Post Christ. 80. c Dion. l. 66. Post Christ 82. d Post Christ. 83. e Post Christ. 81

wives and children to places of safety, in frequent assemblies, and by solemn covenants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the common enemy. About the same time a cohort of Germans having slain their centurion with other Roman officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled on shipboard, launched forth in three light galleys without pilot;[f] and by tide or weather carried round about the coast, using piracy where they landed, while their ships held out, and as their skill served them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the Romans that Britain was an island. [g] The following summer, Agricola having before sent his navy to hover on the coast, and with sundry and uncertain landings to divert and disunite the Britons, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherein also were many Britons, whom he had long tried, both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the mountain Grampius, where the British, above thirty thousand, were now lodged, and still increasing; for neither would their old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practised in war, and every one adorned with some badge, or cognizance of his warlike deeds long ago. Of whom Galgacus, both by birth and merit the prime leader to their courage, though of itself hot and violent, is by his rough oratory, in detestation of servitude and the Roman yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight, testified by their shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the other side Agricola exhort his soldiers to victory and glory; as much the soldiers by his firm and well-grounded exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them on this sort: Of eight thousand auxiliary foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings three thousand horse, the legions as a reserve, stood in array before the camp; either to seize the victory won without their own hazard, or to keep up the battle if it should need. The British powers on the hill side, as might best serve for show and terrour, stood in their battalions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of horsemen and chariots ranging up and down. Agricola doubting to be overwinged, stretches out his front, though somewhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advised to bring up the legions: yet he not altering, alights from his horse, and stands on foot before the ensigns. The fight began aloof, and the Britons had a certain skill with their broad swashing swords and short bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the darts of their enemy; and withal to send back showers of their own. Until Agricola discerning that those little targets and unwieldy glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians exercised and armed for close fight, to draw up, and come to handy strokes. The Batavians, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long tucks thrusting at the face, now with their piked targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for haste omitting further execution, began apace to advance up hill, seconded now by all the other cohorts. Meanwhile the horsemen flee, the charioteers mix themselves to fight among the foot, where many of their horse also fallen in disorderly, were now more a mischief to their own, than before a terrour to their enemies. The battle was a confused heap, the ground unequal; men, horses, chariots, crowded pellmell; sometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, overbearing, overturning. They on the hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewness of their enemies, came down amain; and had enclosed the Romans unawares behind, but that Agricola with a strong body of horse, which he reserved for such a purpose, repelled them back as fast; and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the Romans clearly masters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the Britons, in whole troops with weapons in their hands one while fleeing the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But of all them, when once they got the woods to their shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turned and slew, the rest so hampered, as had not Agricola, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest cohorts, with a part of his horse to alight and scour the woods, they had received a foil in the midst of victory; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the Britons fled again, and were totally scattered; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day ten thousand fell; of the Romans three hundred and forty, among whom Aulus Atticus the leader of a cohort; carried with heat of youth and the fierceness of his horse too far on. The Romans jocund of this victory, and the spoil they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandering about the field, both men and women, some lamenting, some calling their lost friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forsaking, some burning, their own houses; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on their wives and children, to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injury. Next day appearing, manifested more plainly the greatness of their loss received; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whither: such word the scouts bringing in from all parts, and the summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a war, the Roman general leads his army among the Horestians; by whom hostages being given, he commands his admiral with a sufficient navy to sail round the coast of Britain; himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new conquered nations, bestows his army in their winter-quarters. The fleet also having fetched a prosperous and speedy compass about the isle, put in at the haven Trutulensis, now Richburgh near Sandwich, from whence it first set out:[h] and now likeliest, if not two years before, as was mentioned, the Romans might discover and subdue the isles of Orkney; which

f Dion. l. 66. g Post Christ. 85.

h Camden Juven. sat. 2.

others with less reason, following[i] Eusebius and Orosius, attribute to the deeds of Claudius. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame: with Domitian, under whom great virtue was as punishable as open crime, won him hatred.[k] For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devised his ruin. [l] Agricola therefore commanded home for doing too much of what he was sent to do, left the province to his successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were Salustius Lucullus, or before him some other, for Suetonius only names him legate of Britain under Domitian; but further of him, or aught else done here until the time of Hadrian, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a preface in Tacitus to the book of his histories, that what Agricola won here, was soon after by Domitian either through want of valour lost, or through envy neglected. And Juvenal the poet speaks of Arviragus in these days, and not before, king of Britain; who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talked of at Rome, but to be held matter of a glorious triumph, if Domitian could take him captive, or overcome him. Then also Claudia Rufina the daughter of a Briton, and wife of Pudence a Roman senator, lived at Rome famous by the verse of Martial for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of Britain, is, that when Trajan was emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. But Hadrian next entering on the empire,[m] they soon unsubdued themselves. Julius Severus, saith Dion, then governed the island, a prime soldier of that age: he being called away to suppress the Jews then in tumult left things at such a pass, as caused the emperor in person to take a journey hither;[n] where many things he reformed, and, as Augustus and Tiberius counselled, to gird the empire within moderate bounds, he raised a wall with great stakes driven in deep, and fastened together, in manner of a strong mound, fourscore mile in length, to divide what was Roman from Barbarian; as his manner was to do in other frontiers of his empire, where great rivers divided not the limits. No ancient author names the place, but old inscriptions, and the ruin itself, yet testifies where it went along between Solway frith by Carlisle, and the mouth of Tine.[o] Hadrian having quieted the island, took it for honour to be titled on his coin, "The restorer of Britain." In his time also Priscus Licinius, as appears by an old inscription, was lieutenant here. Antoninus Pius reigning,[p] the Brigantes ever least patient of foreign servitude, breaking in upon Genounia (which Camden guesses to be Guinethia or North Wales) part of the Roman province, were with the loss of much territory driven back by Lollius Urbicus, who drew another wall of turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as Camden proves, between the frith of Dunbritton, and of Edinburgh; to hedge out incursions from the north. And Seius Saturninus, as is collected from the digests,[q] had charge here of the Roman navy. With like success did Marcus Aurelius,[r] next emperor, by his legate Calphurnius Agricola, finish here a new war: Commodus after him obtaining the empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, [s] Lucius a supposed king in some part of Britain, the first of any king in Europe, that we read of, received the Christian faith, and this nation the first by public authority professed it: a high and singular grace from above, if sincerity and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be feared the verifying of that true sentence, "The first shall be last." And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to King Lucius, than common to the nation; whose first professing by public authority was no real commendation of their true faith, which had appeared more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other nation, first professed without public authority or against it, might else have been but outward conformity. Lucius in our Monmouth story is made the second by descent from Marius; Marius the son of Arviragus is there said to have overthrown the Picts then first coming out of Scythia, slain Roderic their king; and in sign of victory to have set up a monument of stone in the country since called Westmaria; but these things have no foundation. Coilus the son of Marius, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to Lucius. He (if Beda err not, living near five hundred years after, yet our ancientest author of this report) sent to Elutherius, then bishop of Rome,[t] an improbable letter, as some of the contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receive Christianity. From whom two religious doctors, named in our chronicles Faganus and Deruvianus, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole nation:[u] thence Lucius to have had the surname of Levermaur, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the christian faith here known, but even from the latter days of Tiberius, as Gildas confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by Simon Zelotes, as others by Joseph of Arimathea, Barnabas, Paul, Peter, and their prime disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believed, ecclesiastic historians can best determine; as the best of them do, with little credit given to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for Lucius, they write,[x] that after a long reign he was buried in Gloucester; but dying without issue, left the kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony[y] we find that the greatest war which in those days busied Commodus, was in this island. For the nations northward, notwithstanding the wall raised to keep them out, breaking in upon the Roman province, wasted wide; and both the army and the leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroyed; which put the emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best commanders, Ulpius Marcellus.[z] He a man endowed with all nobleness of mind, frugal and temperate, mild and magnanimous, in war bold and watchful, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes; what with his valour, and these his other

i Eutrop. l. 7. k Dion. l. 66 l Post Christ 86.
m Spartianus in vit Hadrian. n Post Christ 122. Spartianus ibid.
o Camden p Pausan arcad q Cap vit Ant Post Christ 141

r Post Christ. 162. Digest. l. 36. s Beda. t Post Christ. 181
u Nennius x Geoff. Mon. y Dion. l 72.
z Post Christ 183

virtues, quickly ended this war that looked so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an emperor. [a]After whose departure the Roman legions fell to sedition among themselves; fifteen hundred of them went to Rome in name of the rest, and were so terrible to Commodus himself, as that to please them he delivered up to their care Perennis the captain of his guard, for having in the British war removed their leaders, who were senators, and in their places put those of the equestrian order. Notwithstanding which compliance, they endeavoured here to set up another emperor against him; and Helvius Pertinax,[b] who succeeded governour, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and though afterwards he severely punished the tumulters, was fain at length to seek a dismission from his charge. After him Clodius Albinus[c] took the government; but he, for having to the soldiers made an oration against monarchy, by the appointment of Commodus was bid resign to Junius Severus.[d] But Albinus in those troublesome times ensuing under the short reign of Pertinax and Didius Julianus,[e] found means to keep in his hands the government of Britain; although Septimius Severus,[f] who next held the empire, sent hither Heraclitus to displace him; but in vain, for Albinus with all the British powers and those of Gallia met Severus about Lyons in France,[g] and fought a bloody battle with him for the empire, though at last vanquished and slain. The government of Britain[h] Severus divided between two deputies; till then one legate was thought sufficient; the north he committed to Virius Lupus. [i]Where the Meatæ rising in arms, and the Caledonians, though they had promised the contrary to Lupus,[k] preparing to defend them, so hard beset, he was compelled to buy his peace, and a few prisoners with great sums of money. But hearing that Severus had now brought to an end his other wars, he writes him plainly the state of things here,[l] "the Britons of the north made war upon him, broke into the province, and harassed all the countries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more aid, or himself in person." Severus, though now much weakened with age and the gout, yet desirous to leave some memorial of his warlike achievements here, as he had done in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two sons from the pleasures of Rome, and his soldiers from idleness, with a mighty power, far sooner than could be expected, arrives in Britain. [m]The northern people much daunted with the report of so great forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send embassadors to treat of peace, and to excuse their former doings. The emperor now loth to return home without some memorable thing done, whereby he might assume to his other titles the addition of Britannicus, delays his answer, and quickens his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismissed without effect. His principal care was to have many bridges laid over bogs and rotten moors, that his soldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of tillage, the northen parts were then, as Ireland is at this day; and the inhabitants in like manner wanted to retire, and defend themselves in such watery places half naked. He also being past Adrian's wall,[n] cut down woods, made ways through hills, fastened and filled up unsound and plashy fens. Notwithstanding all this industry used, the enemy kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the Romans, when they were most in straits and difficulties, sometimes training them on with a few cattle turned out, and drawn within ambush cruelly handling them, that many a time enclosed in the midst of sloughs and quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a prey to the Caledonians.[o] Thus lost Severus, and by sickness in those noisome places, no less than fifty thousand men: and yet desisted not, though for weakness carried in a litter, till he had marched through with his army to the utmost northern verge of the isle: and the Britons offering peace, were compelled to lose much of their country not before subject to the Romans.[p] Severus on the frontiers of what he had firmly conquered, builds a wall cross the island from sea to sea; which one author judges the most magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence received the style of Britannicus;[q] in length a hundred and thirty-two miles. Orosius adds it fortified with a deep trench, and between certain spaces many towers or battlements. The place whereof some will have to be in Scotland, the same which Lollius Urbicus had walled before. [r]Others affirm it only Hadrian's work re-edified; both plead authorities and the ancient track yet visible: but this I leave among the studious of these antiquities to be discussed more at large. While peace held, the empress Julia meeting on a time certain British ladies, and discoursing with the wife of Argentocoxus a Caledonian, cast out a scoff against the looseness of our island women; whose manner then was to use promiscuously the company of divers men. Whom straight the British woman boldly thus answered: "Much better do we Britons fulfil the work of nature than you Romans; we with the best men accustom openly; you with the basest commit private adulteries." Whether she thought this answer might serve to justify the practice of her country, as when vices are compared, the greater seems to justify the less; or whether the law and custom wherein she was bred, had whipped out of her conscience the better dictate of nature, and not convinced her of the shame, certain it is, that whenas other nations used a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many wives, the Britons[s] altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in their license, had one or many wives

a Lamprid. in comm. Post Christ. 186. b Capitolin. in Pert.
c Capitolin. in Alb. d Post Christ. 193. e Dion. Did. Jul.
f Spartian. in Sever. g Herod. l. 3. h Ibid.
i Digest, l. 28. tit. 6. k Dion. l Herod. l. 3.

m Post Christ. 208. n Post Christ. 209. o Dion.
p Post Christ. 210. Spartianus in Sever.
q Eutropii Pean. Oros. l. 7. Cassid. Chro.
r Buchanan. s Cæsar.

in common among ten or twelve husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was Severus returned into the province, than the Britons take arms again. Against whom Severus, worn out with labours and infirmity, sends Antoninus his eldest son, expressly commanding him to spare neither sex nor age. But Antoninus, who had his wicked thoughts taken up with the contriving of his father's death, a safer enemy than a son, did the Britons not much detriment. Whereat Severus, more overcome with grief than any other malady, ended his life at York.[t] After whose decease Antoninus Caracalla his impious son, concluding peace with the Britons, took hostages and departed to Rome. The conductor of all this northern war Scottish writers name Donaldus, he of Monmouth Fulgenius, in the rest of his relation nothing worth. From hence the Roman empire declining apace, good historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing. Under Gordian the emperor we find, by the inscription[u] of an altar-stone, that Nonius Philippus governed here. Under Galienus we read there was a strong and general revolt from the Roman legate. Of the thirty tyrants which not long after took upon them the style of emperor,[x] by many coins found among us, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, the Tetrici, and Marius are conjectured to have risen or born great sway in this island.[y] Whence Porphyrius, a philosopher then living, said that Britain was a soil fruitful of tyrants; and is noted to be the first author that makes mention of the Scottish nation. While Probus was emperor,[z] Bonosus the son of a rhetorician, bred up a Spaniard, though by descent a Briton, and a matchless drinker; nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups; having attained in warfare to high honours, and lastly in his charge over the German shipping, willingly, as was thought, miscarried, trusting on his power with the western armies, and joined with Proculus, bore himself a while for emperor; but after a long and bloody fight at Cullen, vanquished by Probus, he hanged himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him for his much drinking:[a] "Here hangs a tankard, not a man." After this, Probus with much wisdom prevented a new rising here in Britain by the severe loyalty of Victorinus a Moor, at whose entreaty he had placed here that governour which rebelled. For the emperor upbraiding him with the disloyalty of whom he had commended, Victorinus undertaking to set all right again, hastes thither, and finding indeed the governour to intend sedition, by some contrivance not mentioned in the story, slew him, whose name[b] some imagine to be Cornelius Lelianus. They write also that Probus gave leave to the Spaniards, Gauls, and Britons to plant vines, and to make wine; and having subdued the Vandals and Burgundians in a great battle,[c] sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the Romans, when any insurrection happened in the isle. After whom Carus emperor going against the Persians, left Carinus[d] one of his sons to govern among other western provinces this island with imperial authority; but him Dioclesian, saluted emperor by the eastern arms, overcame and slew. About which time Carausius,[e] a man of low parentage, born in Menapia, about the parts of Cleves and Juliers, who through all military degrees was made at length admiral of the Belgic and Armoric seas, then much infested by the Franks and Saxons, what he took from the pirates, neither restoring to the owners nor accounting to the public, but enriching himself, and yet not scouring the seas, but conniving rather at those sea robbers, was grown at length too great a delinquent to be less than an emperor;[f] for fear and guiltiness in those days made emperors oftener than merit: and understanding that Maximianus Herculius,[g] Dioclesian's adopted son, was come against him into Gallia, passed over with the navy, which he had made his own, into Britain, and possessed the island. Where he built a new[h] fleet after the Roman fashion, got into his power the legion that was left here in garrison, other outlandish cohorts detained, listed the very merchants and factors of Gallia, and with the allurement of spoil invited great numbers of other barbarous nations to his part, and trained them to sea service, wherein the Romans at that time were grown so out of skill, that Carausius with his navy did at sea what he listed, robbing on every coast; whereby Maximilian, able to come no nearer than the shore of Boloigne, was forced to conclude a peace with Carausius, and yield him Britain;[i] as one fittest to guard the province there against inroads from the North. But not long after[k] having assumed Constantius Chlorus to the dignity of Cæsar, sent him against Carausius; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the land and without.[l] Galfred of Monmouth writes, that he made the Picts his confederates; to whom, lately come out of Scythia, he gave Albany to dwell in: and it is observed, that before his time the Picts are not known to have been any where mentioned, and then first by Eumenius a rhetorician.[m] He repaired and fortified the wall of Severus with seven castles, and a round house of smooth stone on the bank of Carron, which river, saith Ninnius, was of his name so called; he built also a triumphal arch in remembrance of some victory there obtained.[n] In France he held Gessoriacum, or Boloigne; and all the Franks, which had by his permission seated themselves in Belgia, were at his devotion. But Constantius hasting into Gallia, besieges Boloigne, and with stones and timber obstructing the port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by Carausius. Who ere Constantius, with the great fleet which he had prepared, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously[o] by Alectus one of his friends, who longed to step into his place; when he seven years, and worthily as some say, as others tyrannically, had ruled the island. So much the more did Constantius

t Post Christ. 211. Spartianus in Sever. u Post Christ. 242. Camb. Cumber. x Post Christ. 259. Eumen. Paneg. Const. y Post Christ. 267. Camden. Gildas. Hieronym. z Post Christ. 282. Vopisc. in Bonas. a Zozim. l. 1. b Camd. c Zozimus. d Post Christ. 283. Vopisc. in Carin.

e Post Christ. 284. Aurel. Victor. de Cæsar. Eutrop. Oros. f Post Christ. 285. g Eumen. Paneg. 2. h Post Christ. 286. i Victor. Eutrop. k Post Christ. 291. l Buchanan. m Paneg. 2. n Paneg. Sigonius. o Post Christ. 292.

prosecute that opportunity, before Alectus could well strengthen his affairs:[p] and though in ill weather, putting to sea with all urgency from several havens to spread the terrour of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a mist passing the British fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the isle of Wight, no sooner got ashore, but fires his own ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in victory. Alectus also, though now much dismayed, transfers his fortune to a battle on the shore; but encountered by Asclepiodotus, captain of the prætorian bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the Romans, but great execution on the Franks. His body was found almost naked in the field, for his purple robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to London, and purposing with the pillage of that city to escape by sea, are met by another part of the Roman army, whom the mist at sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chased through all the streets. The Britons, their wives also and children, with great joy go out to meet Constantius, as one whom they acknowledge their deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by Eumenius,[q] who then lived, and was of Constantius's houshold, to have been done in the course of one continued action; so also thinks Sigonius, a learned writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of Alectus. In these days were great store of workmen, and excellent builders in this island, whom, after the alteration of things here, the Æduans in Burgundy entertained to build their temples, and public edifices. Dioclesian having hitherto successfully used his valour against the enemies of his empire, uses now his rage in a bloody persecution against his obedient and harmless christian subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this island, though most remote, far enough removed.[r] Among them here who suffered gloriously, Aron, and Julius of Caerleon upon Usk, but chiefly Alban of Verulam, were most renowned; the story of whose martyrdom soiled, and worse martyred with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of miracles, than apprehensive of truth, deserves not longer digression. Constantius, after Dioclesian, dividing the empire with Galerius, had Britain among his other provinces; where either preparing or returning with a victory from an expedition against the Caledonians, he died at York.[s] His son Constantine, who happily came post from Rome to Bologne, just about the time, saith Eumenius, that his father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his deathbed named, and after his funeral, by the whole army saluted emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own historians, though not those the ancientest, that Constantine was born in this island, his mother Helena the daughter of Coilus a British prince, not sure the father of King Lucius, whose sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by a hundred years to be the mother of Constantine. But to salve this incoherence, another Coilus is feigned to be then earl of Colchester. To this therefore the Roman authors give no testimony, except a passage or two in the Panegyrics, about the sense whereof much is argued: others[t] nearest to those times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of a mean woman, Helena, the concubine of Constantius, at Naisus in Dardania. [u] Howbeit, ere his departure hence, he seems to have had some bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent affairs composed, he passes into Gallia; and after four years returns either to settle or to alter the state of things here, until a new war against Maxentius called him back, leaving Pacatianus his vicegerent. [x] He deceasing, Constantine his eldest son enjoyed for his part of the empire, with all the provinces that lay on this side the Alps, this island also. [y] But falling to civil war with Constans his brother, was by him slain; who with his third brother Constantius coming into Britain, seized it as victor. Against him rose Magnentius,[z] one of his chief commanders, by some affirmed the son of a Briton, he having gained on his side great forces, contested with Constantius in many battles for the sole empire; but vanquished, in the end slew himself. [a] Somewhat before this time Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, afterwards emperor, had chief command of those armies which the Romans kept here. [b] And the Arian doctrine which then divided christendom, wrought also in this island no small disturbance; a land, saith Gildas, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last [c] Constantius appointed a synod of more than four hundred bishops to assemble at Ariminum on the emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the British, poverty constraining them, accepted; though the other bishops among them offered to have born their charges; esteeming it more honourable to live on the public, than to be obnoxious to any private purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the presbyters of our age; who like well to sit in assembly on the public stipend, but liked not the poverty that caused these to do so. After this Martinus was deputy of the province; who being offended with the cruelty which Paulus, an inquisitor sent from Constantius, exercised in his inquiry after those military officers who had conspired with Magnentius, was himself laid hold on as an accessory: at which enraged he runs at Paulus with his drawn sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guessed, Alipius was made deputy. In the mean time Julian,[d] whom Constantius had made Cæsar, having recovered much territory about the Rhine, where the German inroads before had long insulted, to relieve those countries almost ruined, causes eight hundred pinnaces to be built; and with them, by frequent voyages, plenty of corn to be fetched in from Britain; which even then was the usual bounty

p Camd. ex Nin. Eumen. Pan. 3 Oros. l 7 c 25 q Eumen.
r Gildas. s Author, ign post Marcellin Valesii. Post Christ. 306. Eutrop. Eumen. idem. Auth ignot
t Idem vit. Auth. ignot Euseb. Const Oros. l. 7. 25 cap Cass. Chron.
u Post Christ. 307. Sigon

x Post Christ. 311. Camd. Ammian l 20. and in cum Valesius
y Post Christ. 340. Libanius in Basilico. z Post Christ 313. Camd. ex Firmico. a Post Christ. 350. Camden.
b Post Christ 353 Ammian. c Post Christ. 359.
d Liban. Or. 10. Zozim l. 3 Marcel l 18

of this soil to those parts, as oft as French and Saxon pirates hindered not the transportation.[e] While[f] Constantius yet reigned, the Scots and Picts breaking in upon the Northern confines, Julian, being at Paris, sends over Lupicinus, a well-tried soldier, but a proud and covetous man, who with a power of light-armed Herulians, Batavians, and Mæsians, in the midst of winter sailing from Bologne, arrives at Rutupiæ, seated on the opposite shore, and comes to London, to consult there about the war; but soon after was recalled by Julian, then chosen emperor. Under whom we read not of aught happening here, only that Palladius, one of his great officers, was hither banished. [g] This year, Valentinian being emperor, the Atticots, Picts, and Scots, roving up and down, and last the Saxons with perpetual landings and invasions harried the South coast of Britain; slew Nectaridius who governed the sea borders, and Bulchobaudes with his forces by an ambush. With which news Valentinian not a little perplexed, sends first Severus high steward of his house, and soon recalls him; then Jovinus, who intimating the necessity of greater supplies, he sends at length Theodosius, a man of tried valour and experience, father to the first emperor of that name. He [h] with selected numbers out of the legions, and cohorts, crosses the sea from Bologne to Rutupiæ; from whence with the Batavians, Herulians, and other legions that arrived soon after, he marches to London; and dividing his forces into several bodies, sets upon the dispersed and plundering enemy, laden with spoil; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forced to leave there with their lives, he restores all to the right owners, save a small portion to his wearied soldiers, and enters London victoriously; which, before in many straits and difficulties, was now revived as with a great deliverance. The numerous enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different nations, and the war scattered: which Theodosius, getting daily some intelligence from fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden parties and surprisals, rather than set battles; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to such as would lay down arms, and accept of peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that Civilis, a man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as deputy of the island, and Dulcitius a famous captain. Thus was Theodosius busied, besetting with ambushes the roving enemy, repressing his roads, restoring cities and castles to their former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when [i] Valentinus a Pannonian, for some great offence banished into Britain, conspiring with certain exiles and soldiers against Theodosius, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the isle into his power, is discovered, and with his chief accomplices delivered over to condign punishment: against the rest, Theodosius with a wise lenity suffered not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettled. This done, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the confines many strong holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches: and so reduced all things out of danger, that the province, which but lately was under command of the enemy, became now wholly Roman, new named Valentia of Valentinian, and the city of London, Augusta. Thus Theodosius nobly acquitting himself in all affairs, with general applause of the whole province, accompanied to the sea-side returns to Valentinian. Who about five years after sent hither Fraomarius, a king of the Almans,[k] with authority of a tribune over his own country forces; which then, both for number and good service, were in high esteem. Against Gratian, who succeeded in the Western empire, Maximus a Spaniard, and one who had served in the British wars with younger Theodosius, (for he also, either with his father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this island,) and now general of the Roman armies here, either discontented that Theodosius was preferred before him to the empire, or constrained by the soldiers who hated Gratian, assumes the imperial purple;[m] and having attained victory against the Scots and Picts, with the flower and strength of Britain, passes into France; there slays Gratian, and without much difficulty, the space of [n] five years obtains his part of the empire, overthrown at length, and slain by Theodosius. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of Armorica, which Maximus had given them to possess, the South of Britain by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of Roman soldiers on the confines drawn off, became a prey to savage invasions;[o] of Scots from the Irish seas, of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Against them, first[p] Chrysanthus the son of Marcian a bishop, made deputy of Britain by Theodosius, demeaned himself worthily: then Stilicho a man of great power, whom Theodosius dying left protector of his son Honorius, either came in person, or sending over sufficient aid, repressed them, and as it seems new fortified the wall against them. But that legion being called away, when the Roman armies from all parts hasted to relieve Honorius,[q] then besieged in Asta of Piemont, by Alaric the Goth, Britain was left exposed as before, to those barbarous robbers. Lest any wonder how the Scots came to infest Britain from the Irish sea, it must be understood, that the Scots not many years before had been driven all out of Britain by Maximus;[r] and their king Eugenius slain in fight, as their own annals report: whereby, it seems, wandering up and down without certain seat, they lived by scumming those seas and shores as pirates. But more authentic writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came first into Ireland, and dwelt there, and named it Scotia long before the North of Britain took that name. [s] Orosius, who lived at this time, writes that Ireland

e Amm. l. 23. f Post Christ. 360. Amm. l. 20.
g Post Christ. 364. Amm. l. 26, 27. h Post Christ. 367.
i Post Christ. 368. Amm. l. 28. Zozim. l. 4.
k Post Christ. 373. Amm. l. 29. l Zozim. l. 4. Sigon.
m Pros. Aquitain. Chron. Post Christ. 381.

n Gildas. Post Christ. 388. Beda. Ninn. o Post Christ. 389.
p Socrat. l. 7. Claudian de laud. Stil. l. 2. and de Bello Get.
q Post Christ. 402.
r Ethelwerd Saxon. Bede epit. in the year 505: and Bede, l. 2. c. 4.
s Oros. l. 1. c. 2.

was then inhabited by Scots, About this time,[t] though troublesome, Pelagius a Briton found the leisure to bring new and dangerous opinions into the church, and is largely writ against by St. Austin. But the Roman powers which were called into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric was over, made return into several provinces; and perhaps Victorinus of Tolosa, whom Rutilius the poet much commends, might be then prefect of this island; if it were not he whom Stilicho sent hither. Buchanan writes, that endeavouring to reduce the Picts into a province, he gave the occasion of their calling back Fergusius and the Scots, whom Maximus with their help had quite driven out of the island: and indeed the verses of that poet speak him to have been active in those parts. But the time which is assigned him later by Buchanan after Gratianus Municeps, by Camden after Constantine the tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of history. [u] For the Vandals having broke in and wasted all Belgia, even to those places from whence easiest passage is into Britain, the Roman forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up Marcus, who it may seem was then deputy. But him not found agreeable to their heady courses, they as hastily kill;[x] for the giddy favour of a mutinying rout is as dangerous as their fury. The like they do by [y] Gratian a British Roman, in four months advanced, adored, and destroyed. There was among them a common soldier whose name was Constantine, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of the luckiness in his name, as without other visible merit to create him emperor. It fortuned that the man had not his name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wakened spirit, to the extent of his fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the province, and what of British was able to bear arms, he passes into France, aspiring at least to an equal share with Honorius in the empire. Where, by the valour of Edobecus a Frank, and Gerontius a Briton, and partly by persuasion, gaining all in his way, he comes to Arles.[z] With like felicity by his son Constans, whom of a monk he had made a Cæsar, and by the conduct of Gerontius he reduces all Spain to his obedience. But Constans after this displacing Gerontius, the affairs of Constantine soon went to wreck; for he by this means alienated, set up Maximus one of his friends against him in Spain;[a] and passing into France, took Vienna by assault, and having slain Constans in that city, calls on the Vandals against Constantine; who by him incited, as by him before they had been repressed, breaking forward, overrun most part of France. But when Constantius Comes, the emperor's general, with a strong power came out of Italy, [b] Gerontius, deserted by his own forces, retires into Spain; where also growing into contempt with the soldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his house in the night was beset,[c] having first with a few of his servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above three hundred, though when his darts and other weapons were spent he might have escaped at a private door, as all his servants did, not enduring to leave his wife Nonnichia, whom he loved, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend Alanus, as was agreed; next his wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importuned, refusing to outlive her husband, he dispatched: for which her resolution, Sozomenus an ecclesiastical writer gives her high praise, both as a wife, and as a christian. Last of all, against himself he turns his sword; but missing the mortal place, with his poniard finishes the work. Thus far is pursued the story of a famous Briton, related negligently by our other historians. As for Constantine, his ending was not answerable to his setting out; for he with his other son Julian besieged by Constantius in Arles, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns priest; but that not availing him, is carried into Italy, and there put to death; having four years acted the emperor. While these things were doing,[d] the Britons at home, destitute of Roman aid, and the chief strength of their own youth, that went first with Maximus, then with Constantine, not returning home, vexed and harassed by their wonted enemies, had sent messages to Honorius; but he at that time not being able to defend Rome itself, which the same year was taken by Alaric, advises them by his letter to consult how best they might for their own safety, and acquits them of the Roman jurisdiction.[e] They therefore thus relinquished, and by all right the government relapsing into their own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after their own laws, defending their bounds as well as they were able; and the Armoricans, who not long after were called the Britons of France, followed their example. Thus expired this great empire of the Romans; first in Britain, soon after in Italy itself: having born chief sway in this island, though never thoroughly subdued, or all at once in subjection, if we reckon from the coming in of Julius to the taking of Rome by Alaric, in which year Honorius wrote those letters of discharge into Britain, the space of 462 years.[f] And with the empire fell also what before in this Western world was chiefly Roman; learning, valour, eloquence, history, civility, and even language itself, all these together, as it were, with equal pace, diminishing and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of authors; near enough to the things they write, as in their own country, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous, and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: this we must expect; in civil matters to find them dubious relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of religion, blind, astonished, and struck with superstition

t Post Christ. 405. u Post Christ. 407. Zozim. l. 6.
x Sozom. l. 9. y Oros. l. 7. z Post Christ. 408.
a Post Christ. 409. b Sozom. l. 9.

c Olympiodor. apud Photium. d Gildas, Beda, Zozim. l. 6.
e Procopius Vandalic. f Calvis. Sigon.

as with a planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these guides, where can be had no better, must be followed; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstances each man, as his judgment gives him, may reserve his faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.

THE THIRD BOOK.

This third book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary as the intermission or change of government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late civil broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the Britons then were in when the imperial jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of their own councils; which times by comparing seriously with these latter, and that confused anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of state, producing like events among us, to raise a knowledge of ourselves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the Britons generally are in matters of so high enterprise; how by nature, industry, or custom, fitted to attempt or undergo matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a nation, to know itself; rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly and come off miserably in great undertakings.

[a] [Of these who swayed most in the late troubles, few words as to this point may suffice. They had arms, leaders, and successes to their wish; but to make use of so great an advantage was not their skill.

To other causes therefore, and not to the want of force, to warlike manhood in the Britons, both those, and these lately, we must impute the ill husbanding of those fair opportunities, which might seem to have put liberty so long desired, like a bridle, into their hands. Of which other causes equally belonging to ruler, priest, and people, above hath been related: which, as they brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin, by liberty, which, rightly used, might have made them happy; so brought they these of late, after many labours, much bloodshed, and vast expense, to ridiculous frustration: in whom the like defects, the like miscarriages notoriously appeared, with vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

For a parliament being called, to address many things, as it was thought, the people with great courage, and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in parliament, such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, (to be sure the greater part,) whom wealth or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition (rather than merit) had commended to the same place.

But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted their New magistracy were cooled, and spent in them, strait every one betook himself (setting the commonwealth behind, his private ends before) to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied: spight and favour determined all: hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field: every where wrong, and oppression: foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained, in secret, or in open. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, (as their breeding was,) fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men could sooth and humour them best; so he who would give most, or, under covert of hypocritical zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity; or escaped the punishment of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws, and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else, but new impositions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed and shared among themselves: they in the mean while, who were ever faithfullest to this cause, and freely aided them in person, or with their substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved after of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable attendance from one committee to another with petitions in their hands, yet either missed the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted, (mere shame and reason ofttimes extorting from them at least a shew of justice,) yet by their sequestrators and subcommittees abroad, men for the most part of insatiable hands, and noted disloyalty, those orders were commonly disobeyed: which for certain durst not have been, without secret compliance, if not compact with some superiours able to bear them out. Thus were their friends confiscate in their enemies, while they forfeited their debtors to the state, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening seizure of innumerable thieves in office: yet were withal no less burdened in all extraordinary assessments and oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected: nor were we happier creditors to what we called the state, than to them who were sequestered as the state's enemies.

For that faith which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any thing holy, "the Public Faith," after infinite sums received, and all the wealth of the church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private Gulf, was not ere long ashamed to confess bankrupt. And now besides the sweetness of bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness and the dreaded name of Just Account, which the people had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number, who secretly con-

[a] The following paragraphs, within crotchets, have been omitted in all the former editions of our author's History of Britain, except that published in the collection of his works, 1738, 2 vol. folio, and the subsequent edition in quarto.

trived and fomented those troubles and combustions in the land, which openly they sat to remedy; and would continually find such work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that Terrible Stand of laying down their authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole nation.

And if the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such, as had preached and cried down, with great shew of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastorlike profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms: by which means these great rebukers of nonresidence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and nonresidents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths. And yet the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience, than evangelical persuasion: distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of as executed unchristianly, against themselves; these intents are clear to have been no better than antichristian: setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner, to punish church-delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.

And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers, trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous, (and as they sticked not to term them,) godly men; but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of reformation.

The people therefore looking one while on the statists, whom they beheld without constancy or firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers ways their disaffection; some despising whom before they honoured, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then looking on the churchmen, whom they saw under subtle hypocrisy to have preached their own follies, most of them not the gospel, timeservers, covetous, illiterate persecuters, not lovers of the truth, like in most things whereof they accused their predecessors: looking on all this, the people which had been kept warm a while with the counterfeit zeal of their pulpits, after a false heat, became more cold and obdurate than before, some turning to lewdness, some to flat atheism, put beside their old religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new.

Thus they who of late were extolled as our greatest deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion, by so discharging their trust as we see, did not only weaken and unfit themselves to be dispensers of what liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the people, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or to digest any liberty at all. For stories teach us, that liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerate age, brought Rome itself to a farther slavery: for liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischief unwieldy in their own hands: neither is it completely given, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance and unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely; what good laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom which they merit, and the bad the curb which they need. But to do this, and to know these exquisite proportions, the heroic wisdom which is required, surmounted far the principles of these narrow politicians: what wonder then if they sunk as these unfortunate Britons before them, entangled and oppressed with things too hard and generous above their strain and temper? For Britain, to speak a truth not often spoken, as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war, so it is naturally not over-fertile of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace, trusting only in their mother-wit; who consider not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the public good, more than of money or vain honour, are to this soil in a manner outlandish; grow not here, but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding, too impolitic else and rude, if not headstrong and intractable to the industry and virtue either of executing or understanding true civil government. Valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious, and unwise: in good or bad success, alike unteachable. For the sun,

which we want, ripens wits as well as fruits; and as wine and oil are imported to us from abroad, so must ripe understanding, and many civil virtues, be imported into our minds from foreign writings, and examples of best ages; we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great enterprise. Hence did their victories prove as fruitless, as their losses dangerous; and left them still conquering under the same grievances, that men suffer conquered: which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise, unless men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the knowledge of ancient and illustrious deeds, invincible against many and vain titles, impartial to friendships and relations, had conducted their affairs: but then from the chapman to the retailer, many whose ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted with all their sordid rudiments to bear no mean sway among them, both in church and state.

From the confluence of all their errours, mischiefs, and misdemeanors, what in the eyes of man could be expected, but what befel those ancient inhabitants, whom they so much resembled, confusion in the end?

But on these things, and this parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the story, which gave us matter of this digression.]

The Britons thus, as we heard, being left without protection from the empire, and the land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in wars abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves, through long subjection, servile in mind,[b] slothful of body, and with the use of arms unacquainted, sustained but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of change,[c] and to be thought the leading nation to freedom from the empire, they seemed awhile to bestir them with a shew of diligence in their new affairs, some secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the wisdom, the virtue, the labour, to use and maintain true liberty, they soon remitted their heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty, than before under a foreign yoke. Insomuch that the residue of those Romans, which had planted themselves here, despairing of their ill deportment at home, and weak resistance in the field by those few who had the courage or the strength to bear arms, nine years after the sacking of Rome removed out of Britain into France,[d] hiding for haste great part of their treasure, which was never after found.[e] And now again the Britons, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing enemy, solicit Honorius to their aid,[f] with mournful letters, embassages, and vows of perpetual subjection to Rome, if the northern foe were but repulsed. [g] He at their request spares them one legion, which with great slaughter of the Scots and Picts drove them beyond the borders, rescued the Britons, and advised them to build a wall across the island, between sea and sea, from the place where Edinburgh now stands to the frith of Dunbritton, by the city Alcluith.[h] But the material being only turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, availed them little. [i] For no sooner was the legion departed, but the greedy spoilers returning, land in great numbers from their boats and pinnaces, wasting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are messengers again posted to Rome in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole province to be destroyed, and the Roman name, so honourable yet among them, to become the subject of Barbarian scorn and insolence. [k] The emperor, at their sad complaint, with what speed was possible, sends to their succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only spoil, surprise them with a terrible slaughter. They who escaped fled back to those seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with booties. But the Romans, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of their affairs to make such laborious voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own warfare; and to defend like men their country, their wives, their children, and what was to be dearer than life, their liberty, against an enemy not stronger than themselves, if their own sloth and cowardice had not made them so: if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive bonds. [l] They gave them also their help to build a new wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone, (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions,) traversing the isle in a direct line from east to west, between certain cities placed there as frontiers to bear off the enemy, where Severus had walled once before. They raised it twelve foot high, eight broad. Along the south shore, because from thence also like hostility was feared, they place towers by the sea-side at certain distances, for safety of the coast. Withal they instruct them in the art of war, leaving patterns of their arms and weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewel, without purpose to return. And these two friendly expeditions, the last of any hither by the Romans, were performed, as may be gathered out of Beda and Diaconus, the two last years of Honorius. [m] Their leader, as some modernly write, was Gallio of Ravenna; Buchanan, who departs not much from the fables of his predecessor Boethius, names him Maximianus, and brings against him to this battle Fergus first king of Scots, after their second supposed coming into Scotland, Durstus, king of Picts, both there slain, and Dioneth an imaginary king of Britain, or duke of Cornwall, who improbably sided with them against his own country, hardly escaping.[n] With no less exactness of particular circumstances he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary inroads of the Scots

b Gild. Bede. Malms c Zozim. l. 6. d Post Christ. 418.
e Ethelwerd annal. Sax. f Gildas. Post Christ 422.
g Diaconus, l. 14. h Bede, l. 1. c. 2.

i Gildas. k Post Christ. 423.
l Bede, ibid. Gildas. m Blond. Sabellic.
n Buch. l. 5.

and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yesterday happened, their order of battle, manner of fight, number of slain, articles of peace, things whereof Gildas and Beda are utterly silent, authors to whom the Scotch writers have none to cite comparable in antiquity; no more therefore to be believed for bare assertions, however quaintly drest, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he varies most from authentic story. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily called historians, or the fond zeal of praising their nations above truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their history, or magnify their country.

The Scots and Picts in manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the Romans intended not to return, from their gorroghs or leathern frigates[o] pour out themselves in swarms upon the land more confident than ever; and from the north end of the isle to the very wall's side, then first took possession as inhabitants; while the Britons with idle weapons in their hands stand trembling on the battlements, till the half naked Barbarians with their long and formidable iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the wall, but towns and cities, leave them to the bloody pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a famine, and from thence discord and civil commotion among the Britons; each man living by what he robbed or took violently from his neighbour. When all stores were consumed and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the woods, and lived by hunting, which was their only sustainment. [p] To the heaps of these evils from without were added new divisions within the church. [q] For Agricola the son of Severianus a Pelagian bishop had spread his doctrine wide among the Britons, not uninfected before. The sounder part, neither willing to embrace his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able to refute him, crave assistance from the churches of France: who send them Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes. They by continual preaching in churches,[r] in streets, in fields, and not without miracles, as is written, confirmed some, regained others, and at Verulam in a public disputation put to silence their chief adversaries. This reformation in the church was believed to be the cause of their success a while after in the field. For the Saxons and Picts with joint force,[s] which was no new thing before the Saxons at least had any dwelling in this island, during the abode of Germanus here, had made a strong impression from the north. [t] The Britons marching out against them, and mistrusting their own power, send to Germanus and his colleague, reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two men, than in their own thousands armed. They came, and their presence in the camp was not less than if a whole army had come to second them. It was then the time of Lent, and the people, instructed by the daily sermons of these two pastors, came flocking to receive baptism. There was a place in the camp set apart as a church, and tricked up with boughs upon Easter-day. The enemy understanding this, and that the Britons were taken up with religions more than with feats of arms, advances after the paschal feast, as to a certain victory. German, who also had intelligence of their approach, undertakes to be captain that day; and riding out with selected troops to discover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a valley compassed about with hills, by which the enemy was to pass. And placing there his ambush, warns them, that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The enemy passes on securely, and German thrice aloud cries Hallelujah; which answered by the soldiers with a sudden burst of clamour, is from the hills and valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge host, throw themselves into flight, casting down their arms, and great numbers of them are drowned in the river which they had newly passed. This victory, thus won without hands, left to the Britons plenty of spoil, and the person and the preaching of German greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if Constantius, the writer of his life in the next age, had resolved us how the British army came to want baptizing; for of any paganism at that time, or long before, in the land we read not, or that Pelagianism was rebaptized. The place of this victory, as is reported, was in Flintshire,[u] by a town called Guid cruc, and the river Allen, where a field retains the name of Maes German to this day. But so soon as German was returned home,[x] the Scots and Picts, (though now so many of them Christians, that Palladius a deacon was ordained and sent by Celestine the pope to be a bishop over them,) were not so well reclaimed, or not so many of them, as to cease from doing mischief to their neighbours,[y] where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the Britons who perhaps were not yet wholly ruined, in the strongest and south-west parts of the isle,[z] send letters to Ætius, then third time consul of Rome, with this superscription; "To Ætius thrice consul, the groans of the Britons." And after a few words thus: "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians: thus bandied up and down between two deaths, we perish either by the sword or by the sea." But the empire, at that time overspread with Huns and Vandals, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the enemy; others either more resolute, or less exposed to wants, keeping within woods and mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out, at length gave a stop to the insulting foe, with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in

o Gildas, Bede. p Bede. q Constantius
r Post Christ. 426 Prosp. Aquit. Matth West ad ann. 446.
s Post Christ. 430. t Constant vit German

u Usser. Primord p. 333.
x Post Christ. 431. Prosp. Aquit. Ethelwerd. y Florent Gild. Bede.
z Malmsbury, l. 1. c. i. p. 8. Post Christ. 446.

divine assistance. And perhaps no other here is meant than the foresaid deliverance by German, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long here, the writers of his life assent not.[a] Finding therefore such opposition, the Scotch or Irish robbers, for so they are indifferently termed, without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mentioned, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the island, using now and then to make inroads upon the Britons. But they in the mean while thus rid of their enemies, begin afresh to till the ground; which after cessation yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly been known, for many ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as fast; and with them, if Gildas deserve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embraced for good, wickedness honoured and esteemed as virtue. And this quality their valour had, against a foreign enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of government, and the search of truth, weak and shallow; in falsehood and wicked deeds, pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse most an end was the weigher. All things were done contrary to public welfare and safety; nor only by secular men, for the clergy also, whose example should have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness, or swollen with pride and wilfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscrete, incompetent judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnished with judgment, and for manners thus qualified both priest and lay, they agree to choose them several kings of their own; as near as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's anointing, but such as were cruellest; and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death, by their anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of their kings, (and that they had not all one monarch, appears both in ages past and by the sequel,) it began, as nigh as may be guessed, either this year[b] or the following, when they saw the Romans had quite deserted their claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the British clergy too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time German to their assistance; who coming with Severus a disciple of Lupus, that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continued right; but inquiring those authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all were delivered to German; who carrying them over with him,[c] disposed of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But Germanus the same year died in Italy; and the Britons not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour that their old troublers the Scots and Picts had prepared a strong invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the land from end to end. But ere their coming in, as if the instruments of divine justice had been at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked nation, the pestilence, forestalling the sword, left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preserved the land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessors, whom the contagion gave not leave now to enter far. [d]And yet the Britons, nothing bettered by these heavy judgments, the one threatened, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the palace of their king Vortigern with complaints and cries of what they suddenly feared from the Pictish invasion. Vortigern, who at that time was chief rather than sole king, unless the rest had perhaps left their dominions to the common enemy, is said by him of Monmouth, to have procured the death first of Constantine, then of Constance his son, who of a monk was made king, and by that means to have usurped the crown. But they who can remember how Constantine, with his son Constance the monk, the one made emperor, the other Cæsar, perished in France, may discern the simple fraud of this fable. But Vortigern however coming to reign, is deciphered by truer stories a proud unfortunate tyrant, and yet of the people much beloved, because his vices sorted so well with theirs. For neither was he skilled in war, nor wise in counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; wasting the public treasure in gluttony and riot, careless of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importuned and awakened at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general council; to provide some better means than heretofore had been used against these continual annoyances from the north. Wherein by advice of all it was determined, that the Saxons be invited into Britain against the Scots and Picts; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all their neighbours, both by sea and land; in particular to this island, witness that military force, which the Roman emperors maintained here purposely against them, under a special commander, whose title, as is found on good record,[e] was "Count of the Saxon shore in Britain," and the many mischiefs done by their landing here, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath been related,

a Gildas. b Post Christ. 447. Constant. Bede.
c Post Christ. 448. Sigon. Gildas.
d Malms. l. 1.
e Notitiæ imperii.

witness as much.[f] They were a people thought by good writers to be descended of the Sacæ, a kind of Scythians in the north of Asia, thence called Sacasons, or sons of Sacæ, who with a flood of other northern nations came into Europe, toward the declining of the Roman empire; and using piracy from Denmark all along these seas, possessed at length by intrusion all that coast of Germany,[g] and the Netherlands, which took thence the name of Old Saxony, lying between the Rhine and Elve, and from thence north as far as Eidora, the river bounding Holsatia, though not so firmly or so largely, but that their multitude wandered yet uncertain of habitation. Such guests as these the Britons resolve now to send for, and entreat into their houses and possessions, at whose very name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heaviest, which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one misery to another.

[h] The Britons therefore with Vortigern, who was then accounted king over them all, resolve in full council to send embassadors of their choicest men with great gifts, and saith a Saxon writer, in these words desiring their aid; "Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame of your prowess, the distressed Britons wearied out, and overpressed by a continual invading enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. They have a land fertile and spacious, which to your commands they bid us surrender. Heretofore we have lived with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman empire. Next to them we know none worthier than yourselves: and therefore become suppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our present enemies, and to aught by you imposed, willingly we shall submit." Yet Ethelwerd writes not that they promised subjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them,[i] hearing themselves entreated by the Britons, to that which gladly they would have wished to obtain of them by entreating, to the British embassy return this answer:[k] "Be assured henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful friends to the Britons, no less ready to stand by them in their need, than in their best of fortune." The embassadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to their country, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction. [l] The Saxons, consulting first their gods, (for they had answer, that the land whereto they went, they should hold three hundred years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing,) furnish out three long gallies,[m] or kyules, with a chosen company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, descended in the fourth degree from Woden; of whom, deified for the fame of his acts, most kings of those nations derive their pedigree. These, and either mixed with these, or soon after by themselves, two other tribes, or neighbouring people, Jutes and Angles, the one from Jutland, the other from Anglen by the city of Sleswick, both provinces of Denmark, arrive in the first year of Martian the Greek emperor, from the birth of Christ four hundred and fifty,[n] received with much good-will of the people first, then of the king, who after some assurances given and taken, bestows on them the isle of Tanet, where they first landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager against the Picts, when they fought as for their own country, and more loyal to the Britons, from whom they had received a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The British Nennius writes, that these brethren were driven into exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who reigned in much fear, one while of the Picts, then of the Romans and Ambrosius, came opportunely into the haven. [o] For it was the custom in Old Saxony, when their numerous offspring overflowed the narrowness of their bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forced. [p] But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt not here long without employment. For the Scots and Picts were now come down, some say, as far as Stamford, in Lincolnshire, whom perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the Saxons, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight;[q] and that more than once; slaying in fight,[r] as some Scotch writers affirm, their king Eugenius the son of Fergus. [s] Hengist perceiving the island to be rich and fruitful, but her princes and other inhabitants given to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with seventeen ships, were grown up now to a sufficient army, and entertained without suspicion on these terms, that they "should bear the brunt of war against the Picts, receiving stipend, and some place to inhabit." With these was brought over the daughter of Hengist, a virgin wonderous fair, as is reported, Rowen the British call her: she by commandment of her father, who had invited the king to a banquet, coming in presence with a bowl of wine to welcome him, and to attend on his cup till the feast ended, won so much upon his fancy, though already wived, as to demand her in marriage upon any conditions. Hengist at first, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excusing his meanness; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of Tanet enlarged to the circuit of Kent, had it straight by donation; though Guorangonus, till then, was king of that place; and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of Vortigern, gave his daughter. And still encroaching on the king's favour, got further leave to call over Octa and Ebissa, his own and his brother's son; pretending that they, if the north were given them, would sit there as a continual defence against the Scots, while himself guarded the east. [t] They therefore sailing with forty ships, even to the Orcades, and every way curbing the Scots and Picts, possessed that part of the isle which is now Nor-

f Florent Wigorn. ad an. 370. g Ethelwerd
h Ethelwerd Malmsb. Witichind gest. Sax. l. 1. i Malms.
k Witichind l Gildas. m Bede

n Post Christ. 450. Nennius. Malms o Malms.
p Henry Huntingd. q Ethelwerd. r Bed. Nen.
s Nenn. t Gildas, Bed. Nenn.

thumberland. Notwithstanding this, they complain that their monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the Britons found means to satisfy, though alleging withal, that they to whom promise was made of wages were nothing so many in number: quieted with this awhile, but still seeking occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that their pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatening open war, unless it be augmented. Guortimer, the king's son, perceiving his father and the kingdom thus betrayed, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out, They on the other side making league with the Picts and Scots, and issuing out of Kent, wasted without resistance almost the whole land even to the western sea, with such a horrid devastation, that towns and colonies overturned, priests and people slain, temples and palaces, what with fire and sword, lay altogether heaped in one mixed ruin. Of all which multitude so great was the sinfulness that brought this upon them, Gildas adds, that few or none were likely to be other than lewd and wicked persons. The residue of these, part overtaken in the mountains were slain; others subdued with hunger preferred slavery before instant death; some getting to rocks, hills, and woods, inaccessible, preferred the fear and danger of any death, before the shame of a secure slavery;[u] many fled over sea into other countries; some into Holland, where yet remain the ruins of Brittenburgh, an old castle on the sea, to be seen at low water not far from Leyden, either built, as writers of their own affirm, or seized on by those Britons, in their escape from Hengist;[x] others into Armorica, peopled, as some think, with Britons long before, either by gift of Constantine the Great, or else of Maximus, to those British forces which had served them in foreign wars;[y] to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter Constantine at Arles, and lastly, these exiles driven out by Saxons, fled for refuge. But the ancient chronicles of those provinces attest their coming thither to be then first when they fled the Saxons; and indeed the name of Britain in France is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of fugitives, who had quitted without stroke their own country, should so soon win another, appears not, unless joined to some party of their own settled there before. [z]Vortigern, nothing bettered by these calamities, grew at last so obdurate as to commit incest with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the crown. For which being censured and condemned in a great synod of clerks and laies, partly for fear of the Saxons, according to the counsel of his peers, he retired into Wales, and built him there a strong castle in Radnorshire,[a] by the advice of Ambrosius a young prophet, whom others call Merlin. Nevertheless Faustus, who was the son thus incestuously begotten, under the instructions of German, or some of his disciples, for German was dead before, proved a religious man, and lived in devotion by the river Remnis, in Glamorganshire. [b]But the Saxons, though finding it so easy to subdue the isle, with most of their forces, uncertain for what cause, returned home: whenas the easiness of their conquest might seem rather likely to have called in more; which makes more probable that which the British write of Guortimer. [c]For he coming to reign, instead of his father deposed for incest, is said to have thrice driven and besieged the Saxons in the isle of Tanet; and when they issued out with powerful supplies sent from Saxony, to have fought with them four other battles, whereof three are named; the first on the river Darwent, the second at Episford, wherein Horsa the brother of Hengist fell, and on the British part Catigern the other son of Vortigern. The third in a field by Stonar, then called Lapis Tituli, in Tanet, where he beat them into their ships that bore them home, glad to have so escaped, and not venturing to land again for five years after. In the space whereof Guortimer dying, commanded they should bury him in the port of Stonar; persuaded that his bones lying there would be terrour enough, to keep the Saxons from ever landing in that place: they, saith Nennius, neglecting his command, buried him in Lincoln. But concerning these times, ancientest annals of the Saxons relate in this manner. [d]In the year four hundred and fifty-five, Hengist and Horsa fought against Vortigern, in a place called Eglesthrip, now Ailsford in Kent, where Horsa lost his life, of whom Horsted, the place of his burial, took name.

After this first battle and the death of his brother, Hengist with his son Esca took on him kingly title,[e] and peopled Kent with Jutes; who also then, or not long after, possessed the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire lying opposite. [f]Two years after in a fight at Creganford, or Craford, Hengist and his son slew of the Britons four chief commanders, and as many thousand men; the rest in great disorder flying to London, with the total loss of Kent. [g]And eight years passing between, he made new war on the Britons; of whom, in a battle at Wippeds-fleot, twelve princes were slain, and Wipped the Saxon earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. [h]His last encounter was at a place not mentioned, where he gave them such an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to their enemies. And these perhaps are the four battles, according to Nennius, fought by Guortimer, though by these writers far differently related; and happening besides many other bickerings, in the space of twenty years, as Malmsbury reckons. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the Saxons, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withal in Kent, their own allotted dwelling, and sometimes on the very edge of the sea, which the word Wippeds-fleot seems to intimate. [i]But Guortimer now dead, and none of courage left to defend the land, Vortigern either by the power of his faction, or by consent of all, reassumes the government: and Hengist thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restorement of his old favourer, returns again with great forces; but to Vortigern, whom he well knew how to handle without

u Primord. p. 418 x Malms. l. 1. c. 1 y Hunting. l. 1.
z Nenn. Malmsb. a Nenn
b Gildas. c Nenn.

d Post Christ. 455. Bede. Ethelwerd. Florent. Annal. Sax.
e The kingdom of Kent. f Post Christ. 457.
g Post Christ. 465. h Post Christ. 473. i Nennius

warring, as to his son-in-law, now that the only author of dissension between them was removed by death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The king, both for his wife's sake and his own sottishness, consulting also with his peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the place of parley is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without weapons. Hengist, whose meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly armed, and acquainted them to what intent. [k] The watchword was, Nemet eour saxes, that is, Draw your daggers; which they observing, when the Britons were thoroughly heated with wine (for the treaty it seems was not without cups) and provoked, as was plotted, by some affront, dispatched with those poniards every one his next man, to the number of three hundred, the chief of those that could do aught against him, either in counsel or in field. Vortigern they only bound and kept in custody, until he granted them for his ransom three provinces, which were called afterward Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex. Who thus dismissed, retiring again to his solitary abode in the country of Guorthigirniaun, so called by his name, from thence to the castle of his own building in North Wales, by the river Tiebi; and living there obscurely among his wives, was at length burnt in his tower by fire from Heaven, at the prayer,[l] as some say, of German, but that coheres not; as others, by Ambrosius Aurelian; of whom, as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the Saxons. Who, whether by constraint or of their own accord, after much mischief done, most of them returning back into their own country, left a fair opportunity to the Britons of avenging themselves easier on those who staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a virtuous and modest man, the last here of the Roman stock, advancing now onward against the late victors, defeat them in a memorable battle. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the British fables, makes this Ambrosius to be a younger son of that Constantine, whose eldest, as we heard, was Constance the monk; who both lost their lives abroad usurping the empire. But the express words both of Gildas and Bede assure us, that the parents of this Ambrosius having here born regal dignity, were slain in these Pictish wars and commotions in the island. And if the fear of Ambrose induced Vortigern to call in the Saxons, it seems Vortigern usurped his right. I perceive not that Nennius makes any difference between him and Merlin; for that child without father, that prophesied to Vortigern, he names not Merlin, but Ambrose; makes him the son of a Roman consul, but concealed by his mother, as fearing that the king therefore sought his life: yet the youth no sooner had confessed his parentage, but Vortigern either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, bestowed upon him all the west of Britain; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whosever son he was, he was the first,[m] according to surest authors, that led against the Saxons, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a time when most of the Saxon forces were departed home, the Britons gathered strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against their whole powers the second time returning, obtained this victory. Thus Ambrose as chief monarch of the isle succeeded Vortigern; to whose third son Pascentius he permitted the rule of two regions in Wales, Buelth and Guorthigirniaun. In his days, saith Nennius,[n] the Saxons prevailed not much: against whom Arthur, as being then chief general for the British kings, made great war, but more renowned in songs and romances, than in true stories. And the sequel itself declares as much. For in the year four hundred and seventy seven,[o] Ella, the Saxon, with his three sons, Cymen, Pleting, and Cissa, at a place in Sussex called Cymenshore, arrive in three ships, kill many of the Britons, chasing them that remained into the wood Andreds Leage. [p] Another battle was fought at Mercreds-Burnamsted, wherein Ella had by far the victory; but [q] Huntingdon makes it so doubtful, that the Saxons were constrained to send home for supplies. [r] Four years after died Hengist, the first Saxon king of Kent; noted to have attained that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildness or civility. His son Oeric, surnamed Oisc, of whom the Kentish kings were called Oiscings, succeeded him, and sate content with his father's winnings, more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: he reigned twenty-four years. [s] By this time Ella and his son Cissa besieging Andredchester, supposed now to be Newenden in Kent, take it by force, and all within it put to the sword.

Thus Ella, three years after the death of Hengist, began his kingdom of the South-Saxons;[t] peopling it with new inhabitants, from the country which was then Old Saxony, at this day Holstein in Denmark, and had besides at his command all those provinces, which the Saxons had won on this side Humber.[u] Animated with these good successes, as if Britain were become now the field of fortune, Kerdic another Saxon prince, the tenth by lineage from Woden,[x] an old and practised soldier, who in many prosperous conflicts against the enemy in those parts had nursed up a spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place, which from thence took the name of Kerdic-shore,[y] with five ships, and Kenric his son, the very same day overthrew the Britons that opposed him; and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large territory. [z] After him Porta another Saxon, with his two sons Bida and Megla, in two ships arrive at Portsmouth thence called, and at their landing slew a young Bri-

k Malms. l Mm. ex legend St. Ger. Galfrid. Monmouth.
m Gildas. Bed. n Nenn.
o Post Christ. 477. Sax. an. Ethelw. Florent.
p Post Christ. 485. Florent. q Huntingd.

r Post Christ. 489. Malms. Bed. l. 2. c. 5
s Post Christ. 492. Camden. t The kingdom of South-Saxons.
u Bed. l. 1. c. 15. and l. 2. c. 5. x Sax. ann. omn.
y Post Christ. 495. z Post Christ. 501. Sax. an. omn. Huntingdon.

tish nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them.[a] The Britons to recover what they had lost, draw together all their forces, led by Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a certain king in Britain, and the greatest, saith one; but with him five thousand of his men Kerdic puts to rout and slays. From whence the place in Hantshire, as far as Kerdicsford, now Chardford, was called of old Nazaleod. Who this king should be, hath bred much question; some think it to be the British name of Ambrose; others to be the right name of his brother, who for the terrour of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the surname of Uther, which in the Welch tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a king in Britain there was as Uther Pendragon, for so also the Monmouth book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. Kerdic by so great a blow given to the Britons had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends, as he desired to make great; for which cause, and withal the more to strengthen himself, his two nephews Stuff and Withgar, in three vessels bring him new levies to Kerdic-shore.[b] Who, that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by their own seeking, or by appointment, are set in a place where they could not but at their first coming give proof of themselves upon the enemy; and so well they did it, that the Britons after a hard encounter left them masters of the field.[c] About the same time, Ella the first South-Saxon king died; whom Cissa, his youngest son, succeeded; the other two failing before him.

Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the West-Saxon kingdom, that Uffa, the eighth from Woden, made himself king of the East-Angles;[d] who by their name testify the country above mentioned; from whence they came in such multitudes, that their native soil is said to have remained in the days of Beda uninhabited.[e] Huntingdon defers the time of their coming in to the ninth year of Kerdic's reign: for, saith he,[f] at first many of them strove for principality, seizing every one his province, and for some while so continued, making petty wars among themselves; [g] till in the end Uffa, of whom those kings were called Uffings, overtopped them all in the year five hundred and seventy one; [h] then Titilus his son, the father of Redwald, who became potent.

And not much after the East-Angles, began also the East-Saxons to erect a kingdom under Sleda, the tenth from Woden. But Huntingdon, as before, will have it later by eleven years, and Erchenwin to be the first king.

Kerdic the same in power, though not so fond of title, forbore the name twenty-four years after his arrival; but then founded so firmly the kingdom of West-Saxons,[i] that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole monarchy of England. The same year he had a victory against the Britons at Kerdic's ford, by the river Aver: and after eight years,[k] another great fight at Kerdic's leage, but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto have been collected what there is of certainty with circumstance of time and place to be found registered, and no more than barely registered, in annals of best note; without describing after Huntingdon the manner of those battles and encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of books, may be confident he never found in any current author, whom he had to follow. But this disease hath been incident to many more historians: and the age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharged with all the idle fancies of posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on Saxon relaters, Gildas, in antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the British valour, as declares the Saxons in his time and before to have been foiled not seldomer than the Britons. For besides that first victory of Ambrose, and the interchangeable success long after, he tells that the last overthrow, which they received at Badon-hill, was not the least; which they in their oldest annals mention not at all. And because the time of this battle, by any who could do more than guess, is not set down, or any foundation given from whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such authors as we have to follow give the conduct and praise of this exploit to Arthur; and that this was the last of twelve great battles, which he fought victoriously against the Saxons. The several places written by Nennius in their Welch names[l] were many hundred years ago unknown, and so here omitted. But who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason. For the monk of Malmsbury, and others, whose credit hath swayed most with the learneder sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this Arthur five hundred years past, nor of his doings, than we, now living; and what they had to say, transcribed out of Nennius, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already been related; or out of a British book, the same which he of Monmouth set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than six hundred years after the days of Arthur, of whom (as Sigebert in his chronicle confesses) all other histories were silent, both foreign and domestic, except only that fabulous book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old legends and cathedral regests. But he who can accept of legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnished with two only necessaries, leisure and belief; whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to Arthur, no less is in doubt who was his father; for if it be true, as Nennius or his notist avers, that Arthur was called Mab-Uther, that is to say, a cruel son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a child, and the intent of his name Arturus imports as much, it might well be that some in after-ages, who sought to turn him into a fable, wrested the word Uther into a proper name, and so feigned him the son

a Post Christ. 508. Ann. omn. Huntingd. Camden. Uss. Primord.
b Post Christ. 514. An. omn. c Huntingdon.
d The kingdom of East Angles. e Malmsb. l. 1. c. 5. Bed. l. 1. c. 15
f Huntingd. l. 2. p. 313, 315. g Bed. l. 2. c. 15
h Malms. l. 1. c. 6. i Post Christ. 519.
k Sax. ann. omn. 527 l Nenn.

of Uther; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person lived till Geoffrey of Monmouth set him off with the surname of Pendragon. And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that victory at Badon-hill were his or no, is uncertain; Gildas not naming him, as he did Ambrose in the former. Next, if it be true as Caradoc relates,[m] that Melvas, king of that country which is now Somerset, kept from him Guenever his wife a whole year in the town of Glaston, and restored her at the entreaty of Gildas, rather than for any enforcement that Arthur with all his chivalry could make against a small town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledge in war, or the force he had to make, been answerable to the fame they bear, that petty king had neither dared such affront, nor he been so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering lastly how the Saxons gained upon him every where all the time of his supposed reign, which began, as some write,[n] in the tenth year of Kerdic, who wrung from him by long war the counties of Somerset and Hampshire; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelihood of those great acts, that are ascribed to him. [o] This only is alleged by Nennius in Arthur's behalf, that the Saxons, though vanquished never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual supplies out of Germany. And the truth is, that valour may be overtoiled, and overcome at last with endless overcoming. But as for this battle of mount Badon, where the Saxons were hemmed in, or besieged, whether by Arthur won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have given a most undoubted and important blow to the Saxons, and to have stopped their proceedings for a good while after. Gildas himself witnessing, that the Britons, having thus compelled them to sit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil discord among themselves. Which words may seem to let in some light toward the searching out when this battle was fought. And we shall find no time since the first Saxon war, from whence a longer peace ensued, than from the fight at Kerdic's Leage, in the year five hundred and twenty seven, which all the chronicles mention, without victory to Kerdic; and give us argument from the custom they have of magnifying their own deeds upon all occasions, to presume here his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, even to the forty-fourth year after, wherein Gildas wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with every little war between the Britons and Saxons. [p] This only remains difficult, that the victory first won by Ambrose was not so long before this at Badon siege, but that the same men living might be eyewitnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by Arthur, unless we reckon him a grown youth at least in the days of Ambrose, and much more than a youth, if Malmsbury be heard, who affirms all the exploits of Ambrose to have been done chiefly by Arthur as his general, which will add much unbelief to the common assertion of his reigning after Ambrose and Uther, especially the fight of Badon being the last of his twelve battles. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at Kerdic's Leage, though it differ in name from that of Badon, may be thought the same by all effects; Kerdic three years after,[q] not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his forces on the Isle of Wight; which, with the slaying of a few only in Withgarburgh, he soon masters; and not long surviving, left it to his nephews by the mother's side, Stuff and Withgar:[r] the rest of what he had subdued, Kenric his son held; and reigned twenty-six years, in whose tenth year[s] Withgar was buried in the town of that island which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlikelihoods of Arthur's reign and great achievements, in a narration crept in I know not how among the laws of Edward the Confessor, Arthur the famous king of Britons, is said not only to have expelled hence the Saracens, who were not then known in Europe, but to have conquered Friesland, and all the north-east isles as far as Russia, to have made Lapland the eastern bound of his empire, and Norway the chamber of Britain. When should this be done? From the Saxons, till after twelve battles, he had no rest at home; after those, the Britons, contented with the quiet they had from their Saxon enemies, were so far from seeking conquests abroad, that by report of Gildas above cited, they fell to civil wars at home. Surely Arthur much better had made war in old Saxony, to repress their flowing hither, than to have won kingdoms as far as Russia, scarce able here to defend his own. Buchanan our neighbour historian reprehends him of Monmouth, and others, for fabling in the deeds of Arthur; yet what he writes thereof himself, as of better credit, shows not whence he had but from those fables; which he seems content to believe in part, on condition that the Scots and Picts may be thought to have assisted Arthur in all his wars and achievements; whereof appears as little ground by credible story, as of that which he most counts fabulous. But not further to contest about such uncertainties.

In the year five hundred and forty-seven,[t] Ida the Saxon, sprung also from Woden in the tenth degree, began the kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland; built the town Bebenburgh, which was after walled; and had twelve sons, half by wives and half by concubines. Hengist, by leave of Vortigern, we may remember, had sent Octave and Ebissa, to seek them seats in the north, and there, by warring on the Picts, to secure the southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those countries; and though so far distant from Kent, nor without power in their hands, yet kept themselves nigh a hundred and eighty years within moderation; and, as inferiour governours, they and their offspring gave obedience to the kings of Kent, as to the elder family. Till at length following the example of that age, when no less than kingdoms were

m Caradoc. Llancarvon. vit. Gild.
n Malms. antiquit. Glaston. Post Christ. 520.
o Primord. p. 168. Polychron. l. 5. c. 6.

p Gildas. q Post Christ. 530. Sax. an. omn.
r Post Christ. 534. s Post Christ. 544.
t Post Christ. 547. Annal. omn. Bed. Epit. Malms.

the prize of every fortunate commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of their nation, to assume royalty. Of whom Ida was the first,[u] a man in the prime of his years, and of parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the crown, aspiring or by free choice, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his virtues made him not less noble than his birth; in war undaunted and unfoiled, in peace tempering the awe of magistracy with a natural mildness, he reigned about twelve years. [x] In the mean while Kenric in a fight at Searesbirig, now Salisbury, killed and put to flight many of the Britons; and the fourth year after at Beranvirig,[y] now Banbury, as some think, with Keaulin his son, put them again to flight. Keaulin shortly after succeeded his father in the West-Saxons. And Alla, descended also of Woden, but of another line, set up a second kingdom in Deira, the south part of Northumberland,[z] and held it thirty years; while Adda, the son of Ida, and five more after him, reigned without other memory in Bernicia: and in Kent, Ethelbert the next year began.[a] But Esca the son of Hengist had left Otha, and he Emeric to rule after him; both which, without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace fifty-three years. But Ethelbert in length of reign equalled both his progenitors, and as Beda counts, three years exceeded. [b] Young at his first entrance, and unexperienced, he was the first raiser of civil war among the Saxons; claiming from the priority of time wherein Hengist took possession here, a kind of right over the later kingdoms; and thereupon was troublesome to their confines: but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadful, became almost contemptible. For Keaulin and Cutha his son, pursuing him into his own territory,[c] slew there in battle, at Wibbandun, two of his earls, Oslac and Cneban. By this means the Britons, but chiefly by this victory at Badon, for the space of forty-four years, ending in five hundred and seventy-one, received no great annoyance from the Saxons: but the peace they enjoyed, by ill using it, proved more destructive to them than war. For being raised on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thraldom, they whose eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by Ambrose and this at Badon, were taught by the experience of either fortune, both kings, magistrates, priests, and private men, to live orderly. But when the next age,[d] unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease and quiet, succeeded, straight followed the apparent subversion of all truth, and justice, in the minds of most men: scarce the least forestep or impression of goodness left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the land; except in some so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the neighbouring nations And first their kings, amongst whom also the sons or grandchildren of Ambrose, were foully degenerated to all tyranny and vicious life. Whereof to hear some particulars out of Gildas, will not be impertinent: They avenge, saith he, and they protect, not the innocent, but the guilty; they swear oft, but perjure; they wage war, but civil and unjust war. They punish rigorously them that rob by the high-way; but those grand robbers, that sit with them at table, they honour and reward. They give alms largely, but in the face of their almsdeeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the seat of judgment, but go seldom by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless, but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominable crimes; they stuff their prisons, but with men committed rather by circumvention than by any just cause. Nothing better were the clergy, but at the same pass, or rather worse than when the Saxons came first in; unlearned, unapprehensive, yet impudent; subtle prowlers, pastors in name, but indeed wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper and well-line themselves: not called, but seizing on the ministry as a trade, not as a spiritual charge; teaching the people not by sound doctrine, but by evil example; usurping the chair of Peter, but through the blindness of their own worldly lusts, they stumble upon the seat of Judas; deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies; looking on the poor Christian with eyes of pride and contempt; but fawning on the wickedest rich men without shame: great promoters of other men's alms, with their set exhortations; but themselves contributing ever least: slightly touching the many vices of the age, but preaching without end their own grievances, as done to Christ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the church, more than after heaven; and so gained, made it their whole study how to keep them by any tyranny. Yet lest they should be thought things of no use in their eminent places, they have their niceties and trivial points to keep in awe the superstitious multitude; but in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay, forbidding and silencing them that know; but in worldly matters, practised and cunning shifters; in that only art and simony great clerks and masters, bearing their heads high, but their thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor laity, so he goes on, these beasts, all belly? Shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil doings? Shall thou see with their eyes, who see right forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blindfold into the same perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what availed it Eli to be himself blameless, while he connived at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envied for his better life? Who of them hath hated to consort with these, or withstood their entering the ministry, or endeavoured zealously their casting out? Yet some of these perhaps by others are legended for great saints. This was the state of government, this of religion among the Britons, in

u Malms.
x Post Christ 552. Annal. omn.
y Post Christ. 556. Camden.
z Post Christ. 560 Annal Florent.
a Post Christ. 561.
b Malms.
c Ann. omn. Post Christ. 568.
d Gildas.

that long calm of peace, which the fight at Badon-hill had brought forth. Whereby it came to pass, that so fair a victory came to nothing. Towns and cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruined and waste; nor was it long ere domestic war breaking out wasted them more. For Britain,[e] as at other times, had then also several kings: five of whom Gildas, living then in Armorica at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name: first, Constantine, (fabled the son of Cador, duke of Cornwall, Arthur's half, by the mother's side,) who then reigned in Cornwall and Devon, a tyrannical and bloody king, polluted also with many adulteries: he got into his power two young princes of the blood royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwise suspected; and after solemn oath given of their safety the year that Gildas wrote, slew them with their two governors in the church, and in their mother's arms, through the abbot's cope which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his vesture to have withheld the murderer. These are commonly supposed to be the sons of Mordred, Arthur's nephew, said to have revolted from his uncle, giving him in a battle his death's wound, and by him after to have been slain. Which things, were they true, would much diminish the blame of cruelty in Constantine, revenging Arthur on the sons of so false a Mordred. In another part, but not expressed where, Aurelius Conanus was king: him he charges also with adulteries, and parricide; cruelties worse than the former; to be a hater of his country's peace, thirsting after civil war and prey. His condition, it seems, was not very prosperous, for Gildas wishes him, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midst of a barren field, to remember the vanity and arrogance of his father, and elder brethren, who came all to untimely death in their youth. The third reigning in Demetia, or South Wales, was Vortipor, the son of a good father; he was, when Gildas wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in adulteries; and in governing, full of falsehood and cruel actions. In his latter days, putting away his wife, who died in divorce, he became, if we mistake not Gildas, incestuous with his daughter. The fourth was Cuneglas, imbrued in civil war; he also had divorced his wife, and taken her sister, who had vowed widowhood: he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth. The last, but greatest of all in power, was Maglocune, and greatest also in wickedness: he had driven out, or slain, many other kings, or tyrants, and was called the Island Dragon, perhaps having his seat in Anglesey; a profuse giver, a great warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle, though in the head of a complete army, and took from him the kingdom: then touched with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation, took upon him the profession of a monk; but soon forsook his vow, and his wife also; which for that vow he had left, making love to the wife of his brother's son then living. Who not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that enticed, found means both to dispatch her own husband, and the former wife of Maglocune, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man, reputed of all Britain, the instituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the Britons from the time of their useless victory at Badon, to the time that Gildas wrote, that is to say, as may be guessed, from five hundred and twenty-seven to five hundred and seventy-one, is here set down altogether; not to be reduced under any certainty of years. But now the Saxons, who for the most part all this while had been still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they had maintained on this side Wales. For Cuthulf, the brother of Keaulin,[f] by a victory obtained at Bedanford, now Bedford, took from them four good towns, Liganburgh, Eglesburgh, Bensington now Benson in Oxfordshire, and Ignesham; but outlived not many months his good success. And after six years more,[g] Keaulin, and Cuthwin his son, gave them great overthrow at Deorrham in Gloucestershire, slew three of their kings, Comail, Condidan, and Farinmaile; and three of their chief cities, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Badencester. The Britons notwithstanding, after some space of time,[h] judging to have outgrown their losses, gather to a head and encounter Keaulin, with Cutha his son, at Fethanleage; whom valiantly fighting, they slew among the thickest, and, as is said, forced the Saxons to retire.[i] But Keaulin, reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout; and following his advantage, took many towns, and returned laden with rich booty.

The last of those Saxons, who raised their own achievements to a monarchy, was Crida, much about this time, first founder of the Mercian kingdom,[k] drawing also his pedigree from Woden. Of whom all to write the several genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were in my opinion to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names, to little purpose. [l] This may suffice, that of Woden's three sons, from the eldest issued Hengist, and his succession; from the second, the kings of Mercia; from the third all that reigned in West-Saxony, and most of the Northumbers, of whom Alla was one, the first king of Deira; which, after his death, the race of Ida seized, and made it one kingdom with Bernicia,[m] usurping the childhood of Edwin, Alla's son; whom Ethelric, the son of Ida, expelled. Notwithstanding others write of him, that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old age, coming to the crown, he could hardly, by the access of a kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not the fame of his son preserved him. Once more the Britons,[n] ere they quitted all on this side the mountains, forgot not to show some manhood; for meeting Keaulin at Woden's-beorth, that is to say, at Woden's-mount in Wiltshire;[o] whether it were by their own forces, or assisted by the Angles, whose hatred Keaulin had incurred, they ruined the whole

e Primord. p. 444. f Post Christ. 571. Camden. Annal. omn.
g Post Christ. 577. h Post Christ. 584. i Huntingd.
k The kingdom of Mercia. Huntingd. Matt. Westm.

l Malmsb. l. 1. c. 3. m Florent. ad ann. Post Christ. 559.
n Post Christ. 588. Annal. omn.
o Post Christ. 592. Florent. Bed. l. 2. c. 3. Malms. Florent. Sax. ann.

army, and chased him out of his kingdom; from whence flying, he died the next year in poverty, who a little before was the most potent, and indeed sole king of all the Saxons on this side the Humber. But who was chief among the Britons in this exploit had been worth remembering, whether it were Maglocune, of whose prowess hath been spoken, or Teudric king of Glamorgan, whom the regest of Landaff recounts to have been always victorious in fight; to have reigned about this time, and at length to have exchanged his crown for an hermitage; till in the aid of his son Mouric, whom the Saxons had reduced to extremes, taking arms again, he defeated them at Tinterne by the river Wye; but himself received a mortal wound.[p] The same year with Keaulin, whom Keola the son of Cuthulf, Keaulin's brother, succeeded, Crida also the Mercian king deceased, in whose room Wibba succeeded; and in Northumberland, Ethelfrid, in the room of Ethelric, reigning twenty-four years. Thus omitting fables, we have the view of what with reason can be relied on for truth, done in Britain since the Romans forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many miseries and desolations brought by divine hand on a perverse nation; driven, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair country, into a mountainous and barren corner, by strangers and pagans. So much more tolerable in the eye of heaven is infidelity professed, than christian faith and religion dishonoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounced their heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

The Saxons grown up now to seven absolute kingdoms, and the latest of them established by succession, finding their power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gained upon the Britons, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's greatness. Which quickly bred among them either envy or mutual jealousies; till the west kingdom at length grown overpowerful, put an end to all the rest.[a] Meanwhile, above others, Ethelbert of Kent, who by this time had well ripened his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in war, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains: and by degrees brought all the other monarchies between Kent and Humber to be at his devotion. To which design the kingdom of West Saxons, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shaken by their overthrow at Woden's-beorth, and the death of Keaulin, gave him, no doubt, a main advantage; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earned it by continual victories. [b]And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries Bertha the French king's daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her faith, under the care and instruction of Letardus a bishop, sent by her parents along with her; the king notwithstanding and his people retaining their old religion. [c]Beda out of Gildas lays it sadly to the Britons' charge, that they never would vouchsafe their Saxon neighbours the means of conversion; but how far to blame they were,[d] and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least falsehood, from their first arrival, is not now easy to determine. [e]Howbeit not long after they had the christian faith preached to them by a nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in Beda's time) upon this occasion.

The Northumbrians had a custom at that time, and many hundred years after not abolished, to sell their children for a small value into any foreign land. Of which number two comely youths were brought to Rome, whose fair and honest countenances invited Gregory, archdeacon of that city, among others that beheld them, pitying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answered by some who stood by, that they were Angli of the province Deira, subjects to Alla king of Northumberland; and by religion, pagans Which last Gregory deploring, framed on a sudden this allusion to the three names he heard; that the Angli so like to angels should be snatched 'de ira,' that is, from the wrath of God, to sing hallelujah: and forthwith obtaining license, of Benedict the pope, had come and preached here among them, had not the Roman people, whose love endured not the absence of so vigilant a pastor over them, recalled him then on his journey, though but deferred his pious intention. [f]For a while after, succeeding in the papal seat, and now in his fourth year, admonished, saith Beda, by divine instinct, he sent Augustin, whom he had designed for bishop of the English nation, and other zealous monks with him, to preach to them the gospel. Who being now on their way, discouraged by some reports, or their own carnal fear, sent back Austin, in the name of all, to beseech Gregory they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel nation, whose tongue they understood not. Gregory with pious and apostolic persuasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of divine assistance. The letter itself, yet extant among our writers of ecclesiastic story, I omit here, as not professing to relate of those matters more than what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The abbot Austin, for so he was ordained over the rest, reincouraged by the exhortations of Gregory, and his fellows by the letter which he brought them, came safe to the isle of Tanet,[g] in number about forty, besides some of the French nation, whom they took along as interpreters. Ethelbert the king, to whom Austin at his landing had sent a new and wondrous message, that he came from Rome to proffer heaven and eternal happiness in the knowledge of another God than the Saxons knew, appoints them to remain where they had landed, and necessaries to

p Post Christ. 593 a Bed. Malms. b Bed. l. 1. c. 25.
c Bed. l. 1. c. 22. d Bed. l. 2. c. 1.
e Malms. l. 1. c. 3. f Post Christ. 596.
g Post Christ. 597.

he provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the island, chose a place to meet them under the open sky, possessed with an old persuasion, that all spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side called to his presence, advancing for their standard a silver cross, and the painted image of our Saviour, came slowly forward, singing their solemn litanies: which wrought in Ethelbert more suspicion perhaps that they used enchantments; till sitting down as the king willed them, they there preached to him, and all in that assembly, the tidings of salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the king thus answered: "Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot easily assent to, quitting the religion which from my ancestors, with all the English nation, so many years I have retained. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I persuade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure, we shall not recompense you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief." And accordingly their residence he allotted them in Doroverne or Canterbury his chief city, and made provision for their maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of their holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the king's, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the city on the east side, an ancient church built in honour of St. Martin, while yet the Romans remained here: in which Bertha the queen went out usually to pray: [h] here they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise divine worship. But when the king himself, convinced by their good life and miracles, became christian, and was baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of their arrival, then multitudes daily, conforming to their prince, thought it honour to be reckoned among those of his faith. To whom Ethelbert indeed principally showed his favour, but compelled none. [i] For so he had been taught by them who were both the instructors and the authors of his faith, that christian religion ought to be voluntary, not compelled. About this time Kelwulf the son of Cutha, Keaulin's brother, reigned over the West Saxons,[k] after his brother Keola or Kelric, and had continual war either with English, Welsh, Picts, or Scots. [l] But Austin, whom with his fellows Ethelbert had now endowed with a better place for their abode in the city, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into France, was by the archbishop of Arles, at the appointment of pope Gregory, ordained archbishop of the English; and returning, sent to Rome Laurence and Peter, two of his associates, to acquaint the pope of his good success in England, and to be resolved of certain theological, or rather levitical questions: with answers to which, not proper in this place, Gregory sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; who what they were, may be g[illegible]d by the stuff which they brought with them, ves[illegible]d vestments for the altar, copes, reliques, and for the archbishop Austin a pall to say mass in: to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of apostolic zeal. Lastly, to Ethelbert they brought a letter with many presents. Austin, thus exalted to archiepiscopal authority, recovered from the ruins and other profane uses a christian church in Canterbury, built of old by the Romans, which he dedicated by the name of Christ's church, and joining to it built a seat for himself and his successors; a monastery also near the city eastward, where Ethelbert at his motion built St. Peter's, and enriched it with great endowments, to be a place of burial for the archbishops and kings of Kent: so quickly they stepped up into fellowship of pomp with kings. [m] While thus Ethelbert and his people had their minds intent, Ethelfrid the Northumbrian king was not less busied in far different affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more wasted the Britons than any Saxon king before him; winning from them large territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own subjects. [n] Whence Edan king of those Scots that dwelt in Britain, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty army, to a place called Degsastan; but in the fight losing most of his men, himself with a few escaped: only Theobald the king's brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the victory to Ethelfrid less intire. Yet from that time no king of Scots in hostile manner durst pass into Britain for a hundred and more years after: and what some years before Kelwulf the West Saxon is annalled to have done against the Scots and Picts, passing through the land of Ethelfrid a king so potent, unless in his aid and alliance, is not likely. Buchanan writes as if Ethelfrid, assisted by Keaulin whom he mistitles king of East Saxons, had before this time a battle with Aidan, wherein Cutha, Keaulin's son, was slain. But Cutha, as is above written from better authority, was slain in fight against the Welsh twenty years before. [o] The number of Christians began now to increase so fast that Augustin, ordaining bishops under him, two of his assistants Mellitus and Justus, sent them out both to the work of their ministry. And Mellitus by preaching converted the East Saxons, over whom Sebert the son of Sleda, by permission of Ethelbert, being born of his sister Ricula, then reigned. Whose conversion Ethelbert to gratulate, built them the great church of St. Paul in London to be their bishop's cathedral; as Justus also had his built at Rochester, and both gifted by the same king with fair

h Post Christ. 598.
i Bed. l. 2. c. 5.
k Sax. ann. Malms. Post Christ. 601.
l Bed. l. 1. c. 27.
m Bed. l. 2. c. 34.
n Post Christ. 603.
o Post Christ. 604. Bed. l. 2. c. 3.

possessions. Hitherto Austin laboured well among infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of Ethelbert summoning the Britain bishops to a place on the edge of Worcestershire, called from that time Augustin's oak, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating Easter, and many other points wherein they differed from the rites of Rome: which when they refused to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a miracle, restoring to sight a blind man whom the Britons could not cure. At this something moved, though not minded to recede from their own opinions without further consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven Britain bishops, with many other learned men, especially from the famous monastery of Bangor, in which were said to be so many monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under seven rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who staid behind, a hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest who went: being demanded, for they held him as an oracle, how they might know Austin to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answered, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom Austin, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor received in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his chair. Whereat the Britons, as they were counselled by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hearkened to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an archbishop: and in the name of the rest,[p] Dinothus, then abbot of Bangor, is said thus sagely to have answered him: "As to the subjection which you require, be thus persuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all subjects and servants to the church of God, yea to the pope of Rome, and every good Christian, to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the children of God: other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are governed under God by the bishop of Caerleon, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters." To which Austin thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, "Since ye refuse to accept of peace with your brethren, ye shall have war from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the word of life to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive death." This, though writers agree not whether Austin spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the Britons, fell out accordingly. [q] For many years were not past, when Ethelfrid, whether of his own accord, or at the request of Ethelbert, incensed by Austin, with a powerful host came to West-chester, then Caer-legion. Where being met by the British forces, and both sides in readiness to give the onset, he discerns a company of men, not habited for war, standing together in a place of some safety; and by them a squadron armed. Whom having learnt upon some inquiry to be priests and monks, assembled thither after three days' fasting, to pray for the good success of their forces against him, "therefore they first," saith he, "shall feel our swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by their prayers, and are our dangerousest enemies." And with that turns his first charge upon the monks: Brocmail, the captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above twelve hundred monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce fifty escaped. But not so easy work found Ethelfrid against another part of Britons that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own soldiers. To excuse Austin of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, Beda writes, that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting archbishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. [r] Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose weight we know. [s] The same year Kelwulf made war on the South Saxons, bloody, saith Huntingdon, to both sides, but most to them of the south:[t] and four years after dying, left the government of West Saxons to Kinegils and Cuichelm, the sons of his brother Keola. Others, as Florent of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster, will have Cuichelm son of Kinegils, but admitted to reign with his father, in whose third year[u] they are recorded with joint forces or conduct to have fought against the Britons in Beandune, now Bindon in Dorsetshire, and to have slain of them above two thousand. [x] More memorable was the second year following, by the death of Ethelbert the first christian king of Saxons, and no less a favourer of all civility in that rude age. He gave laws and statutes after the example of Roman emperors, written with the advice of his sagest counsellors, but in the English tongue, and observed long after. Wherein his special care was to punish those who had stolen aught from church or churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he received at their hands the christian faith. Which, he no sooner dead, but his son Eadbald took the course as fast to extinguish; not only falling back into heathenism, but that which heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his father's second wife. Then soon was perceived what multitudes for fear or countenance of the king had professed Christianity, returning now as eagerly to their old religion. Nor staid the apostacy within one province, but quickly spread over to the East Saxons; occasioned there likewise, or set forward, by the death of their christian king Sebert: whose three sons, of whom two are named Sexted and Seward,[y] neither in his lifetime would be brought to baptism, and after his decease reestablished the free exercise of idolatry; nor

p Spelman. Concil. p. 108.
q Sax. ann. Hunting. Post Christ. 607.
r Malms. gest. pont. l. 1.
s Sax. ann.
t Post Christ. 611. Sax. ann. Malm.
u Post Christ. 614. Camd.
x Post Christ. 616. Sax. an.
y Malms.

so content, they set themselves in despight to do some open profanation against the other sacrament. Coming therefore into the church where Mellitus the bishop was ministering, they required him in abuse and scorn to deliver to them unbaptized the consecrated bread; and him refusing drove disgracefully out of their dominion. Who crossed forthwith into Kent, where things were in the same plight, and thence into France, with Justus bishop of Rochester. But divine vengeance deferred not long the punishment of men so impious; for Eadbald, vexed with an evil spirit, fell often into foul fits of distraction; and the sons of Sebert, in a fight against the West Saxons, perished with their whole army. But Eadbald, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when Lawrence the archbishop and successor of Austin was preparing to ship for France, after Justus and Mellitus, the story goes, if it be worth believing, that St. Peter, in whose church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appeared to him, and to make the vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock; at sight whereof the king (to whom next morning he showed the marks of what he had suffered, by whom and for what cause) relenting and in great fear, dissolved his incestuous marriage, and applied himself to the christian faith more sincerely than before, with all his people. But the Londoners, addicted still to paganism, would not be persuaded to receive again Mellitus their bishop, and to compel them was not in his power. [z] Thus much through all the south was troubled in religion, as much were the north parts disquieted through ambition. For Ethelfrid of Bernicia, as was touched before, having thrown Edwin out of Deira, and joined that kingdom to his own, not content to have bereaved him of his right, whose known virtues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his enemies, sends messengers to demand him of Redwald king of East Angles; under whose protection, after many years wandering obscurely through all the island, he had placed his safety. Redwald, though having promised all defence to Edwin as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of Ethelfrid, yielded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into their hands: but earnestly exhorted by his wife, not to betray the faith and inviolable law of hospitality and refuge given,[a] prefers his first promise as the more religious; nor only refuses to deliver him, but since war was thereupon denounced, determines to be beforehand with the danger; and with a sudden army raised, surprises Ethelfrid, little dreaming an invasion, and in a fight near to the east side of the river Idle, on the Mercian border, now Nottinghamshire, slays him,[b] dissipating easily those few forces which he had got to march out overhastily with him; who yet, as a testimony of his fortune not his valour to be blamed, slew first with his own hands Reiner the king's son. His two sons Oswald and Oswi, by Acca, Edwin's sister, escaped into Scotland. By this victory Redwald became so far superiour to the other Saxon kings, that Beda reckons him the next after Ella and Ethelbert; who, besides this conquest of the north, had likewise all on the other side Humber at his obedience. He had formerly in Kent received baptism,[c] but coming home, and persuaded by his wife, who still it seems was his chief counsellor to good or bad alike, relapsed into his old religion: yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either, for more assurance to keep them both; and in the same temple erected one altar to Christ, another to his idols. But Edwin, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retained, the christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him; subduing all, saith Beda, English or British, even to the isles, then called Mevanian, Anglesey, and Man; settled in his kingdom by Redwald, he sought in marriage Edelburga, whom others called Tate, the daughter of Ethelbert. To whose embassadors Eadbald her brother made answer, that "to wed their daughter to a pagan, was not the christian law." Edwin replied, that "to her religion he would be no hinderance, which with her whole household she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examined it were found the better, he would embrace it." These ingenuous offers, opening so fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted,[d] and Paulinus as a spiritual guardian sent along with the virgin. He being to that purpose made bishop by Justus, omitted no occasion to plant the Gospel in those parts, but with small success, till the next year[e] Cuichelm, at that time one of the two West-Saxon kings, envious of the greatness which he saw Edwin growing up to, sent privily Eumerus a hired swordsman to assassin him; who, under pretence of doing a message from his master, with a poisoned weapon stabs at Edwin, conferring with him in his house, by the river Derwent in Yorkshire, on an Easter-day; which Lilla one of the king's attendants, at the instant perceiving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandoned his whole body to the blow; which notwithstanding made passage through to the king's person with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompassed now with swords, and desperate, forerevenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his poniard reached home. Paulinus omitting no opportunity to win the king from misbelief, obtained at length this promise from him; that if Christ whom he so magnified, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young daughter Eanfled, to be bred up in religion; who, with twelve others of his family, on the day of Pentecost was baptized. And by that time well recovered of his wound, to punish the author of so foul a fact, he went with an army against the West Saxons: whom having quelled by war, and of such as had conspired against him, put some to death, others pardoned, he returned home victorious, and from that time worshipped no more his idols, yet ventured not rashly into baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly

z Post Christ. 617. a Malms. l. 1. c. 3. b Camden

c Bed. l. 2. c. 15. d Post Christ. 626. e Post Christ. 625.

what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others whom he held wisest; though Boniface the pope, by large letters of exhortation both to him and his queen, was not wanting to quicken his belief. But while he still deferred, and his deferring might seem now to have passed the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingering, Paulinus by revelation, as was believed, coming to the knowledge of a secret which befel him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the king, asked him if he remembered what that sign meant; the king trembling, and in amaze rising up, straight fell at his feet. "Behold," saith Paulinus, raising him from the ground, "God hath delivered you from your enemies, and given you the kingdom as you desired: perform now what long since you promised him, to receive his doctrine, which I now bring you, and the faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity add eternal." The promise claimed of him by Paulinus, how and wherefore made, though savouring much of legend is thus related. Redwald, as we have heard before, dazzled with the gold of Ethelfrid, or by his threatening overawed, having promised to yield up Edwin, one of his faithful companions, of which he had some few with him in the court of Redwald, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of the night comes in haste to his chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveals to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approved, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long been his only refuge, the friend departs. Edwin left alone without the palace gate, full of sadness and perplexed thoughts, discerns about the dead of night a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after salutation asked him, "why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold stone." Edwin not a little misdoubting who he might be, asked him again, "what his sitting within doors, or without, concerned him to know." To whom he again, "Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, or what danger hangs over thee is to me unknown: but what would you promise to that man, whoever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald to the like?" "All that I am able," answered Edwin. And he, "What if the same man should promise to make you greater than any English king hath been before you?" "I should not doubt," quoth Edwin, "to be answerably grateful." "And what if to all this he would inform you," said the other, "in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your ancestors hath known? would you hearken to his council?" Edwin without stopping promised "he would." And the other laying his right hand on Edwin's head, "When this sign," saith he, "shall next befal thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promised;" and with these words disappearing, he left Edwin much revived, but not less filled with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the friend who had been gone all this while to listen further what was like to be decreed of Edwin, comes back and joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the king's mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolved not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all enemies, as he had promised. This was said to be the cause why Edwin admonished by the bishop of a sign which had befallen him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from heaven, to claim that promise of him which he perceived well was due to a divine power, that had assisted him in his troubles. To Paulinus therefore he makes answer, that the christian belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief peers and counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptized. They therefore being asked in council what their opinion was concerning this new doctrine, and well perceiving which way the king inclined, every one thereafter shaped his reply. The chief priest, speaking first, discovered an old grudge he had against his gods, for advancing others in the king's favour above him their chief priest: another hiding his court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choice of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answered all the rest of his sages, none openly dissenting from what was likely to be the king's creed: whereas the preaching of Paulinus could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon Edwin, renouncing heathenism, became Christian: and the pagan priest, offering himself freely to demolish the altars of his former gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. [f] With Edwin, his two sons Osfrid and Eanfrid, born to him by Quenburga, daughter, as saith Beda, of Kearle king of Mercia, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the people, both noble and commons, easily converted, were baptized; he with his whole family at York, in a church easily built up of wood, the multitude most part in rivers. Northumberland thus christened, Paulinus, crossing Humber, converted also the province of Lindsey, and Blecca the governor of Lincoln, with his household and most of that city; wherein he built a church of stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the roof in Beda's time, uncertain whether by neglect or enemies, was down; the walls only standing. Meanwhile in Mercia, Kearle, a kinsman of Wibba, saith Huntingdon, not a son, having long withheld the kingdom from Penda, Wibba's son, left it now at length in the fiftieth year of his age: with whom Kinegils and Cuichelm, the West-Saxon kings, two years after,[g] having by that time it seems recovered strength, since the inroad made upon them by Edwin, fought at Cirencester, then made truce. But Edwin seeking every way to propagate the faith, which with so much deliberation he had received, persuaded Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, king of East-Angles, to em-

f Post Christ 627.

g Post Christ 629 Sax. ann.

brace the same belief;[h] willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the name only of a king. [i] But Eorpwald not long survived his conversion, slain in fight by Richert a pagan: whereby the people having lightly followed the religion of their king, as lightly fell back to their old superstitions for above three years after: Edwin in the mean while, to his faith adding virtue, by the due administration of justice wrought such peace over all his territories, that from sea to sea man or woman might have travelled in safety. His care also was of fountains by the way side, to make them fittest for the use of travellers. And not unmindful of regal state, whether in war or in peace, he had a royal banner carried before him. But having reigned with much honour seventeen years, he was at length by Kedwallay or Cadwallon, king of the Britons, who with aid of the Mercian Penda had rebelled against him, slain in a battle with his son Osfrid, at a place called Hethfield, and his whole army overthrown or dispersed in the year six hundred and thirty three,[k] and the forty-seventh of his age, in the eye of man worthy a more peaceful end. His head brought to York was there buried in the church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to church and state of the Northumbrians: for Penda being a heathen, and the British king, though in name a Christian, but in deeds more bloody than the pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of sex or age; Kedwalla threatening to root out the whole nation, though then newly christian. For the Britons, and, as Beda saith, even to his days, accounted Saxon Christianity no better than paganism, and with them held as little communion. From these calamities no refuge being left but flight, Paulinus taking with him Ethilburga the queen and her children, aided by Bassus, one of Edwin's captains, made escape by sea to Eadbald king of Kent: who receiving his sister with all kindness, made Paulinus bishop of Rochester, where he ended his days. After Edwin, the kingdom of Northumberland became divided as before, each rightful heir seizing his part; in Deira Osric, the son of Elfric, Edwin's uncle, by profession a Christian, and baptized by Paulinus: in Bernicia, Eanfrid the son of Ethelfrid; who all the time of Edwin, with his brother Oswald, and many of the young nobility, lived in Scotland exiled, and had been there taught and baptized. No sooner had they gotten each a kingdom, but both turned recreant, sliding back into their old religion; and both were the same year slain; Osric by a sudden eruption of Kedwalla, whom he in a strong town had unadvisedly besieged; Eanfrid seeking peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendering himself. Kedwalla now ranged at will through both those provinces, using cruelly his conquest;[l] when Oswald the brother of Eanfrid with a small but christian army unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroyed both him and his huge forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little river running into Tine, near the ancient Roman wall then called Denisburn, the place afterwards Heaven-field, from the cross reported miracles for cures, which Oswald there erected before the battle, in token of his faith against the great number of his enemies. Obtaining the kingdom he took care to instruct again the people in Christianity. Sending therefore to the Scottish elders, Beda so terms them, among whom he had received baptism, requested of them some faithful teacher, who might again settle religion in his realm, which the late troubles had much impaired; they, as readily hearkening to his request, send Aidan, a Scotch monk and bishop, but of singular zeal and meekness, with others to assist him, whom at their own desire he seated in Lindisfarne, as the episcopal seat, now Holy Island: and being the son of Ethelfrid, by the sister of Edwin, as right heir, others failing, easily reduced both kingdoms of Northumberland as before into one; nor of Edwin's dominion lost any part, but enlarged it rather; over all the four British nations, Angles, Britons, Picts, and Scots, exercising regal authority. Of his devotion, humility, and almsdeeds, much is spoken; that he disdained not to be the interpreter of Aidan, preaching in Scotch or bad English, to his nobles and household servants; and had the poor continually served at his gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more ancient of private or of church-contribution is doubtless more evangelical. [m] About this time the West-Saxons, anciently called Gevissi, by the preaching of Berinus, a bishop, whom pope Honorius had sent, were converted to the faith with Kinegils their king: him Oswald received out of the font, and his daughter in marriage. [n] The next year Cuichelm was baptized in Dorchester, but lived not to the year's end. The East-Angles also this year were reclaimed to the faith of Christ, which for some years past they had thrown off. But Sigbert the brother of Eorpwald now succeeded in that kingdom, praised for a most christian and learned man: who while his brother yet reigned, living in France an exile, for some displeasure conceived against him by Redwald his father, learned there the christian faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his people, by the preaching of Felix a Burgundian bishop.

[o] In the year six hundred and forty Eadbold deceasing, left to Ercombert, his son by Emma the French king's daughter, the kingdom of Kent; recorded the first of English kings, who commanded through his limits the destroying of idols; laudably, if all idols without exception; and the first to have established Lent among us, under strict penalty; not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no Lent was observed here till his time by compulsion: especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurped upon his elder brother Ermenred,[p] whose right was precedent to the crown. Oswald having reigned eight years,[q] worthy also as might seem of longer life, fell into the same fate with Edwin, and from the same hand, in a great battle overcome and slain by Penda, at a place called Maserfield, now Oswestre in Shrop-

h Post Christ. 632. Sax. ann.
k Post Christ. 633.
i Florent. Genealog.
l Post Christ 634.
m Post Christ. 635. Sax. an.
o Post Christ 640.
p Mat. West.
n Post Christ. 636.
q Post Christ. 642.

shire,[r] miraculous, as saith Beda, after his death. [s] His brother Oswi succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty-eight years; opposed either by Penda, or his own son Alfred, or his brother's son Ethilwald. [t] Next year Kinegils the West-Saxon king dying left his son Kenwalk in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time Sigebert king of East-Angles having learnt in France, ere his coming to reign, the manner of their schools, with the assistance of some teachers out of Kent instituted a school here after the same discipline, thought to be the university of Cambridge, then first founded; and at length weary of his kingly office, betook him to a monastical life; commending the care of government to his kinsman Egric, who had sustained with him part of that burden before. It happened some years after, that Penda made war on the East-Angles: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought Sigebert, whom they esteemed an expert leader, with his presence to confirm the soldiery; and him refusing, carried by force out of the monastery into the camp; where acting the monk rather than the captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with Egric, and his whole army put to flight. Anna of the royal stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praise of a virtuous and most christian prince. [u] But Kenwalk the West-Saxon having married the sister of Penda, and divorced her, was by him with more appearance of a just cause vanquished in fight, and deprived of his crown: whence retiring to Anna king of East-Angles, after three years abode in his court [x] he there became christian, and afterwards regained his kingdom. Oswi in the former years of his reign had sharer with him Oswin, nephew of Edwin, who ruled in Deira seven years, commended much for his zeal in religion, and for comeliness of person, with other princely qualities, beloved of all. Notwithstanding which, dissensions growing between them, it came to arms. Oswin seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his army, to reserve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithful attendant to the loyalty of Hunwald an earl, his imagined friend, he was by him treacherously discovered, and by command of Oswi slain. [y] After whom within twelve days, and for grief of him whose death he foretold, died bishop Aidan, famous for his charity, meekness, and labour in the gospel. The fact of Oswi was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a monastery was built in the place where it was done, and prayers there daily offered up for the souls of both kings, the slain and the slayer. Kenwalk, by this time re-installed in his kingdom, kept it long, but with various fortune; for Beda relates him ofttimes afflicted by his enemies,[z] with great losses: and in six hundred and fifty-two, by the annals, fought a battle (civil war Ethelwerd calls it) at Bradanford by the river Afene; against whom, and for what cause, or who had the victory, they write not. Camden names the place Bradford in Wiltshire, by the river Avon, and Cuthred his near kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no authority; certain it is, that Kenwalk four years before had given large possessions to his nephew Cuthred, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebelled.

[a] The next year Peada, whom his father Penda, though a heathen, had for his princely virtues made prince of Middle-Angles, belonging to the Mercians, was with that people converted to the faith. For coming to Oswi with request to have in marriage Alfleda his daughter, he was denied her, but on condition that he with all his people should receive Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preached to him of resurrection and eternal life, much persuaded also by Alfrid the king's son, who had his sister Kyniburg to wife, he easily assented, for the truth's sake only as he professed, whether he obtained the virgin or no, and was baptized with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four presbyters to teach the people of his province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did Penda, though himself no believer, prohibit any in his kingdom to hear or believe the gospel, but rather hated and despised those, who, professing to believe, attested not their faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despised, who obey not that God, in whom they choose to believe. How well might Penda, this heathen, rise up in judgment against many pretended Christians, both of his own and these days! yet being a man bred up to war, (as no less were others then reigning, and ofttimes one against another, though both Christians,) he warred on Anna king of the [b] East Angles, perhaps without cause, for Anna was esteemed a just man, and at length slew him. About this time the East Saxons, who, as above hath been said, had expelled their bishop Mellitus, and renounced the faith, were by the means of Oswi thus reconverted. Sigebert, surnamed the small, being the son of Seward, without other memory of his reign, left his son king of that province, after him Sigebert the second; who coming often to visit Oswi his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from idolatry, and convinced at length to forsake it, was there baptized; on his return home taking with him Kedda a laborious preacher, afterwards made bishop; by whose teaching, with some help of others, the people were again recovered from misbelief. But Sigebert some years after, though standing fast in religion, was by the conspiracy of two brethren, in place near about him, wickedly murdered; who being asked, "What moved them to a deed so heinous," gave no other than this barbarous answer; "That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his enemies, as to forgive them their injuries whenever they besought him." Yet his death seems to have happened not without some cause by him given of divine displeasure. For one of those earls who slew him, living in unlawful wedlock, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his house, much less to sit

r Camden. s Bed. l. 3. c. 14. t Post Christ. 643. Sax. an.
u Post Christ. 645. Sax. an. x Post Christ. 648.
y Post Christ. 651. Bede. z Bed. l. 3. c. 7. Post Christ. 652.
a Post Christ. 653. b Post Christ. 654. Sax. an.

at meat with him, the king not regarding his church-censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his feet, touched with the rod in his hand, and angrily thus foretold: "Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the house of that excommunicate, in that house thou shalt die;" and so it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witness to his minister in the power of church-discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner thereof. This year[c] 655 proved fortunate to Oswi, and fatal to Penda; for Oswi by the continual inroads of Penda having long endured much devastation, to the endangering once by assault and fire Bebbanburg,[d] his strongest city, now Bamborrow-castle, unable to resist him, with many rich presents offered to buy his peace, which not accepted by the pagan,[e] who intended nothing but destruction to that king, though more than once in affinity with him, turning gifts into vows, he implores divine assistance, devoting, if he were delivered from his enemy, a child of one year old, his daughter, to be a nun, and twelve portions of land whereon to build monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success than his proffered gifts; for hereupon with his son Alfrid, gathering a small power, he encountered and discomfited the Mercians, thirty times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert captains,[f] at a place called Laydes, now Leeds in Yorkshire. Besides this Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, who ruled in Deira, took part with the Mercians; but in the fight withdrew his forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which unseasonable retreat the Mercians, perhaps terrified and misdoubting more danger, fled; their commanders, with Penda himself, most being slain, among whom Edilhere the brother of Anna, who ruled after him the East-Angles, and was the author of this war; many more flying were drowned in the river, which Beda calls Winwed, then swoln above its banks.[g] The death of Penda, who had been the death of so many good kings, made general rejoicing, as the song witnessed. At the river Winwed, Anna was avenged. To Edelhere succeeded Ethelwald his brother, in the East-Angles; to Sigebert in the East-Saxons, Suidhelm the son of Sexbald, saith Bede,[h] the brother of Sigebert, saith Malmsbury; he was baptized by Kedda, then residing in the East-Angles, and by Ethelwald the king received out of the font. But Oswi in the strength of his late victory, within[i] three years after subdued all Mercia, and of the Pictish nation greatest part, at which time he gave to Peada his son-in-law the kingdom of South-Mercia, divided from the Northern by Trent. But Peada the spring following, as was said, by the treason of his wife the daughter of Oswi, married by him for a special Christian, on the feast of Easter[k] not protected by the holy time, was slain. The Mercian nobles, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert, throwing off the government of Oswi, set up Wulfer the other son of Penda to be their king, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the christian faith. Kenwalk the West-Saxon, now settled at home, and desirous to enlarge his dominion, prepares against the Britons, joins battle with them at Pen in Somersetshire, and overcoming, pursues them to Pedridan. Another fight he had with them before, at a place called Witgeornesburg, barely mentioned by the monk of Malmsbury. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance with Wulfer the son of Penda, his old enemy, scarce yet warm in his throne, fought with him at Possentesburgh, on the Easter holydays,[l] and as Ethelwerd saith, took him prisoner; but the Saxon annals, quite otherwise, that Wulfer winning the field, wasted the West-Saxon country as far as Eskesdun: nor staying there, took and wasted the isle of Wight, but causing the inhabitants to be baptized, till then unbelievers, gave the island to Ethelwald king of South-Saxons, whom he had received out of the font. The year[m] six hundred and sixty-four a synod of Scottish and English bishops, in the presence of Oswi and Alfred his son, was held at a monastery in those parts, to debate on what day Easter should be kept; a controversy which long before had disturbed the Greek and Latin churches: wherein the Scots not agreeing with the way of Rome; nor yielding to the disputants on that side, to whom the king most inclined, such as were bishops here, resigned, and returned home with their disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of crowns. The same year was seen an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a sore pestilence beginning in the South,[n] but spreading to the North, and over all Ireland with great mortality In which time the East-Saxons, after Swithelm's decease, being governed by Siger the son of Sigebert the small, and Sebbi of Seward, though both subject to the Mercians; Siger and his people unsteady of faith, supposing that this plague was come upon them for renouncing their old religion, fell off the second time to infidelity. Which the Mercian king Wulfer understanding, sent Jarumannus a faithful bishop, who with other his fellow-labourers, by sound doctrine and gentle dealing, soon recured them of their second relapse. In Kent, Ercombert expiring, was succeeded by his son Ecbert. In whose fourth year,[o] by means of Theodore, a learned Greekish monk of Tarsus, whom pope Vitalian had ordained archbishop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongue, with other liberal arts, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the Saxons; as did also the whole land, under potent and religious kings, more than ever before, as Bede affirms, till his own days. Two years[p] after in Northumberland died Oswi, much addicted to Romish rites, and resolved, had his disease released him, to have ended his days at Rome. Ecfrid, the eldest of his sons begot in wedlock, succeeded him. After other[q] three years, Ecbert in Kent deceasing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspicion to have slain or connived at the slaughter of his uncle's two sons, Elbert and

c Post Christ. 655. d Bed. l. 3. c. 16. e Camd.
f Camden. g Mat. West. h Bed. l. 3. c. 22
i Post Christ. 658 Sax ann. k Post Christ. 659. Sax. ann

l Post Christ. 661. Sax. ann. m Post Christ. 664. Bed
n Malms. o Post Christ 668. Sax. ann.
p Post Christ. 670. Sax. ann q Post Christ. 673 Sax. ann.

Egelbright. In recompense whereof he gave to the[r] mother of them part of Tanet, wherein to build an abbey; the kingdom fell to his brother Lothair. And much about this time by best account it should be, however placed in Beda,[s] that Ecfrid of Northumberland, having war with the Mercian Wulfer, won from him Lindsey, and the country thereabout. Sebbi having reigned over the East-Saxons thirty years, not long before his death, though long before desiring, took on him the habit of a monk; and drew his wife at length, though unwilling, to the same devotion. Kenwalk also dying left the government to Sexburga his wife, who outlived him in it but one year, driven out, saith Mat. Westm. by the nobles disdaining female government. [t] After whom several petty kings, as Beda calls them, for ten years space divided the West-Saxons; others name two, Escwin, the nephew of Kinegils, and Kentwin the son, not petty by their deeds:[u] for Escwin fought a battle with Wulfer,[x] at Bedanhafde, and about a year after both deceased; but Wulfer not without a stain left behind him of selling the bishoprick of London to Wini; the first simonist we read of in this story: Kenwalk had before expelled him from his chair at Winchester. Ethelred, the brother of Wulfer, obtaining next the kingdom of Mercia, not only recovered Lindsey, and what besides in those parts Wulfer had lost to Ecfrid some years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his arms another way, as far as Kent, wasting that country without respect to church or monastery,[y] much also endamaging the city of Rochester, notwithstanding what resistance Lothair could make against him. [z] In August six hundred and seventy-eight was seen a morning comet for three months following, in manner of a fiery pillar. And the South-Saxons about this time were converted to the christian faith, upon this occasion. Wilfred bishop of the Northumbrians entering into contention with Ecfrid the king, was by him deprived of his bishoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as Rome,[a] returned at length into England; but not daring to approach the north, whence he was banished, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his ministry. The south of all other Saxons remained yet heathen; but Ediwalk their king not long before had been baptized in Mercia persuaded by Wulfer, and by him, as hath been said, received out of the font. [b] For which relation's sake he had the Isle of Wight, and a province of the Meannari adjoining given him on the continent about Meanesborow in Hantshire, which Wulfer had a little before gotten from Kenwalk. Thither Wilfrid takes his journey, and with the help of other spiritual labourers about him, in short time planted there the gospel. It had not rained, as is said, of three years before in that country, whence many of the people daily perished by famine; till on the first day of their public baptism, soft and plentiful showers descending restored all abundance to the summer following. [c] Two years after this, Kentwin the other West-Saxon king above named, chaced the Welsh Britons, as is chronicled without circumstance, to the very sea-shore. But in the year, by Beda's reckoning, six hundred and eighty-three,[d] Kedvalla a West-Saxon of the royal line, (whom the Welsh will have to be Cadwallader, last king of the Britons,) thrown out by faction, returned from banishment, and invaded both Kentwin, if then living, or whoever else had divided the succession of Kenwalk, slaying in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, who opposed him in their aid;[e] but soon after was repulsed by two of his captains, Bertune and Andune, who for a while held the province in their power.[f] But Kedwalla gathering new force, with the slaughter of Bertune, and also of Edric the successor of Edelwalk, won the kingdom; but reduced the people to heavy thraldom.[g] Then addressing to conquer the Isle of Wight, till that time pagan, saith Beda, (others otherwise, as above hath been related,) made a vow, though himself yet unbaptized, to devote the south part of that island, and the spoils thereof, to holy uses. Conquest obtained, paying his vow as then was the belief, he gave his fourth to bishop Wilfrid, by chance there present; and he to Bertwin a priest, his sister's son, with commission to baptize all the vanquished, who meant to save their lives. But the two young sons of Arwald, king of that island, met with much more hostility: for they, at the enemy's approach flying out of the isle, and betrayed where they were hid not far from thence, were led to Kedwaller, who lay then under cure of some wounds received, and by his appointment, after instruction and baptism first given them, harshly put to death, which the youths are said above their age to have christianly suffered. In Kent Lothair died this year of his wounds received in the fight against the South-Saxons, led on by Edric, who descending from Ermenred, it seems challenged the crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent death,[h] left the land exposed a prey either to homebred usurpers, or neighbouring invaders. Among whom Kedwalla, taking advantage from their civil distempers, and marching easily through the South-Saxons, whom he had subdued, sorely harassed the county, untouched of a long time by any hostile incursion. But the Kentish men, all parties uniting against a common enemy, with joint power so opposed him, that he was constrained to retire back; his brother Mollo in the flight, with twelve men in his company, seeking shelter in a house was beset, and therein burnt by the pursuers:[i] Kedwalla much troubled at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered forces, returned fiercely upon the chasing enemy;[k] nor could he be got out of the province, till both by fire and sword he had avenged the death of his brother.[l] At length Victred, the son of Ecbert, attaining the kingdom, both settled at home all things in peace, and secured his borders from all outward hostility.[m] While

r Malms. s Bed. l. 4. c. 12. t Post Christ. 674. Bed. l. 4. c. 12. u Sax. an. x Malms. Post Christ. 676. y Bed. l. 4. c. 12. z Post Christ. 678. a Post Christ. 679. b Bed. l. 4. c. 13. Camden c Post Christ. 681. Sax. an. d Post Christ. 683. Sax. an.

e Bed. l. 4. c. 15 f Malms. Post. Christ. 684. g Bed. l. 4. c. 15. h Post Christ. 685. Malms. i Sax. an. Malms. k Post Christ. 686. l Post Christ. 687. m Bed.

thus Kedwalla disquieted both West and East, after his winning the crown, Ecfrid the Northumbrian, and Ethelred the Mercian, fought a sore battle by the river Trent; wherein Elfwin brother to Ecfrid, a youth of eighteen years, much beloved, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of blood, peace was happily made up by the grave exhortation of Archbishop Theodore, a pecuniary fine only paid to Ecfrid, as some satisfaction for the loss of his brother's life. Another adversity befel Ecfrid in his family, by means of Ethildrith his wife, king Anna's daughter, who having taken him for her husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelve years in the obstinate refusal of his bed, thereby thinking to live the purer life. So perversely then was chastity instructed against the apostle's rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veiled herself a nun, then made abbess of Ely, died seven years after of the pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken wedlock, though now canonized St. Audrey of Ely. In the mean while Ecfrid had sent Bertus with a power to subdue Ireland, a harmless nation, saith Beda, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day; miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallowed or profane; they betook themselves partly to their weapons, partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtained it in their full avengement upon Ecfrid. For he the next year, against the mind and persuasion of his sagest friends, and especially of Cudbert a famous bishop of that age, marching unadvisedly against the Picts, who long before had been subject to Northumberland, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow straits, overtopped with hills, and cut off with most of his army. From which time, saith Beda, military valour began among the Saxons to decay, not only the Picts till then peaceable, but some part of the Britons also recovered by arms their liberty for many years after. Yet Alfrid elder, but base brother to Ecfrid, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recalled from Ireland, to which place in his brother's reign he had retired, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his kingdom. Kedwalla having now with great disturbance of his neighbours reigned over the West-Saxons two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to Rome, desirous there to receive baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferred; and accordingly, on Easter-day, six hundred and eighty-nine,[n] he was baptized by Sergius the pope, and his name changed to Peter. All which notwithstanding, surprised with a disease, he outlived not the ceremony so far sought much above the space of five weeks, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the church of St. Peter was there buried, with a large epitaph upon his tomb. Him succeeded Ina of the royal family, and from the time of his coming in for many years oppressed the land with like grievances, as Kedwalla had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no bishop among them. His first expedition was into Kent, to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo: Victred, loth to hazard all, for the rash act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that could be found accessory, or as others say, pacified Ina with a great sum of money.[o] Meanwhile, at the incitement of Ecbert, a devout monk, Wilbrod, a priest eminent for learning, passed over sea, having twelve others in company, with intent to preach the gospel in Germany.[p] And coming to Pepin chief regent of the Franks, who a little before had conquered the hither Frisia, by his countenance and protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of conversion much the easier, and Wilbrod the first bishopric in that nation. But two priests, each of them Hewald by name, and for distinction surnamed from the colour of their hair, the black and the white, by his example piously affected to the souls of their countrymen the Old Saxons, at their coming thither to convert them met with much worse entertainment. For in the house of a farmer, who had promised to convey them, as they desired, to the governour of that country, discovered by their daily ceremonies to be christian priests, and the cause of their coming suspected, they were by him and his heathen neighbours cruelly butchered; yet not unavenged, for the governour enraged at such violence offered to his strangers, sending armed men slew all those inhabitants, and burnt their village. [q] After three years in Mercia, Ostrid the queen, wife to Ethelred, was killed by her own nobles, as Beda's epitome records; Florence calls them Southimbrians, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. [r] And the year following, Bethred a Northumbrian general, was slain by the Picts. [s] Ethelred, seven years after the violent death of his queen, put on the monk, and resigned his kingdom to Kenrid the son of Wulfer his brother. [t] The next year Alfrid in Northumberland died, leaving Osred a child of eight years to succeed him. [u] Four years after which, Kenred, having a while with praise governed the Mercian kingdom, went to Rome in the time of pope Constantine, and shorn a monk spent there the residue of his days. Kelred succeeded him, the son of Ethelred, who had reigned the next before. With Kenred went Offa the son of Siger, king of the East-Saxons, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his wife and native country; a comely person in the prime of his youth, much desired of the people; and such his virtue by report, as might have otherwise been worthy to have reigned. [x] Ina the West-Saxon one year after fought a battle, at first doubtful, at last successful, against Gerent king of Wales. [y] The next year Bertfrid, another Northumbrian captain, fought with the Picts, and slaughtered them, saith Huntingdon, to the full avengement of Ecfrid's death. [z] The fourth year after, Ina had another doubtful and cruel battle at Woodnesburgh in

n Post Christ. 689. o Malms. Sax. an. Ethelwerd. p Post Christ. 694. q Post Christ. 697 r Post Christ. 698 s Post Christ. 701. t Post Christ. 705. u Post Christ. 709

x Post Christ. 710. Sax. Annal. y Huntingd. Post Christ. 711. z Bed. Epid. Post Christ 715.

Wiltshire, with Kenred the Mercian, who died the year following a lamentable death:[a] for as he sat one day feasting with his nobles, suddenly possessed with an evil spirit, he expired in despair, as Boniface archbishop of Menfz, an Englishman, who taxes him for a defiler of nuns, writes by way of caution to Ethelbald his next of kin, who succeeded him. Osred also a young Northumbrian king, slain by his kindred in the eleventh of his reign for his vicious life and incest committed with nuns, was by Kenred succeeded and avenged; he reigning two years left Osric in his room. [b] In whose seventh year, if Beda calculate right, Victred king of Kent deceased, having reigned thirty-four years, and some part of them with Suebhard, as Beda[c] testifies. He left behind him three sons, Ethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric his heirs. [d] Three years after which appeared two comets about the sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the morning, the other after him in the evening, for the space of two weeks in January, bending their blaze toward the north; at which time the Saracens furiously invaded France, but were expelled soon after with great overthrow. The same year in Northumberland, Osric, dying or slain, adopted Kelwulf the brother of Kenred his successor, to whom Beda dedicates his story;[e] but writes this only of him, that the beginning and the process of his reign met with many adverse commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Meanwhile Ina, seven years before having slain Kenwulf, to whom Florent gives the addition of Clito, given usually to none but of the blood royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and slain Albright another Clito, driven from Taunton to the South-Saxons for aid, vanquished also the East-Angles in more than one battle, as Malmsbury writes, but not the year; whether to expiate so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, Malmsbury saith, at the persuasion of Ethelburga his wife, went to Rome, and there ended his days; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good laws, the first of Saxon that remain extant to this day, and to his kinsman Edelard bequeathed the crown, no less than the whole monarchy of England and Wales. For Ina, if we believe a digression in the laws of Edward confessor, was the first king crowned of English and British, since the Saxons' entrance; of the British by means of his second wife, some way related to Cadwallader last king of Wales, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. [f] After Ina, by a surer author, Ethelbald king of Mercia commanded all the provinces on this side Humber, with their kings: the Picts were in league with the English, the Scots peaceable within their bounds, and of the Britons part were in their own government, part subject to the English. In which peaceful state of the land, many in Northumberland, both nobles and commons, laying aside the exercise of arms, betook them to the cloister: and not content so to do at home, many in the days of Ina, clerks and laics, men and women, hasting to Rome in herds, thought themselves no where sure of eternal life till they were cloistered there. Thus representing the state of things in this island, Beda surceased to write. Out of whom chiefly has been gathered, since the Saxons' arrival, such as hath been delivered, a scattered story picked out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of visions and miracles; toward the latter end so bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a calendar rather than a history, taken up for the most part with succession of kings, and computation of years, yet those hard to be reconciled with the Saxon annals. Their actions we read of were most commonly wars, but for what cause waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their strength and violence we understand, of their wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation; kings one after another leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads fondly into a monk's cowl; which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of Beda. Left only to obscure and blockish chronicles; whom Malmsbury, and Huntingdon, (for neither they nor we had better authors of those times,) ambitious to adorn the history, make no scruple ofttimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of their own; them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmsbury must be acknowledged, both for style and judgment, to be by far the best writer of them all: but what labour is to be endured turning over volumes of rubbish in the rest, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travail, rather than not know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all their lifetime raking the foundations of old abbeys and cathedrals. But to my task now as it befalls. [g] In the year seven hundred and thirty-three, on the eighteenth kalends of September, was an eclipse of the sun about the third hour of day, obscuring almost his whole orb as with a black shield. [h] Ethelbald of Mercia besieged and took the castle or town of Somerton: [i] and two years after Beda our historian died, some say the year before. [k] Kelwulf in Northumberland three years after became monk in Lindisfarne, yet none of the severest, for he brought those monks from milk and water to wine and ale; in which doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile, and well might, for Kelwulf brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of land, recited by Simeon, yet all under pretence of

a Sax. an. Huntingd. Post Christ. 716.
b Post Christ. 718.
c L. 5. c. [illegible]
d Post Christ. 725.
e [illegible] 729.
[illegible] Bed. l. 5. c. 24.
f Bede. Post Christ. 731.
g Post Christ. 733. Sax. an.
h Ethelwerd.
i Post Christ. 735.
k Post Christ. 738. Malm.

following (I use the author's words) poor Christ, by voluntary poverty: no marvel then if such applause were given by monkish writers to kings turning monks, and much cunning perhaps used to allure them. To Eadbert his uncle's son, he left the kingdom, whose brother Ecbert, archbishop of York, built a library there. [l] But two years after, while Eadbert was busied in war against the Picts, Ethelbald the Mercian, by foul fraud, assaulted part of Northumberland in his absence, as the supplement to Beda's epitome records. In the West-Saxons, Edelard, who succeeded Ina, having been much molested in the beginning of his reign, with the rebellion of Oswald his kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those troubles, died in peace seven hundred and forty-one,[m] leaving Cuthred one of the same lineage to succeed him; who at first had much war with Ethelbald the Mercian, and various success, but joining with him in league two years after,[n] made war on the Welsh; Huntingdon doubts not to give them a great victory. [o] And Simeon reports another battle fought between Britons and Picts the year ensuing. Now was the kingdom of East-Saxons drawing to a period, for Sigeard and Senfred the sons of Sebbi having reigned a while, and after them young Offa, who soon quitted his kingdom to go to Rome with Kenred, as hath been said, the government was conferred on Selred son of Sigebert the Good, who having ruled thirty-eight years,[p] came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom Swithred was the last king, driven out by Ecbert the West-Saxon: but London, with countries adjacent, obeyed the Mercians till they also were dissolved. [q] Cuthred had now reigned about nine years, when Kinric his son, a valiant young prince, was in a military tumult slain by his own soldiers. The same year Eadbert dying in Kent, his brother Edilbert reigned in his stead. [r] But after two years, the other Eadbert in Northumberland, whose war with the Picts hath been above mentioned, made now such progress there, as to subdue Kyle, so saith the auctarie of Bede, and other countries thereabout, to his dominion; while Cuthred the West-Saxon had a fight with Ethelhun, one of his nobles, a stout warrior, envied by him in some matter of the commonwealth,[s] as far as by the Latin of Ethelwerd can be understood, (others interpret it sedition,) and with much ado overcoming, took Ethelhun for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully served in the twelfth or thirteenth of his reign, he encountered in a set battle with Ethelbald the Mercian at Beorford, now Burford in Oxfordshire, [t] one year after against the Welsh, which was the last but one of his life. Huntingdon, as his manner is to comment upon the annal text, makes a terrible description of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the prowess of Ethelhun, at Beorford, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal; and both in that and the latter conflict gives victory to Guthred; after whom Sigebert,[u] uncertain by what right, his kinsman, saith Florent, stepped into the throne, whom, hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, Kinwulf, joining with most of the nobility, dispossessed of all but Hamshire; that province he lost also within a year,[x] together with the love of all those who till then remained his adherents, by slaying Cumbran, one of his chief captains, who for a long time had faithfully served, and now dissuaded, him from incensing the people by such tyrannical practices. [y] Thence flying for safety into Andrew's wood, forsaken of all, he was at length slain by the swineherd of Cumbran in revenge of his master, and Kinwulf, who had undoubted right to the crown, joyfully saluted king. [z] The next year Eadbert the Northumbrian, joining forces with Unust king of the Picts, as Simeon writes, besieged and took by surrender the city of Alcluith, now Dunbritton in Lennox, from the Britons of Cumberland; and ten days after,[a] the whole army perished about Niwanbirig, but to tell us how, he forgets. In Mercia, Ethelbald was slain at a place called Secandune, now Seckington in Warwickshire, the year following,[b] in a bloody fight against Cuthred, as Huntingdon surmises, but Cuthred was dead two or three years before; others write him murdered in the night by his own guard, and the treason, as some say, of Beornred, who succeeded him; but ere many months was defeated and slain by Offa. Yet Ethelbald seems not without cause, after a long and prosperous reign, to have fallen by a violent death; not shaming, on the vain confidence of his many alms, to commit uncleanness with consecrated nuns, besides laic adulteries, as the archbishop of Mentz in a letter taxes him and his predecessor, and that by his example most of his peers did the like; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a slothful offspring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that kingdom, as it fell out not long after.[c] The next year Osmund, according to Florence, ruling the South-Saxons, and Swithred the East, Eadbert in Northumberland, following the steps of his predecessor, got him into a monk's hood; the more to be wondered, that having reigned worthily twenty-one years,[d] with the love and high estimation of all, both at home and abroad, still able to govern, and much entreated by the kings his neighbours, not to lay down his charge; with offer on that condition to yield up to him part of their own dominion, he could not be moved from his resolution, but relinquished his regal office to Oswulf his son; who at the year's end,[e] though without just cause, was slain by his own servants. And the year after died Ethelbert, son of Victred, the second of that name in Kent. After Oswulf, Ethelwald, otherwise called Mollo, was set up king; who in his third year[f] had a great battle at Eldune, by Melros, slew Oswin a great Lord, rebelling, and gained the victory. But the third year after[g] fell by the treachery of Alcred, who assumed his place. [h] The

l Post Christ. 740. m Post Christ. 741. Malmsb. Sax. an.
n Post Christ. 743. Sim. Dun
o Post Christ. 744. Hoved. Malms. Sax. an. p Post Christ. 746.
q Post Christ. 748. Sax. an. Huntingd. r Post Christ. 750.
s Huntingd. Post Christ. 752. Camd. t Post Christ. 753.
u Sax. an Post Christ. 751. Malms. x Post Christ. 755

y Huntingdon. z Post Christ. 756. Camd. a Camd.
b Post Christ. 757. Sax. an, Epit. Bed. Sim. Dun.
c Post Christ. 758. d Sim. Dun. Eccles. l 2
e Post Christ. 759. f Post Christ. 762. Sim. Dun. Mat. West.
g Post Christ. 765. Sim. Dun.
h Post Christ. 769

fourth year after which, Cataracta an ancient and fair city in Yorkshire, was burnt by Arned a certain tyrant; who the same year came to like end. [i] And after five years more, Alcred the king, deposed and forsaken by all his people, fled with a few, first to Bebba, a strong city of those parts, thence to Kinot, king of the Picts. Ethelred, the son of Mollo, was crowned in his stead. Meanwhile Offa the Mercian, growing powerful, had subdued a neighbouring people by Simeon, called Hastings; and fought successfully this year with Alric king of Kent, at a place called Occanford: the annals also speak of wondrous serpents then seen in Sussex. Nor had Kinwulf the West-Saxon given small proof of his valour in several battles against the Welsh heretofore; but this year seven hundred and seventy-five,[k] meeting with Offa, at a place called Besington, was put to the worse, and Offa won the town for which they contended. [l] In Northumberland, Ethelred having caused three of his nobles, Aldulf, Kinwulf, and Ecca, treacherously to be slain by two other peers, was himself the next year driven into banishment, Elfwald the son of Oswulf succeeding in his place, yet not without civil broils; for in his second year [m] Osbald and Athelheard, two noblemen, raising forces against him, routed Bearne his general, and pursuing burnt him at a place called Seletune. I am sensible how wearisome it may likely be, to read of so many bare and reasonless actions, so many names of kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a scene: what would it be to have inserted the long bead-roll of archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, and their doings, neither to religion profitable, nor to morality, swelling my authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted; and left as their propriety, who have a mind to write the ecclesiastical matters of those ages? Neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of history with rugged names of places unknown, better harped at in Camden, and other chorographers. [n] Six years therefore passed over in silence, as wholly of such argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of Kinwulf the West-Saxon; who having laudably reigned about thirty-one years, yet suspecting that Kineard, brother of Sigebert the former king, intended to usurp the crown after his decease, or revenge his brother's expulsion, had commanded him into banishment:[o] but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small company, having had intelligence that Kinwulf was in the country thereabout, at Merantun, or Merton in Surrey, at the house of a woman whom he loved, went by night and beset the place. Kinwulf, over confident either of his royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with a few about him, runs fiercely at Kineard, and wounds him sore; but by his followers hemmed in, is killed among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the king's return, Osric and Wifert, two earls, hasted with a great number to the house, where Kineard and his fellows yet remained. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promises of great gifts attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hundred. Kinwulf was succeeded by Birthric, being both descended of Kerdic the founder of that kingdom.[p] Not better was the end of Elfwald in Northumberland, two years after slain miserably by the conspiracy of Siggan, one of his nobles, others say of the whole people at Scilcester by the Roman wall; yet undeservedly, as his sepulchre at Hagustald, now Hexam upon Tine, and some miracles there said to be done,[q] are alleged to witness, and Siggan five years after laid violent hands on himself.[r] Osred son of Alcred advanced into the room of Elfwald, and within one year driven out, left his seat vacant to Ethelred son of Mollo, who after ten years of banishment[s] (imprisonment, saith Alcuin) had the sceptre put again into his hand. The third year of Birthric king of West-Saxons, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this land. For three Danish ships, the first that had been seen here of that nation, arriving in the west; to visit these, as was supposed, foreign merchants, the king's gatherer of customs taking horse from Dorchester, found them spies and enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of their lading at the king's custom house, they slew him, and all that came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines, and hostilities, which they returned not long after to commit over all the island. [t] Of this Danish first arrival, and on a sudden worse than hostile aggression, the Danish history far otherwise relates, as if their landing had been at the mouth of Humber, and their spoilful march far into the country; though soon repelled by the inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to their ships: but from what cause, what reason of state, what authority or public council the invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that Sigefrid then king in Denmark, and long after, was a man studious more of peace and quiet than of warlike matters. [u] These therefore seem rather to have been some wanderers at sea, who with public commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of Christianity, seeking booties on any land of Christians, came by chance, or weather, on this shore. [x] The next year Osred in Northumberland, who driven out by his nobles had given place to Ethelred, was taken, and forcibly shaven a monk at York. [y] And the year after, Oelf, and Oelfwin, sons of Elfwald, formerly king, were drawn by fair promises from the principal church of York, and after by command of Ethelred cruelly put to death at Wonwaldremere,[z] a village by the great pool in Lancashire, now called Winandermere. [a] Nor was the third year less bloody; for Osred, who, not liking a shaven crown, had desired banishment and obtained it, returning from the Isle of Man

i Post Christ. 774. Sim. Dun. k Post Christ. 775. Sax. an. l Post Christ. 778. Sim. Dun. m Post Christ. 780. Sim. Dun. n Post Christ. 786. Ethelweird. Malms. o Sax. an. Camd. p Post Christ. 788. Sim. Dun. Malms. q Camd.

r Malms. s Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 789. t Pontan. l. 3. u Ibid. l. 4. x Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 790. y Post Christ. 791. Sim. Dun. z Camd. a Post Christ. 792. Sim. Dun. Eccles. l. 2.

with small forces, at the secret but deceitful call of certain nobles, who by oath had promised to assist him, were also taken, and by Ethelred dealt with in the same manner: who, the better to avouch his cruelties, thereupon married Elfled the daughter of Offa; for in Offa was found as little faith or mercy. He the same year, having drawn to his palace Ethelbrite king of East-Angles, with fair invitations to marry his daughter, caused him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his kingdom wrongfully seized, by the wicked counsel of his wife, saith Mat. Westm. annexing thereto a long unlikely tale. For which violence and bloodshed to make atonement, with friars at least, he bestows the relics of St. Alban in a shrine of pearl and gold. [b] Far worse it fared the next year with the relics in Lindisfarne; where the Danes landing pillaged that monastery; and of friars killed some, carried away others captive, sparing neither priest nor lay: which many strange thunders and fiery dragons, with other impressions in the air seen frequently before, were judged to foresignify. This year Alric third son of Victred ended in Kent his long reign of thirty-four years; with him ended the race of Hengist: thenceforth whomsoever wealth or faction advanced took on him the name and state of a king. The Saxon annals of seven hundred and eighty-four name Ealmund then reigning in Kent; but that consists not with the time of Alric, and I find him no where else mentioned. The year following[c] was remarkable for the death of Offa the Mercian, a strenuous and subtile king; he had much intercourse with Charles the Great, at first enmity, to the interdicting of commerce on either side, at length much amity and firm league, as appears by the letter of Charles himself yet extant, procured by Alcuin a learned and prudent man, though a monk, whom the kings of England in those days had sent orator into France, to maintain good correspondence between them and Charles the Great. He granted, saith Huntingdon, a perpetual tribute to the pope out of every house in his kingdom,[d] for yielding perhaps to translate the primacy of Canterbury to Litchfield in his own dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British confines from sea to sea. Ecferth the son of Offa, a prince of great hope, who also had been crowned nine years before his father's decease, restoring to the church what his father had seized on, yet within four months by a sickness ended his reign; and to Kenulf, next in the right of the same progeny, bequeathed his kingdom. Meanwhile the Danish pirates, who still wasted Northumberland, venturing on shore to spoil another monastery at the mouth of the river Don, were assailed by the English, their chief captain slain on the place; then returning to sea, were most of them shipwrecked; others driven again on shore, were put all to the sword. Simeon attributes this their punishment to the power of St. Cudbert, offended with them for the rifling his convent. [e] Two years after this died Ethelred, twice king, but not exempted at last from the fate of many of his predecessors, miserably slain by his people, some say deservedly, as not inconscious with them who trained Osred to his ruin. Osbald a nobleman exalted to the throne, and, in less than a month, deserted and expelled, was forced to fly from Lindisfarne by sea to the Pictish king, and died an abbot. Eadhulf, whom Ethelred six years before had commanded to be put to death at Rippon, before the abbey-gate, dead as was supposed, and with solemn dirge carried into the church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banished, now recalled, was in York created king. In Kent Ethelbert or Pren, whom the annals call Eadbright, (so different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming,) by some means having usurped regal power, after two years reign contending with Kenulf the Mercian, was by him taken prisoner, and soon after out of pious commiseration let go: but not received of his own, what became of him Malmsbury leaves in doubt. Simeon writes, that Kenulf commanded to put out his eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in Northumberland, who had conspired against Ethelred,[f] now also raising war against Eardulf, under Wada their chief captain, after much havoc on either side at Langho, by Whaley in Lancashire, the conspirators at last fleeing, Eardulf returned with victory. The same year London, with a great multitude of her inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consumed. The year eight hundred[g] made way for great alteration in England, uniting her seven kingdoms into one, by Ecbert the famous West-Saxon; him Birthrick dying childless left next to reign, the only survivor of that lineage, descended from Inegild the brother of king Ina. [h] And according to his birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing up in him; which Birthric fearing, and withal his juster title to the crown, secretly sought his life, and Ecbert perceiving, fled to Offa, the Mercian: but he having married Eadburgh his daughter to Birthric, easily gave ear to his embassadors coming to require Ecbert: [i] he, again put to his shifts, escaped thence into France; but after three years' banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his education, Charles the Great then reigning, he was called over by the public voice, (for Birthric was newly dead,) and with general applause created king of West-Saxons. The same day Ethelmund at Kinnersford passing over with the Worcestershire men, was met by Weolstan another nobleman with those of Wiltshire, between whom happened a great fray, wherein the Wiltshire men overcame, but both dukes were slain, no reason of their quarrel written; such bickerings to recount, met often in these our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air? [k] The year following, Eardulf the Northumbrian leading forth an army against Kenwulf the Mercian for harbouring certain of his enemies, by the diligent mediation of other princes and

b Post Christ. 793. Sim. Dun

c Post Christ. 794. Malms

d Asser. Men. Sim. Dun

e Post Christ. 796 Sim Dun

f Post Christ. 798. Sim. Dun.

g Post Christ. 800.

h Malms.

i Sax an

k Post Christ. 801. Sim. Dun.

prelates, arms were laid aside, and amity soon sworn between them. [l] But Eadburga, the wife of Birthric, a woman every way wicked, in malice especially cruel, could not or cared not to appease the general hatred justly conceived against her; accustomed in her husband's day, to accuse any whom she spighted;[m] and not prevailing to his ruin, her practice was by poison secretly to contrive his death. It fortuned, that the king her husband, lighting on a cup which she had tempered, not for him, but for one of his great favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sipped thereof only, and in a while after, still pining away, ended his days; the favourite, drinking deeper, found speedier the operation. She, fearing to be questioned for these facts, with what treasure she had, passed over sea to Charles the Great, whom, with rich gifts coming to his presence, the emperor courtly received with this pleasant proposal: "Choose, Eadburga, which of us two thou wilt, me or my son," (for his son stood by him,) "to be thy husband." She, no dissembler of what she liked best, made easy answer: "Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your son rather, as the younger man." To whom the emperor, between jest and earnest, "Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestowed on thee my son; but since thou hast chosen him, thou shalt have neither him nor me." Nevertheless he assigned her a rich monastery to dwell in as abbess; for that life it may seem she chose next to profess: but being a while after detected of unchastity with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence: from that time wandering poorly up and down with one servant, in Pavia a city of Italy, she finished at last in beggary her shameful life. In the year eight hundred and five [n] Cuthred, whom Kenulf the Mercian had, instead of Pren, made king in Kent, having obscurely reigned eight years, deceased. In Northumberland, Eardulf the year following was driven out of his realm by Alfwold,[o] who reigned two years in his room; after whom Eandred son of Eardulf thirty-three years; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better authors: much less that which Buchanan relates, the year following,[p] of Achaius king of Scots, who having reigned thirty-two years, and dying in eight hundred and nine,[q] had formerly aided (but in what year of his reign tells not) Hungus king of Picts with ten thousand Scots, against Athelstan a Saxon or Englishman, then wasting the Pictish borders; that Hungus by the aid of those Scots, and the help of St. Andrew their patron, in a vision by night, and the appearance of his cross by day, routed the astonished English, and slew Athelstan in fight. Who this Athelstan was, I believe no man knows; Buchanan supposes him to have been some Danish commander, on whom king Alured or Alfred had bestowed Northumberland; but of this I find no footstep in our ancient writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of Alfred, it must be little less than a hundred years after: this Athelstan therefore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have been the fancy of some legend than any warrantable record. [r] Meanwhile Ecbert having with much prudence, justice, and clemency, a work of more than one year, established his kingdom and himself in the affections of his people, turns his first enterprise against the Britons, both them of Cornwall and those beyond Severn, subduing both. In Mercia, Kenulf, the sixth year after,[s] having reigned with great praise of his religious mind and virtues both in peace and war, deceased. His son Kenelm, a child of seven years, was committed to the care of his elder sister Quendrid: who, with a female ambition aspiring to the crown, hired one who had the charge of his nurture to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. [t] The murder, as is reported, was miraculously revealed; but to tell how, by a dove dropping a written note on the altar at Rome, is a long story, told, though out of order, by Malmsbury, and under the year eight hundred and twenty-one by Mat. West., where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my readers. Only the note was to this purpose:

> Low in a mead of kine under a thorn,
> Of head bereft, lieth poor Kenelm kingborn.

Keolwulf, the brother of Kenulf, after one year's reign, was driven out by one Bernulf an usurper;[u] who in his third year,[x] uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by Ecbert, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at Ellandune or Wilton: yet Malmsbury accounts this battle fought in eight hundred and six; a wide difference, but frequently found in their computations. Bernulf thence retiring to the East-Angles, as part of his dominion by the late seizure of Offa, was by them met in the field and slain: but they, doubting what the Mercians might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both king and people to the sovereignty of Ecbert. As for the kings of East-Angles, our annals mention them not since Ethelwald; him succeeded his brother's sons,[y] as we find in Malmsbury, Aldulf (a good king, well acquainted with Bede) and Elwold who left the kingdom to Beorn, he to Ethelred the father of Ethelbrite, whom Offa perfidiously put to death. Simeon and Hoveden, in the year seven hundred and forty-nine, write that Elfwald king of East-Angles dying, Humbeanna and Albert shared the kingdom between them; but where to insert this among the former successions is not easy, nor much material: after Ethelbrite, none is named of that kingdom till their submitting now to Ecbert: he from this victory against Bernulf sent part of his army under Ethelwulf his son, with Alstan bishop of Shirburn, and Wulferd a chief commander, into Kent. Who, finding Baldred there reigning in his eighteenth year, overcame and drove him over the Thames; whereupon all Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and lastly Essex, with her king Swithred, became subject to the dominion of Ecbert. Neither were these all his exploits of this year; the first in order set down in Saxon annals being his fight against the Devonshire Welsh, at a place called

l Malms. l. 2. Asser m Post Christ 802. Sim Dun.
n Post Christ. 805. Malms Sax an o Post Christ 806. Huntingd. Sim Dun. p Post Christ 808 Mat. West. q Post Christ. 809.

r Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 813 Sax. an s Post Christ 819. Sax an.
t Malms. u Post Christ. 820. Ingulf. x Post Christ. 823. Sax. an.
y Florent. Genealog Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

Gafulford, now Camelford in Cornwall. [z]Ludiken the Mercian, after two years preparing to avenge Bernulf his kinsman on the East-Angles, was by them with his five consuls, as the annals call them, surprised and put to the sword: and Withlaf his successor first vanquished, then upon submission, with all Mercia, made tributary to Ecbert. Meanwhile the Northumbrian kingdom of itself was fallen to shivers; their kings one after another so often slain by the people, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the sceptre, which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read,) for the space of thirty-three years after the death of Ethelred son of Mollo, as Malmsbury writes, there was no king: many noblemen and prelates were fled the country. Which misrule among them the Danes having understood, ofttimes from their ships entering far into the land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, wasting towns, churches, and monasteries, for they were yet heathen: the Lent before whose coming, on the north side of St. Peter's church in York was seen from the roof to rain blood. The causes of these calamities, and the ruin of that kingdom, Alcuin, a learned monk living in those days, attributes in several epistles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the death of Beda, and of Ecbert the archbishop; their neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of their priests and nuns, discovering their vain and wanton minds. Examples are also read, even in Beda's days, of their wanton deeds: thence altars defiled with perjuries, cloisters violated with adulteries, the land polluted with the blood of their princes, civil dissensions among the people; and finally, all the same vices which Gildas alleged of old to have ruined the Britons. In this estate Ecbert, who had now conquered all the south, finding them in the year eight hundred and twenty-seven,[m] (for he was marched thither with an army to complete his conquest of the whole island,) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the yoke without resistance, Eandred their king becoming tributary. [n]Thence turning his forces the year following he subdued more thoroughly what remained of North-Wales.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE sum of things in this island, or the best part thereof, reduced now under the power of one man, and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good authors, was by none attained at any time here before, unless in fables; men might with some reason have expected from such union, peace and plenty, greatness, and the flourishing of all estates and degrees: but far the contrary fell out soon after, invasion, spoil, desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce nation; Danes commonly called, and sometimes Dacians by others, the same with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themselves were at first reputed, and much more: for the Saxons first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovoked, came only to destroy.[a] But if the Saxons, as is above related, came most of them from Jutland and Anglen, a part of Denmark, as Danish writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the same; then in this invasion, Danes drove out Danes, their own posterity. And Normans afterwards none but ancienter Normans.[b] Which invasion perhaps, had the heptarchy stood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each prince and people, excited by their nearest concernments, had more industriously defended their own bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed governour, sent ofttimes from the remote residence of a secure monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser kingdoms revolting from the West-Saxon yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concerned for their own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they sought to repel the danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it. God hath purposed to punish our instrumental punishers, though now christians, by other heathen, according to his divine retaliation; invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britons were at their arrival, broken with luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of arms, and the study of all virtuous knowledge, some betook them to overworldly or vicious practice, others to religious idleness and solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive visions; easily perceived such by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the gospel, or utterly forbidden, ceremonies, relics, monasteries, masses, idols; add to these ostentation of alms, got ofttimes by rapine and oppression, or intermixed with violent and lustful deeds, sometimes prodigally bestowed as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when religion itself grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shows of purity were impured?

ECBERT.

ECBERT in full height of glory, having now enjoyed his conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious army long since disbanded, and the exercise of arms perhaps laid aside; the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of Danes from the sea, who landing in the[c] thirty-second of his reign, wasted Shepey in Kent. Ecbert the next year,[d] gathering an army, for he had heard of their arrival in thirty-five ships, gave them battle by the river Carr in Dorsetshire; the event whereof was, that the Danes kept their ground, and

z Camden. Post Christ. 825 Ingulf
m Post Christ. 827.
n Post Christ. 828. Mat. West.
a Calvisius.
b Pontan. Hist. Dan.
c Post Christ. 832. Sax. annal.
d Post Christ. 833. Sax. an.

encamped where the field was fought; two Saxon leaders, Dudda and Osmund, and two bishops, as some say, were there slain. This was the only check of fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time received. For the Danes returning two years[e] after with a great navy, and joining forces with the Cornish, who had entered league with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these invasions against Ecbert the Danish history is not silent; whether out of their own records or ours may be justly doubted: for of these times at home I find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to outlandish chronicles, than any records of their own. The victor Ecbert, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next[f] year with glory ended his days, and was buried at Winchester.

ETHELWOLF.

Ethelwolf the son of Ecbert succeeded, by Malmsbury described a man of mild nature, not inclined to war, or delighted with much dominion; that therefore contented with the ancient West-Saxon bounds, he gave to Ethelstan his brother, or son, as some write, the kingdom of Kent and Essex. [g] But the Saxon annalist, whose authority is elder, saith plainly, that both these countries and Sussex were bequeathed to Ethelstan by Ecbert his father. The unwarlike disposition of Ethelwolf gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the Danes, who came again the next year with thirty-three ships;[h] but Wulfherd, one of the king's chief captains, drove them back at Southampton with great slaughter; himself dying the same year, of age, as I suppose, for he seems to have been one of Ecbert's old commanders, who was sent with Ethelwolf to subdue Kent. Ethelhelm, another of the king's captains, with the Dorsetshire men, had at first like success against the Danes at Portsmouth; but they reinforcing stood their ground, and put the English to rout. Worse was the success of earl Herebert at a place called Mereswar, slain with the most part of his army. [i] The year following in Lindsey also, East-Angles, and Kent, much mischief was done by their landing;[k] where the next year, emboldened by success, they came on as far as Canterbury, Rochester, and London itself, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respite to the peaceable mind of Ethelwolf, they yet returned with the next year[l] in thirty-five ships, fought with him, as before with his father at the river Carr, and made good their ground. In Northumberland, Eandred the tributary king deceasing left the same tenure to his son Etheldred, driven out in his fourth year,[m] and succeeded by Readwulf, who soon after his coronation hasting forth to battle against the Danes at Alvetheli, fell with the most part of his army; and Ethelred, like in fortune to the former Ethelred, was reexalted to his seat. And, to be yet further like him in fate, was slain the fourth year after. Osbert succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the Danes next year[n] after met with some stop in the full course of their outrageous insolencies. For Earnulf with the men of Somerset, Alstan the bishop, and Osric with those of Dorsetshire, setting upon them at the river's mouth of Pedridan, slaughtered them in great numbers, and obtained a just victory. This repulse quelled them, for aught we hear, the space of six years;[o] then also renewing their invasion with little better success. For Keorle an earl, aided with the forces of Devonshire, assaulted and overthrew them at Wigganbeorch with great destruction; as prosperously were they fought the same year at Sandwich, by king Ethelstan, and Ealker his general, their great army defeated, and nine of their ships taken, the rest driven off; however to ride out the winter on that shore, Asser saith, they then first wintered in Shepey isle. Hard it is, through the bad expression of these writers, to define this fight, whether by sea or land; Hoveden terms it a sea-fight. Nevertheless with fifty ships (Asser and others add three hundred) they entered the mouth of the Thames,[p] and made excursions as far as Canterbury and London, and as Ethelwerd writes, destroyed both; of London, Asser signifies only that they pillaged it. Bertulf also the Mercian, successor of Withlaf, with all his army they forced to fly, and him beyond the sea. Then passing over Thames with their powers into Surrey, and the West-Saxons, and meeting there with king Ethelwolf and Ethelbald his son, at a place called Ak-Lea, or Oke-Lea, they received a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This was counted a lucky year[q] to England, and brought to Ethelwolf great reputation. Burhed therefore, who after Bertulf held of him the Mercian kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid against the North Welsh, as then troublesome to his confines, obtained it of him in person, and thereby reduced them to obedience. This done, Ethelwolf sent his son Alfred, a child of five years, well accompanied to Rome, whom Leo the pope both consecrated to be king afterwards, and adopted to be his son; at home Ealker with the forces of Kent, and Huda with those of Surrey, fell on the Danes at their landing in Tanet, and at first put them back; but the slain and drowned were at length so many on either side, as left the loss equal on both: which yet hindered not the solemnity of a marriage at the feast of Easter, between Burhed the Mercian, and Ethelswida king Ethelwolf's daughter. Howbeit the Danes next year[r] wintered again in Shepey. Whom Ethelwolf, not finding human health sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of divine aid, registered in a book and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole kingdom, eased of all impositions, but converted to the maintenance of masses and psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of Ethelwolf and his captains, as it appears at large by the patent itself, in William of Malmsbury. Asser saith, he did it for the redemption of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors. After which, as having done some great matter to shew himself at

e Post Christ. 835. Sax. an. Pontan. Hist. Dan. l. 4.
f Post Christ. 836. Sax. an.
g Mat. West.
h Post Christ. 837. Sax. an.
i Post Christ. 838. Sax. an.
k Post Christ. 839. Sax. an.
l Post Christ. 840. Sax. an. Sim. Dun. Mat. West.
m Post Christ. 844.
n Post Christ. 845. Sax. an.
o Post Christ. 851. Sax. an. Asser.
p Huntingd. Mat. West.
q Post Christ. 851. Sax. an. Asser.
r Malms. Post Christ. 851. Sax. an.

Rome, and be applauded of the pope; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thither with young Alfred again, [s] and there stays a year, when his place required him rather here in the field against pagan enemies left wintering in his land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no monk; and in his way home took to wife Judith daughter to Charles the Bald, king of France.[t] But ere his return, Ethelbald his eldest son, Alstan his trusty bishop, and Enulf earl of Somerset conspired against him: their complaints were, that he had taken with him Alfred his youngest son to be there inaugurated king, and brought home with him an outlandish wife; for which they endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than war: but the king abhorring civil discord, after many conferences tending to peace, condescended to divide the kingdom with his son: division was made, but the matter so carried, that the eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the father; the western and best given to the son: at which many of the nobles had great indignation, offering to the king their utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assigned. In the East-Angles, Edmund lineal from the ancient stock of those kings, a youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all but his own crowned at Bury. About this time, as Buchanan relates,[u] the Picts, who not long before had by the Scots been driven out of their country, part of them coming to Osbert and Ella, then kings of Northumberland, obtained aid against Donaldus the Scottish king, to recover their ancient possession. Osbert, who in person undertook the expedition, marching into Scotland, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the Scots, oversecure of their supposed victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took prisoner their king, and pursued his victory beyond Stirling bridge. The Scots unable to resist longer, and by embassadors entreating peace, had it granted them on these conditions: the Scots were to quit all they had possessed within the wall of Severus: the limits of Scotland were beneath Stirling bridge to be the river Forth, and on the other side, Dunbritton Frith; from that time so called of the British then seated in Cumberland, who had joined with Osbert in this action, and so far extended on that side the British limits. If this be true, as the Scots writers themselves witness, (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of their own country?) how much wanting have been our historians to their country's honour, in letting pass unmentioned an exploit so memorable, by them remembered and attested, who are wont oftener to extenuate than to amplify aught done in Scotland by the English? Donaldus, on these conditions released, soon after dies, according to Buchanan, in 858. Ethelwolf, chief king in England, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his father at Winchester.[x] He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; so that in his father's time he was ordained bishop of Winchester; and unwillingly, for want of other legitimate issue, succeeded him in the throne; managing therefore his greatest affairs by the activity of two bishops, Alstan of Sherburne, and Swithine of Winchester. But Alstan is noted of covetousness and oppression, by William of Malmsbury;[y] the more vehemently no doubt for doing some notable damage to that monastery. The same author writes,[z] that Ethelwolf at Rome paid a tribute to the pope, continued to his days. However he were facile to his son, and seditious nobles, in yielding up part of his kingdom, yet his queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeased. [a] The West-Saxons had decreed ever since the time of Eadburga, the infamous wife of Birthric, that no queen should sit in state with the king, or be dignified with the title of queen. But Ethelwolf permitted not that Judith his queen should lose any point of regal state by that law. At his death he divided the kingdom between his two sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; to the younger Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, to the elder all the rest; to Peter and Paul certain revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his pedigree, from son to father, up to Adam.

ETHELBALD and ETHELBERT.

ETHELBALD, unnatural and disloyal to his father,[b] fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love for his father's wife; and whom at first he opposed coming into the land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his bed; but not long enjoying died at three years end,[c] without doing aught more worthy to be remembered; having reigned two years with his father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested with the Danes; not of divine favour doubtless, but to his greater condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. Huntingdon on the other side much praises Ethelbald, and writes him buried at Sherburn, with great sorrow of the people, who missed him long after. Mat. Westm. saith, that he repented of his incest with Judith, and dismissed her: but Asser, an eyewitness of those times, mentions no such thing.

ETHELBERT alone.

ETHELBALD by death removed, the whole kingdom came rightly to Ethelbert his next brother. Who, though a prince of great virtue and no blame, had as short a reign allotted him as his faulty brother, nor that so peaceful; once or twice invaded by the Danes. But they having landed in the west with a great army, and sacked Winchester, were met by Osric earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf of Berkshire, beaten to their ships, and forced to leave their booty. Five years

s Post Christ. 855. Asser. t Asser. u Post Christ. 857. x Mat. West. y Malms. Suithune.

z Sigon. de regn. Ital. l. 5. a Asser. b Asser. Malms. Sim. Dun. c Post Christ. 860. Sax. an.

after,[d] about the time of his death, they set foot again in Tanet; the Kentishmen, wearied out with so frequent alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain sum of money; but ere the peace could be ratified, and the money gathered, the Danes, impatient of delay, by a sudden eruption in the night soon wasted all the East of Kent. Meanwhile, or something before, Ethelbert deceasing was buried as his brother at Sherburn.

ETHELRED

Ethelred, the third son of Ethelwolf, at his first coming to the crown was entertained with a fresh invasion of Danes,[e] led by Hinguar and Hubba, two brothers, who now had got footing among the East-Angles; there they wintered, and coming to terms of peace with the inhabitants, furnished themselves of horses, forming by that means many troops with riders of their own: these pagans, Asser saith, came from the river Danubius. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventured the next year[f] to make their way over land and over Humber as far as York: them they found to their hands embroiled in civil dissensions; their king Osbert they had thrown out, and Ella leader of another faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonished by their common danger, towards the year's end with united powers made head against the Danes and prevailed; but pursuing them overeagerly into York, then but slenderly walled,[g] the Northumbrians were every where slaughtered, both within and without; their kings also both slain, their city burnt, saith Malmsbury, the rest as they could made their peace, overrun and vanquished as far as the river Tine, and Egbert of English race appointed king over them. Bromton, no ancient author, (for he wrote since Mat. West.) nor of much credit, writes a particular cause of the Danes coming to York; that Bruern a nobleman, whose wife king Osbert had ravished, called in Hinguar and Hubba to revenge him. The example is remarkable, if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the Danes next year[h] entered into Mercia towards Nottingham, where they spent the winter. Burhed then king of that country, unable to resist, implores the aid of Ethelred and young Alfred his brother; they assembling their forces and joining with the Mercians about Nottingham, offer battle:[i] the Danes, not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that town and castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the Mercians, weary of long suspense, entered into conditions of peace with their enemies. After which the Danes, returning back to York, made their abode there the space of one year,[k] committing, some say, many cruelties. Thence embarking to Lindsey, and all the summer destroying that country, about September[l] they came with like fury into Kesteven, another part of Lincolnshire; where Algar, the earl of Howland, now Holland, with his forces, and two hundred stout soldiers belonging to the abbey of Croiland, three hundred from about Boston, Morcard lord of Brunne, with his numerous family, well trained and armed, Osgot governor of Lincoln with five hundred of that city, all joining together, gave battle to the Danes, slew of them a great multitude, with three of their kings, and pursued the rest to their tents; but the night following, Gothrun, Baseg, Osketil, Halfden, and Hamond, five kings, and as many earls, Frena, Hinguar, Hubba, Sidroc the elder and younger, coming in from several parts with great forces and spoils, great part of the English began to slink home. Nevertheless Algar with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of battle facing the Danes, and sustaining unmoved the brunt of their assaults, could not withhold his men at last from pursuing their counterfeited flight; whereby opened and disordered, they fell into the snare of their enemies, rushing back upon them. Algar and those captains forenamed with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill side, and slaying of such as followed them, manifold their own number, died at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The Danes, thence passing on into the country of East-Angles, rifled and burnt the monastery of Ely, overthrew earl Wulketul with his whole army, and lodged out the winter at Thetford; where king Edmond assailing them was with his whole army put to flight, himself taken, bound to a stake, and shot to death with arrows, his whole country subdued. The next year[m] with great supplies, saith Huntingdon, bending their march toward the West-Saxons, the only people now left in whom might seem yet to remain strength or courage likely to oppose them, they came to Reading, fortified there between the two rivers of Thames and Kenet, and about three days after sent out wings of horse under two earls to forage the country;[n] but Ethelwolf earl of Berkshire, at Englefield a village nigh, encountered them, slew one of their earls, and obtained a great victory. Four days after came the king himself and his brother Alfred with the main battle; and the Danes issuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either side great slaughter, in which earl Ethelwolf lost his life; but the Danes, losing no ground, kept their place of standing to the end. Neither did the English for this make less haste to another conflict at Escesdune or Ashdown, four days after, where both armies with their whole force on either side met. The Danes were embattled in two great bodies, the one led by Bascai and Halfden, their two kings, the other by such earls as were appointed; in like manner the English divided their powers, Ethelred the king stood against their kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the battle from his orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherein Bascai (the Danish history names him Ivarus the son of Regnerus) was slain. Alfred was placed against the earls, and beginning the battle ere his brother came into the field, with such resolution charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are named Sidroc elder and younger, Osbern, Frean, Harald: at length in both divisions the

d Post Christ. 865. Sax. an. e Post Christ. 866. Sax. an. Huntingd. f Post Christ. 867. Sax. an. g Asser. h Post Christ. 868. i Asser. k Post Christ. 869. Sim. Dun. l Post Christ. 870. Ingulf. m Post Christ 871. Sax. an. n Asser.

Danes turn their backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest pursued till night. So much the more it may be wondered to hear next in the annals, that the Danes, fourteen days after such an overthrow fighting again with Ethelred and his brother Alfred at Basing, (under conduct, saith the Danish history, of Agnerus and Hubbo, brothers of the slain Ivarus,) should obtain the victory; especially since the new supply of Danes mentioned by Asser[o] arrived after this action. But after two months, the king and his brother fought with them again at Mertun, in two squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the Saxon annals deliver their meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for Asser is here silent) to be the chief fountain of our story, the ground and basis upon which the monks later in time gloss and comment at their pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the Saxon part, not Heamund the bishop only, but many valiant men lost their lives. [p] This fight was followed by a heavy summer plague; whereof, as is thought, king Ethelred died in the fifth year of his reign, and was buried at Winburn, where his epitaph inscribes that he had his death's wound by the Danes, according to the Danish history 872. Of all these terrible landings and devastations by the Danes, from the days of Ethelwolf till their two last battles with Ethelred, or of their leaders, whether kings, dukes, or earls, the Danish history of best credit saith nothing; so little wit or conscience it seems they had to leave any memory of their brutish rather than manly actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of Asser, from Danubius, rather than from Denmark, more probably some barbarous nation of Prussia, or Livonia, not long before seated more northward on the Baltic sea.

ALFRED.

Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwolf, had scarce performed his brother's obsequies, and the solemnity of his own crowning, when at the month's end in haste with a small power he encountered the whole army of Danes at Wilton, and most part of the day foiled them; but unwarily following the chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained masters of the field. This year, as is affirmed in the annals, nine battles had been fought against the Danes on the south side of Thames, besides innumerable excursions made by Alfred and other leaders; one king, nine earls were fallen in fight, so that weary on both sides at the year's end, league or truce was concluded. Yet next year[q] the Danes took their march to London, now exposed to their prey; there they wintered, and thither came the Mercians to renew peace with them. The year following they roved back to the parts beyond Humber, but wintered at Torksey in Lincolnshire, where the Mercians now the third time made peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing their camp to Rependune in Mercia,[r] now Repton upon Trent in Derbyshire, and there wintering, they constrained Burhed the king to fly into foreign parts, making seizure of his kingdom; he running the direct way to Rome,[s] (with better reason than his ancestors,) died there, and was buried in a church by the English school. His kingdom the Danes farmed out to Kelwulf, one of his houshold servants or officers, with condition to be resigned them when they commanded. [t] From Rependune they dislodged, Hafden their king leading part of his army northward, wintered by the river Tine, and subjecting all those quarters, wasted also the Picts and British beyond: but Guthrun, Oskitell, and Anwynd, other three of their kings, moving from Rependune, came with a great army to Grantbrig, and remained there a whole year. But Alfred that summer proposing to try his fortune with a fleet at sea, (for he had found that the want of shipping and neglect of navigation had exposed the land to these piracies,) met with seven Danish rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the English at that time were but little experienced in sea-affairs. The next[u] year's first motion of the Danes was towards Warham castle, where Alfred meeting them, either by policy, or their doubt of his power, Ethelwerd saith, by money brought them to such terms of peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallowed bracelet, others say upon certain[x] relics, (a solemn oath it seems, which they never vouchsafed before to any other nation,) forthwith to depart the land but falsifying that oath, by night with all the horse they had (Asser saith,[y] slaying all the horsemen he had) stole to Exeter, and there wintered. In Northumberland, Hafden their king began to settle, to divide the land, to till, and to inhabit. Meanwhile they in the west, who were marched to Exeter, entered the city, coursing now and then to Warham; but their fleet the next[z] year, sailing or rowing about the west, met with such a tempest near to Swanswich or Gnavewic, as wrecked one hundred and twenty of their ships, and left the rest easy to be mastered by those galleys, which Alfred had set there to guard the seas, and straiten Exeter of provision. He the while beleaguering[a] them in the city, now humbled with the loss of their navy, (two navies, saith Asser, the one at Gnavewic, the other at Swanwine,) distressed them so, as that they give him as many hostages as he required, and as many oaths, to keep their covenanted peace, and kept it. For the summer coming on, they departed into Mercia, whereof part they divided among themselves, part left to Kelwulf their substituted king. The twelfthtide following,[b] all oaths forgotten, they came to Chippenham in Wiltshire, dispeopling the countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the sea; Alfred himself with a small company was forced to keep within woods and fenny places, and for some time all alone, as Florent saith, sojourned with Dunwulf a swineherd, made afterwards for his devotion and aptness to learning bishop of Winchester. Hafden and the brother of Hinguar[c] coming with twenty-three

o Pontan. Hist. Dan. l. 4.
p Camden
q Post Christ. 872. Sax. an.
r Post Christ. 873. Sax. an. Camd.
s Post Christ. 874. Sax. an.
t Post Christ. 875. Sax. an.
u Post Christ. 876. Sax. an.
x Florent.
y Florent.
z Post Christ. 877. Sax. an.
a Asser.
b Post Christ. 878. Sax. an.
c Sim. Dun.

ships from North Wales, where they had made great spoil, landed in Devonshire, nigh to a strong castle named Kinwith; where, by the garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with twelve hundred of their men.[d] Meanwhile the king about Easter, not despairing of his affairs, built a fortress at a place called Athelney in Somersetshire, therein valiantly defending himself and his followers, frequently sallying forth. The seventh week after he rode out to a place called Ecbryt-stone in the east part of Selwood: thither resorted to him with much gratulation the Somerset and Wiltshire men, with many out of Hampshire, some of whom a little before had fled their country; with these marching to Ethandune, now Edindon in Wiltshire, he gave battle to the whole Danish power, and put them to flight.[e] Then besieging their castle, within fourteen days took it. Malmsbury writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the Danish camp, he took upon him with one servant the habit of a fiddler; by this means gaining access to the king's table, and sometimes to his bed chamber, got knowledge of their secrets, their careless encamping, and thereby this opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The Danes, by this misfortune broken, gave him more hostages, and renewed their oaths to depart out of his kingdom. Their king Gytro or Gothrun offered willingly to receive baptism,[f] and accordingly came with thirty of his friends to a place called Aldra or Aulre, near to Athelney, and were baptized at Wedmore; where Alfred received him out of the font, and named him Athelstan. After which they abode with him twelve days, and were dismissed with rich presents. Whereupon the Danes removed next[g] year to Cirencester, thence peaceably to the East-Angles; which Alfred, as some write, had bestowed on Gothrun to hold of him; the bounds whereof may be read among the laws of Alfred. Others of them went to Fulham on the Thames, and joining there with a great fleet newly come into the river, thence passed over into France and Flanders, both which they entered so far conquering or wasting, as witnessed sufficiently, that the French and Flemish were no more able than the English, by policy or prowess, to keep off that Danish inundation from their land.[h] Alfred thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their landing; three years after (quiet the mean while) with more ships and better provided puts to sea, and at first met with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the men overboard, then with two others, wherein two were of their princes, and took them also, but not without some loss of his own.[i] After three years another fleet of them appeared on these seas, so huge that one part of them thought themselves sufficient to enter upon East-France, the other came to Rochester, and beleaguered it; they within stoutly defending themselves, till Alfred with great forces, coming down upon the Danes, drove them to their ships, leaving for haste all their horses behind them.[k] The same year Alfred sent a fleet toward the East-Angles, then inhabited by the Danes, which, at the mouth of Stour, meeting with sixteen Danish ships, after some fight took them all, and slew all the soldiers on board; but in their way home lying careless, were overtaken by another part of that fleet, and came off with loss: whereupon perhaps those Danes, who were settled among the East-Angles, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had sworn to Alfred,[l] who spent the next year in repairing London (besieging, saith Huntingdon) much ruined and unpeopled by the Danes; the Londoners, all but those who had been led away captive,[m] soon returned to their dwellings, and Ethred, duke of Mercia, was by the king appointed their governour. [n] But after thirteen years respite of peace, another Danish fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, from the east part of France, arrived at the mouth of a river in East-Kent, called Limen, nigh to the great wood Andred, famous for length and breadth; into that wood they drew up their ships four miles from the river's mouth, and built a fortress. After whom Haesten, with another Danish fleet of eighty ships, entering the mouth of Thames, built a fort at Middleton, the former army remaining at a place called Apeltre. Alfred, perceiving this, took of those Danes who dwelt in Northumberland a new oath of fidelity, and of those in Essex hostages, lest they should join, as they were wont, with their countrymen newly arrived.[o] And by the next year having got together his forces, between either army of the Danes encamped so as to be ready for either of them, who first should happen to stir forth; troops of horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spared from strong places, wherever the countries wanted them, to encounter foraging parties of the enemy. The king also divided sometimes his whole army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrenched. In conclusion rolling up and down, both sides met at Farnham in Surrey; where the Danes by Alfred's horse troops were put to flight, and crossing the Thames to a certain island near Coln in Essex, or as Camden thinks by Colebrook, were besieged there by Alfred till provision failed the besiegers, another part staid behind with their king wounded. Meanwhile Alfred preparing to reinforce the siege of Colney, the Danes of Northumberland, breaking faith, came by sea to the East-Angles, and with a hundred ships coasting southward, landed in Devonshire, and besieged Exeter; thither Alfred hasted with his powers, except a squadron of Welsh that came to London: with whom the citizens marching forth to Beamflet, where Haesten the Dane had built a strong fort, and left a garrison, while he himself with the main of his army was entered far into the country, luckily surprise the fort, master the garrison, make prey of all they find there; their ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many prisoners, among whom the wife and two sons of Haesten were sent to the king, who forthwith set them at liberty. Where-

d Asser. e Camden. f Camden. g Post Christ. 879. Sax. an. h Post Christ. 880. Sax. an. i Post Christ. 885. Sax. an. k Sim. Dun.

l Post Christ. 886. Sax. an. m Sim. Dun. n Post Christ. 893. Sax. an. o Post Christ. 894. Sax. an.

upon Haesten gave oath of amity and hostages to the king; he in requital, whether freely or by agreement, a sum of money. Nevertheless, without regard of faith given, while Alfred was busied about Exeter, joining with the other Danish army, he built another castle in Essex at Shoberie, thence marching westward by the Thames, aided with the Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, they came at length to Severn, pillaging all in their way. But Ethred, Ethelm, and Ethelnoth, the king's captains, with united forces pitched nigh to them at Buttingtun, on the Severn bank in Montgomeryshire,[p] the river running between, and there many weeks attended; the king meanwhile blocking up the Danes who besieged Exeter, having eaten part of their horses, the rest urged with hunger broke forth to their fellows, who lay encamped on the east side of the river, and were all there discomfited with some loss of valiant men on the king's party; the rest fled back to Essex, and their fortress there. Then Laf, one of their leaders, gathered before winter a great army of Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, who leaving their money, ships, and wives with the East-Angles, and marching day and night, sat down before a city in the west called Wirheal near to Chester, and took it ere they could be overtaken. The English after two days' siege, hopeless to dislodge them, wasted the country round to cut off from them all provision, and departed. [q] Soon after which, next year, the Danes no longer able to hold Wirheal, destitute of victuals, entered North Wales; thence laden with spoils, part returned into Northumberland, others to the East-Angles as far as Essex, where they seized on a small island called Meresig. And here again the annals record them to besiege Exeter, but without coherence of sense or story. [r] Others relate to this purpose, that returning by sea from the siege of Exeter, and in their way landing on the coast of Sussex, they of Chichester sallied out and slew of them many hundreds, taking also some of their ships. The same year they who possessed Meresig, intending to winter thereabout, drew up their ships, some into the Thames, others into the river Lee, and on the bank thereof built a castle twenty miles from London; to assault which, the Londoners aided with other forces marched out the summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the king's captains. [s] Huntingdon writes quite the contrary, that these four were Danish captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be placed in Huntingdon single. For the king thereupon with his forces lay encamped nearer the city, that the Danes might not infest them in time of harvest; in the mean time, subtilely devising to turn Lee stream several ways, whereby the Danish bottoms were left on dry ground: which they soon perceiving, marched over land to Quatbrig on the Severn, built a fortress, and wintered there; while their ships left in Lee were either broken or brought away by the Londoners; but their wives and children they had left in safety with the East-Angles. [t] The next year was pestilent, and besides the common sort, took away many great earls, Kelmond in Kent, Brithulf in Essex, Wulfred in Hampshire, with many others; and to this evil the Danes in Northumberland and East-Angles ceased not to endamage the West Saxons, especially by stealth, robbing on the south shore in certain long galleys. But the king causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy oars higher, swifter and steadier than such as were in use before either with Danes or Frisons, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six Danish pirates, who had done much harm in the Isle of Wight, and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the water, part on the sands; not without loss of some eminent men on the English side. The pirates at length were either slain or taken, two of them stranded; the men brought to Winchester, where the king then was, were executed by his command; one of them escaped to the East-Angles, her men much wounded: the same year not fewer than twenty of their ships perished on the south coast with all their men. And Rollo the Dane or Norman landing here, as Mat. West. writes, though not in what part of the island, after an unsuccessful fight against those forces which first opposed him, sailed into France and conquered the country, since that time called Normandy. This is the sum of what passed in three years against the Danes, returning out of France, set down so perplexly by the Saxon annalist, ill-gifted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spoken, whether meant of the Danes, or of the Saxons. After which troublesome time, Alfred enjoying three years of peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all virtuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a prince of his renown, ended his days in the year nine hundred,[u] the fifty-first of his age, the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried regally at Winchester: he was born at a place called Wanading in Berkshire, his mother Osburga, the daughter of Oslac the king's cupbearer, a Goth by nation, and of noble descent. He was of person comelier than all his brethren, of pleasing tongue and graceful behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondness of his parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth year of his age; but the great desire of learning, which was in him, soon appeared by his conning of Saxon poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides excellent at hunting, and the new art then of hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a book certain prayers and psalms, which he carried ever with him in his bosom to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complained, that in his youth he had no teachers, in his middle age so little vacancy from wars and the cares of his kingdom; yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his people, by translating books out of Latin into

p Camden
q Post Christ. 895. Sax. an.
r Sim. Dun. Florent.
s Post Christ. 896. Sax. an.
t Post Christ. 897. Sax. an.
u Post Christ. 900. Asser.

English, Orosius, Boethius, Beda's history and others; permitted none unlearned to bear office, either in court or commonwealth. At twenty years of age, not yet reigning, he took to wife Egelswitha the daughter of Ethelred a Mercian earl. The extremities which befel him in the sixth of his reign, Neothan abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaint of such as injured and oppressed repaired to him, as then second person in the kingdom, for redress; which neglect, were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detailed long with sad and sorrowful narrations; but from the time of his undertaking regal charge, no man more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing justice, and providing good laws, which are yet extant; more severe in punishing unjust judges or obstinate offenders. Thieves especially and robbers, to the terrour of whom in cross ways were hung upon a high post certain chains of gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; so that justice seemed in his days not to flourish only, but to triumph: no man than he more frugal of two precious things in man's life, his time and his revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His time, the day and night, he distributed by the burning of certain tapers into three equal portions; the one was for devotion, the other for public or private affairs, the third for bodily refreshment; how each hour passed, he was put in mind by one who had that office. His whole annual revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal parts; the first he employed to secular uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his soldiers, household servants and guard, of which divided into three bands, one attended monthly by turn; the second was to pay his architects and workmen, whom he had got together of several nations; for he was also an elegant builder, above the custom and conceit of Englishmen in those days: the third he had in readiness to relieve or honour strangers according to their worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts; the first to relieve the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two monasteries, the third of a school, where he had persuaded the sons of many noblemen to study sacred knowledge and liberal arts, some say at Oxford;[x] the fourth was for the relief of foreign churches, as far as India to the shrine of St. Thomas, sending thither Sigelm bishop of Sherburn, who both returned safe, and brought with him many rich gems and spices; gifts also and a letter he received from the patriarch at Jerusalem; sent many to Rome, and from them received relics. Thus far, and much more might be said of his noble mind, which rendered him the mirror of princes; his body was diseased in his youth with a great soreness in the siege, and that ceasing of itself, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day: yet not disenabled to sustain those many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war.

EDWARD the Elder.

Edward the son of Alfred succeeded,[y] in learning not equal, in power and extent of dominion surpassing his father. The beginning of his reign had much disturbance by Ethelwald an ambitious young man,[z] son of the king's uncle, or cousin german, or brother, for his genealogy is variously delivered. He vainly avouching to have equal right with Edward of succession to the crown possessed himself of Winburn in Dorset,[a] and another town diversly named, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompassed with the king's forces at Badbury a place nigh, his heart failing aim, he stole out by night, and fled to the Danish army beyond Humber. The king sent after him, but not overtaking, found his wife in the town, whom he had married out of a nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither. [b]About this time the Kentish men against a multitude of Danish pirates fought prosperously at a place called Holme, as Hoveden records. Ethelwald, aided by the Northumbrians with shipping, three years after,[c] sailing to the East-Angles, persuaded the Danes there to fall into the king's territory, who marching with him as far as Crecklad, and passing the Thames there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and laden with spoils returned home. The king with his powers making speed after them, between the Dike and Ouse, supposed to be Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, as far as the fens northward, laid waste all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his army should follow him close without delay; but the Kentish men, though often called upon, lagging behind, the Danish army prevented them, and joined battle with the king: where duke Sigulf and earl Sigelm, with many other of the nobles were slain; on the Danes' part, Eoric their king, and Ethelwald the author of this war, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides; yet the Danes kept in their power the burying of their slain. Whatever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the king two years after with the Danes,[d] both of East-Angles and Northumberland, concluded peace, which continued three years, by whomsoever broken: for at the end thereof[e] king Edward, raising great forces out of West-Sex and Mercia, sent them against the Danes beyond Humber; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The king offered them terms of peace, but they rejecting all entered with the next year into Mercia,[f] rendering no less hostility than they had suffered; but at Tetnal in Staffordshire, saith Florent, were by the English in a set battle overthrown. King Edward, then in Kent, had got together of ships about a hundred sail, others gone southward came back and met him. The Danes, now supposing that his main forces were upon the sea, took

x Malms. y Ibid. z Hunting.
a Post Christ. 901. Sax. an. b Post Christ. 902.
c Post Christ. 905. Sax. an. d Post Christ. 907. Sax. an.
e Post Christ. 910. Sax. an. f Post Christ. 911. Sax. an.

liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond Severn. [g] The king guessing what might embolden them, sent before him the lightest of his army to entertain them; then following with the rest, set upon them in their return over Cantbrig in Gloucestershire, and slew many thousands, among whom Ecwils, Hafden, and Hinguar their kings, and many other harsh names in Huntingdon; the place also of this fight is variously written, by Ethelwerd and Florent called Wodensfield. [h] The year following, Ethred the duke of Mercia, to whom Alfred had given London, with his daughter in marriage, now dying, King Edward resumed that city, and Oxford. with the countries adjoining, into his own hands; and the year after [i] built, or much repaired by his soldiers, the town of Hertford on either side Lee; and having a sufficient number at the work, marched about middle summer with the other part of his forces into Essex, and encamped at Maldon, while his soldiers built Witham; where a good part of the country, subject formerly to the Danes, yielded themselves to his protection. [k] Four years after (Florent allows but one year) the Danes from Leicester and Northampton, falling into Oxfordshire, committed much rapine, and in some towns thereof great slaughter; while another party wasting Hertfordshire, met with other fortune: for the country people, inured now to such kind of incursions, joining stoutly together, fell upon the spoilers, and recovered their own goods, with some booty from their enemies. About the same time Elfled the king's sister sent her army of Mercians into Wales, who routed the Welsh,[l] took the castle of Brienan-mere by Brecknock, and brought away the king's wife of that country, with other prisoners. Not long after she took Derby from the Danes, and the castle by a sharp assault. [m] But the year ensuing brought a new fleet of Danes to Lidwic in Devonshire, under two leaders, Otter and Roald; who sailing thence westward about the land's end, came up to the mouth of Severn; there landing wasted the Welsh coast, and Irchenfield part of Herefordshire; where they took Kuneleac a British bishop, for whose ransom King Edward gave forty pound: but the men of Hereford and Gloucestershire assembling put them to flight; slaying Roald and the brother of Otter, with many more, pursued them to a wood, and there beset compelled them to give hostages of present departure. The king with his army sat not far off, securing from the south of Severn to Avon; so that openly they durst not, by night they twice ventured to land; but found such welcome that few of them came back; the rest anchored by a small island, where many of them famished; then sailing to a place called Deomed, they crossed into Ireland. The king with his army went to Buckingham, staid there a month, and built two castles or forts on either bank of Ouse ere his departing; and Turkitel a Danish leader, with those of Bedford and Northampton, yielded him subjection. [n] Whereupon the next year, he came with his army to the town of Bedford, took possession thereof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the town, on the south side of Ouse. [o] Thence the year following went again to Maldon, repaired and fortified the town. Turkitel the Dane having small hope to thrive here, where things with such prudence were managed against his interest, got leave of the king, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into France. [p] Early the next year King Edward reedified Tovechester now Torchester; and another city in the annals called Wigingmere. Meanwhile the Danes in Leicester and Northamptonshire, not liking perhaps to be neighboured with strong towns, laid siege to Torchester; but they within repelling the assault one whole day till supplies came, quitted the siege by night; and pursued close by the besieged, between Birnwud and Ailsbury were surprised, many of them made prisoners, and much of their baggage lost. Other of the Danes at Huntingdon, aided from the East-Angles, finding that castle not commodious, left it, and built another at Temsford, judging that place more opportune from whence to make their excursions; and soon after went forth with design to assail Bedford: but the garrison issuing out slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this a greater army of them, gathered out of Mercia and the East-Angles, came and besieged the city called Wigingmere a whole day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of their cattle: whereupon the English, from towns and cities round about joining forces, laid siege to the town and castle of Temsford, and by assault took both; slew their king with Toglea a duke, and Mannan his son an earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather than yield. Encouraged by this, the men of Kent, Surrey, and part of Essex, enterprise the siege of Colchester, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the town and putting to sword all the Danes therein, except some who escaped over the wall. To the succour of these a great number of Danes inhabiting ports and other towns in the East-Angles united their force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguered Maldon: but that town also timely relieved, they departed, not only frustrate of their design, but so hotly pursued, that many thousands of them lost their lives in the flight. Forthwith King Edward with his West-Saxons went to Passham upon Ouse, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone wall about Torchester; to him their earl Thurfert, and other lord Danes, with their army thereabout, as far as Weolud, came and submitted. Whereat the king's soldiers joyfully cried out to be dismissed home: therefore with another part of them he entered Huntingdon, and repaired it, where breaches had been made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at Colchester by the next remove of his army; after which both East and West-Angles, and the Danish forces among them, yielded to the king, swearing allegiance to him both by sea and land: the army also of Danes at Grantbrig, surrendering themselves,

g Ethelwerd 2 an. h Post Christ. 917. Sax. i Post Christ. 913. Sax. an. k Post Christ. 917. Sax. an. l Huntingd. Camd.

m Post Christ. 919. Sax. an. n Post Christ. 919. Sax. an. o Post Christ. 920. Sax. an. p Post Christ. 921. Sax. an.

took the same oath. The summer following[q] he came with his army to Stamford, built a castle there on the south side of the river, where all the people of these quarters acknowledged him supreme. During his abode there, Elfled his sister, a martial woman, who after her husband's death would no more marry, but gave herself to public affairs, repairing and fortifying many towns, warring sometimes, died at Tamworth the chief seat of Mercia, whereof by gift of Alfred her father she was lady or queen; whereby that whole nation became obedient to King Edward, as did also North Wales, with Howel, Cledaucus, and Jeothwell, their kings. Thence passing to Nottingham, he entered and repaired the town, placed there part English, part Danes, and received fealty from all in Mercia of either nation. [r] The next autumn, coming with his army into Cheshire, he built and fortified Thelwell; and while he staid there, called another army out of Mercia, which he sent to repair and fortify Manchester. [s] About midsummer following he marched again to Nottingham, built a town over against it on the south side of that river, and with a bridge joined them both; thence journeyed to a place called Bedecanwillin in Pictland; there also built and fenced a city on the borders, where the king of Scots did him honour as to his sovereign, together with the whole Scottish nation; the like did Reginald and the son of Eadulf, Danish princes, with all the Northumbrians, both English and Danes. The King also of a people thereabout called Streatgledwalli (the North-Welsh, as Camden thinks, of Strat-Cluid in Denbighshire, perhaps rather the British of Cumberland) did him homage, and not undeserved. [t] For, Buchanan himself confesses, that this king Edward, with a small number of men compared to his enemies, overthrew in a great battle the whole united power both of Scots and Danes, slew most of the Scottish nobility, and forced Malcolm, whom Constantine the Scotch king had made general, and designed heir of his crown, to save himself by flight sore wounded. Of the English he makes Athelstan the son of Edward chief leader; and so far seems to confound times and actions, as to make this battle the same with that fought by Athelstan about twenty-four years after at Bruneford, against Anlaf and Constantine, whereof hereafter. But here Buchanan [u] takes occasion to inveigh against the English writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm Athelstan to have been supreme king of Britain, Constantine the Scottish king with others to have held of him: and denies that in the annals of Marianus Scotus any mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in Marianus, whether by surname or by nation Scotus, will be found as little mention of any other Scottish affairs, till the time of king Dunchad slain by Machetad, or Macbeth, in the year 1040: which gives cause of suspicion, that the affairs of Scotland before that time were so obscure, as to be unknown to their own countrymen, who lived and wrote his chronicle not long after. But King Edward thus nobly doing, and thus honoured, the year [x] following died at Farendon; a builder and restorer even in war, not a destroyer of his land. He had by several wives many children; his eldest daughter Edgith he gave in marriage to Charles king of France, grandchild of Charles the Bald above mentioned: of the rest in place convenient. His laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at Winchester, in the monastery, by Alfred his father. And a few days after him died Ethelward his eldest son, the heir of his crown. He had the whole island in subjection, yet so as petty kings reigned under him.[y] In Northumberland, after Ecbert whom the Danes had set up and the Northumbrians, yet unruly under their yoke, at the end of six years had expelled, one Ricsig was set up king, and bore the name three years; then another Ecbert, and Guthred; the latter, if we believe legends, of a servant made king by command of St. Cudbert, in a vision; and enjoined by another vision of the same saint, to pay well for his royalty many lands and privileges to his church and monastery. But now to the story.

ATHELSTAN.

Athelstan, next in age to Ethelward his brother, who deceased untimely few days before, though born of a concubine, yet for the great appearance of many virtues in him, and his brethren being yet under age, was exalted to the throne at Kingston upon Thames,[z] and by his father's last will, saith Malmsbury, yet not without some opposition of one Alfred and his accomplices; who not liking he should reign, had conspired to seize on him after his father's death, and to put out his eyes. But the conspirators discovered, and Alfred, denying the plot,[a] was sent to Rome, to assert his innocence before the pope; where taking his oath on the altar, he fell down immediately, and carried out by his servants, three days after died. Meanwhile beyond Humber the Danes, though much awed, were not idle. Inguald, one of their kings, took possession of York; Sitric, who some years [b] before had slain Niel his brother, by force took Davenport in Cheshire; and however he defended these doings, grew so inconsiderable,[c] that Athelstan with great solemnity gave him his sister Edgith to wife: but he enjoyed her not long, dying ere the year's end; nor his sons Anlaf and Guthfert the kingdom, driven out the next [d] year by Athelstan: not unjustly saith Huntingdon, as being first raisers of the war. Simeon calls him Gudfrid a British king, whom Athelstan this year drove out of his kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only mistaken. Malmsbury differs in the name also, calling him Adulf a certain rebel. Them also I wish as much mistaken, who write that Athelstan, jealous of his younger brother Edwin's towardly virtues, lest added to the right of birth they might some time or other call in question his illegitimate precedence,

q Post Christ. 922. Sax. an. r Post Christ. 923. Sax. an.
s Post Christ. 924. t Buch. l. 6. u Buch. l. 6.
x Post Christ. 925. Sax. an. Huntingd. Mat. West y Sim. Dun.

z Post Christ. 926. a Malms. b Sim. Dun.
c Malms. Mat. West. d Post. Christ. 927. Sax. an.

caused him to be drowned in the sea;[e] exposed, some say, with one servant in a rotten bark, without sail or oar; where the youth far off land, and in rough weather despairing, threw himself overboard; the servant, more patient, got to land, and reported the success. But this Malmsbury confesses to be sung in old songs, not read in warrantable authors: and Huntingdon speaks as of a sad accident to Athelstan, that he lost his brother Edwin by sea; far the more credible, in that Athelstan, as it is written by all, tenderly loved and bred up the rest of his brethren, of whom he had no less cause to be jealous. And the year[f] following he prospered better than from so foul a fact, passing into Scotland with great puissance, both by sea and land, and chasing his enemies before him, by land as far as Dunfeoder and Wertermore, by sea as far as Cathness. The cause of this expedition, saith Malmsbury, was to demand Guthfert the son of Sitric, thither fled, though not denied at length by Constantine, who with Eugenius king of Cumberland, at a place called Dacor or Dacre in that shire, surrendered himself and each his kingdom to Athelstan, who brought back with him for hostage the son of Constantine.[g] But Guthfert escaping in the mean while out of Scotland, and Constantine, exasperated by this invasion, persuaded Anlaf, the other son of Sitric, then fled into Ireland,[h] others write Anlaf king of Ireland and the Isles, his son-in-law, with six hundred and fifteen ships, and the king of Cumberland with other forces, to his aid. This within four years[i] effected, they entered England by Humber, and fought with Athelstan at a place called Wendune, others term it Brunanburg, others Bruneford, which Ingulf places beyond Humber, Camden in Glendale of Northumberland on the Scotch borders; the bloodiest fight, say authors, that ever this island saw: to describe which the Saxon annalist, wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his argument, and overcharged, runs on a sudden into such extravagant fancies and metaphors, as bear him quite beside the scope of being understood. Huntingdon, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a pastime to his readers. I shall only sum up what of him I can attain, in useful language. The battle was fought eagerly from morning to night; some fell of King Edward's old army, tried in many a battle before; but on the other side great multitudes, the rest fled to their ships. Five kings, and seven of Anlaf's chief captains, were slain on the place, with Froda a Norman leader; Constantine escaped home, but lost his son in the fight, if I understand my author; Anlaf by sea to Dublin, with a small remainder of his great host. Malmsbury relates this war, adding many circumstances after this manner: that Anlaf, joining with Constantine and the whole power of Scotland, besides those which he brought with him out of Ireland, came on far southwards, till Athelstan, who had retired on set purpose to be the surer of his enemies, enclosed from all succour and retreat, met him at Bruneford. Anlaf perceiving the valour and resolution of Athelstan, and mistrusting his own forces, though numerous, resolved first to spy in what posture his enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King Alfred the age before, in the habit of a musician, got access by his lute and voice to the king's tent, there playing both the minstrel and the spy: then towards evening dismissed, he was observed by one who had been his soldier, and well knew him, viewing earnestly the king's tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The soldier forthwith acquaints the king, and by him blamed for letting go his enemy, answered, that he had given first his military oath to Anlaf, whom if he had betrayed, the king might suspect him of like treasonous mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advised him to remove his tent a good distance off: and so done, it happened that a bishop, with his retinue coming that night to the army, pitched his tent in the same place from whence the king had removed. Anlaf, coming by night as he had designed, to assault the camp, and especially the king's tent, finding there the bishop instead, slew him with all his followers. Athelstan took the alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintained the fight till evening; wherein Constantine himself was slain with five other kings, and twelve earls; the annals were content with seven, in the rest not disagreeing. Ingulf abbot of Croyland, from the authority of Turketul a principal leader in this battle, relates it more at large to this effect: That Athelstan, above a mile distant from the place where execution was done upon the bishop and his supplies, alarmed at the noise, came down by break of day upon Anlaf and his army, overwatched and wearied now with the slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main battles. The king, therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, consisting most of West Saxons, against Anlaf with his Danes and Irish, committing the other to his chancellor Turketul, with the Mercians and Londoners, against Constantine and his Scots. The shower of arrows and darts overpassed, both battles attacked each other with a close and terrible engagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the chancellor Turketul, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few Londoners of select valour, and Singin who led the Worcestershire men, a captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the Picts and Orkeners, then through the Cumbrians and Scots, and came at length where Constantine himself fought, unhorsed him, and used all means to take him alive; but the Scots valiantly defending their king, and laying load upon Turketul, which the goodness of his armour well endured, he had yet been beaten down, had not Singin his faithful second at the same time slain Constantine; which once known, Anlaf and the whole army betook them to flight, whereof a huge multitude fell by the sword.

e Post Christ. 933. Sim. Dun.
f Post Christ 934 Sax. an. Sim Dun

g Florent.
h Florent. Sim. Dun.
i Post Christ 938. Sax. an. Malms

This Turketul, not long after leaving worldly affairs, became abbot of Croyland, which at his own cost he had repaired from Danish ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. Athelstan with his brother Edmund victorious thence turning into Wales, with much more ease vanquished Ludwal the king, and possessed his land. But Malmsbury writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displaced, so he restored both him and Constantine to their regal state: for the surrender of King Constantine hath been above spoken of. However the Welsh did him homage at the city of Hereford, and covenanted yearly payment of gold twenty pound, of silver three hundred, of oxen twenty-five thousand, besides hunting dogs and hawks. He also took Exeter from the Cornish Britons, who till that time had equal right there with the English, and bounded them with the river Tamar, as the other British with Wey. Thus dreaded of his enemies, and renowned far and near, three years [k] after he died at Gloucester, and was buried with many trophies at Malmsbury, where he had caused to be laid his two cousin germans, Elwin and Ethelstan, both slain in the battle against Anlaf. He was thirty years old at his coming to the crown, mature in wisdom from his childhood, comely of person and behaviour; so that Alfred his grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the kingdom, and put him yet a child into soldier's habit. He had his breeding in the court of Elfled his aunt, of whose virtues more than female we have related, sufficient to evince that his mother, though said to be no wedded wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the royal line disdained not, though the song went in Malmsbury's days (for it seems he refused not the authority of ballads for want of better) that his mother was a farmer's daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamed one night she brought forth a moon that should enlighten the whole land: which the king's nurse hearing of took her home and bred up courtly; that the king, coming one day to visit his nurse, saw there this damsel, liked her, and by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous Athelstan, a bounteous, just, and affable king, as Malmsbury sets him forth, nor less honoured abroad by foreign kings, who sought his friendship by great gifts or affinity; that Harold king of Noricum sent him a ship whose prow was of gold, sails purple, and other golden things, the more to be wondered at, sent from Noricum, whether meant Norway or Bavaria, the one place so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other from all sea: the embassadors were Helgrim and Offrid, who found the king at York. His sisters he gave in marriage to greatest princes; Elgif to Otho son of Henry the emperor; Egdith to a certain duke about the Alps; Edgiv to Ludwic king of Aquitain, sprung of Charles the Great; Ethilda to Hugo king of France, who sent Aldulf son of Baldwin earl of Flanders to obtain her. From all these great suitors, especially from the emperor and king of France, came rich presents, horses of excellent breed, gorgeous trappings and armour, relics, jewels, odours, vessels of onyx, and other precious things, which I leave poetically described in Malmsbury, taken, as he confesses, out of an old versifier, some of whose verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him was the exposing his brother Edwin, who disavowed by oath the treason whereof he was accused, and implored an equal hearing. But these were songs, as before hath been said, which add also that Athelstan, his anger over, soon repented of the fact, and put to death his cupbearer, who had induced him to suspect and expose his brother; put in mind by a word falling from the cupbearer's own mouth, who slipping one day as he bore the king's cup, and recovering himself on the other leg, said aloud fatally, as to him it proved, one brother helps the other. Which words the king laying to heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his brother, avenged himself first on the adviser of that fact, took on him seven years' penance, and as Mat. West. saith, built two monasteries for the soul of his brother. His laws are extant among the laws of other Saxon kings to this day.

EDMUND.

Edmund not above eighteen years [l] old succeeded his brother Athelstan, in courage not inferior. For in the second of his reign he freed Mercia of the Danes that remained there, and took from them the cities of Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby, and Leicester, where they were placed by King Edward, but it seems gave not good proof of their fidelity. Simeon writes, that Anlaf setting forth from York, and having wasted southward as far as Northampton, was met by Edmund at Leicester; but that ere the battles joined, peace was made between them by Odo and Wulstan the two archbishops, with conversion of Anlaf; for the same year Edmund received at the fontstone this or another Anlaf, as saith Huntingdon, not him spoken of before, who died this year, (so uncertain they are in the story of these times also,) and held Reginald another king of the Northumbrians, while the bishop confirmed him: their limits were divided north and south by Watling-street. But spiritual kindred little availed to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cause; for we read him two years [m] after driving Anlaf (whom the annals now first call the son of Sitric) and Suthfrid son of Reginald out of Northumberland, taking the whole country into subjection. Edmund the next [n] year harassed Cumberland, then gave it to Malcolm king of Scots, thereby bound to assist him in his wars, both by sea and land. Mat. West. adds, that in this action Edmund had the aid of Leolin prince of North Wales, against Dunmail the Cumbrian king, him depriving of his kingdom, and his two sons of their sight. But the year [o] after, he himself by strange accident came to an untimely death: feasting with his nobles on St. Austin's day at Puclekerke in Gloucester, to celebrate the memory of his first converting the Saxons; he spied

k Post Christ. 941. Sax. an. Malms. Ingulf.
l Post Christ. 942. Sax. an.
m Post Christ 944. Sax. an
n Post Christ. 945. Sax. an.
o Post Christ. 946. Sax. an.

Leof a noted thief, whom he had banished, sitting among his guests: whereat transported with too much vehemence of spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the table he run upon the thief, and catching his hair, pulled him to the ground. The thief, who doubted from such handling no less than his death intended, thought to die not unrevenged; and with a short dagger struck the king, who still laid at him, and little expected such assassination, mortally into the breast. The matter was done in a moment, ere men set at table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till perceiving the king deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hewed him to pieces; who like a wild beast at bay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The king was buried at Glaston, whereof Dunstan was then abbot; his laws yet remain to be seen among the laws of other Saxon kings.

EDRED.

Edred, the third brother of Athelstan, the sons of Edmund being yet but children, next reigned, not degenerating from his worthy predecessors, and crowned at Kingston. Northumberland he thoroughly subdued, the Scots without refusal swore him allegiance; yet the Northumbrians, ever of doubtful faith, soon after chose to themselves one Eric a Dane. Huntingdon still haunts us with this Anlaf, (of whom we gladly would have been rid,) and will have him before Eric recalled once more and reign four years,[p] then again put to his shifts. But Edred entering into Northumberland, and with spoils returning, Eric the king fell upon his rear. Edred turning about, both shook off the enemy, and prepared to make a second inroad: which the Northumbrians dreading rejected Eric, slew Amancus the son of Anlaf, and with many presents appeasing Edred submitted again to his government;[q] nor from that time had kings, but were governed by earls, of whom Osulf was the first. [r]About this time Wulstan archbishop of York, accused to have slain certain men of Thetford in revenge of their abbot, whom the townsmen had slain, was committed by the king to close custody; but soon after enlarged, was restored to his place. Malmsbury writes, that his crime was to have connived at the revolt of his countrymen: but King Edred two years after, [s]sickening in the flower of his youth, died much lamented, and was buried at Winchester.

EDWI.

Edwi, the son of Edmund, now come to age,[t] after his uncle Edred's death took on him the government, and was crowned at Kingston. His lovely person surnamed him the fair, his actions are diversely reported, by Huntingdon not thought illaudable. But Malmsbury and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married, or kept as concubine, his near kinswoman,[u] some say both her and her daughter; so inordinately given to his pleasure, that on the very day of his coronation he abruptly withdrew himself from the company of his peers, whether in banquet or consultation, to sit wantoning in the chamber with his Algiva, so was her name, who had such power over him. Whereat his barons offended sent bishop Dunstan, the boldest among them, to request his return: he, going to the chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance, and rebuked the lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and persuasion brought him back to his nobles. The king highly displeased,[x] and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent Dunstan into banishment, caused his monastery to be rifled, and became an enemy to all monks and friars. Whereupon Odo archbishop of Canterbury pronounced a separation or divorce of the king from Algiva. But that which most incited William of Malmsbury against him, he gave that monastery to be dwelt in by secular priests, or, to use his own phrase, made it a stable of clerks: at length these affronts done to the church were so resented by the people, that the Mercians and Northumbrians revolted from him, and set up Edgar his brother,[y] leaving to Edwi the West-Saxons only, bounded by the river Thames; with grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his days,[z] and was buried at Winchester. Meanwhile [a] Elfin, bishop of that place, after the death of Odo ascending by simony to the chair of Canterbury, and going to Rome the same year for his pall, was frozen to death in the Alps.

EDGAR.

Edgar by his brother's death now [b] king of all England at sixteen years of age, called home Dunstan out of Flanders, where he lived in exile. This king had no war all his reign; yet always well prepared for war, governed the kingdom in great peace, honour, and prosperity, gaining thence the surname of peaceable, much extolled for justice, clemency, and all kingly virtues,[c] the more, ye may be sure by monks, for his building so many monasteries; as some write, every year one: for he much favoured the monks against secular priests, who in the time of Edwi had got possession in most of their convents. His care and wisdom was great in guarding the coast round with stout ships to the number of three thousand six hundred. Mat. West. reckons them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four squadrons, to sail to and fro, about the four quarters of the land, meeting each other; the first of twelve hundred sail from east to west, the second of as many from west to east, the third and fourth between north and south; himself in the summer time with his fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of strangers, and prevented foreign war, but by their too frequent resort hither in time of peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their vices unaware. Thence the people, saith Malmsbury, learned of the outlandish Saxons rudeness, of the Flemish daintiness

p Post Christ. 950. Sim. Dun. q Hoved.
r Post Christ. 953. Sim. Dun. s Post Christ. 955. Sim. Dun.
t Ethelwerd. u Mat. West. x Post Christ. 956.
y Hoved. z Post Christ. 955. Sax. an.
a Post Christ. 958. Mat. West.
b Post Christ. 959. Malms. c Mat. West.

and softness, of the Danes drunkenness; though I doubt these vices are as naturally homebred here as in any of those countries. Yet in the winter and spring time he usually rode the circuit as a judge itinerant through all his provinces, to see justice well administered, and the poor not oppressed. Thieves and robbers he rooted almost out of the land, and wild beasts of prey altogether; enjoining Ludwal, king of Wales, to pay the yearly tribute of three hundred wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cause, he was not crowned till the thirtieth of his age, but then with great splendour and magnificence at the city of Bath, in the feast of Pentecost. This year[d] died Swarling a monk of Croyland, in the hundred and forty-second year of his age, and another soon after him in the hundred and fifteenth; in that fenny and waterish air the more remarkable. King Edgar the next[e] year went to Chester, and summoning to his court there all the kings that held of him, took homage of them: their names are Kened king of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccuse of the Isles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Huwal, Grifith, Jacob, Judethil; these he had in such awe, that going one day into a galley, he caused them to take each man his oar, and row him down the river Dee, while he himself sat at the stern; which might be done in merriment, and easily obeyed; if with a serious brow, discovered rather vain-glory, and insulting haughtiness, than moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his words then uttered, that his successors might then glory to be kings of England, when they had such honour done them. And perhaps the divine power was displeased with him for taking too much honour to himself; since we read, that[f] the year following he was taken out of this life by sickness in the height of his glory and the prime of his age, buried at Glaston abbey. The same year, as Mat. West. relates, he gave to Kened, the Scottish king, many rich presents, and the whole country of Laudian, or Lothien, to hold of him on condition, that he and his successors should repair to the English court at high festivals when the king sat crowned; gave him also many lodging places by the way, which till the days of Henry the second were still held by the kings of Scotland. He was of stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and disliked nothing more, than that they should spare him for respect, or fear to hurt him. Kened king of Scots, then in the court of Edgar, sitting one day at table, was heard to say jestingly among his servants, he wondered how so many provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man: his words were brought to the king's ear; he sends for Kened as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two swords, which he had brought with him, gave one of them to Kened; and now, saith he, it shall be tried which ought to be the subject; for it is shameful for a king to boast at table, and shrink in fight. Kened much abashed fell presently at his feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spoken, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement; wherewith the king was satisfied. Camden, in his description of Ireland, cites a charter of King Edgar, wherein it appears he had in subjection all the kingdoms of the isles as far as Norway, and had subdued the greatest part of Ireland with the city of Dublin: but of this other writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of Elfrida, daughter to Ordgar duke of Devonshire much commended for her beauty, he sent Earl Athelwold, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answered report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view taken with her presence, disloyally, as it oft happens in such employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her parents obtained her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her feature, he easily took off the king's mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how Athelwold had forestalled the king, and Elfrida's beauty more and more spoken of, the king now heated not only with a relapse of love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair wife. The earl seemingly assured his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his wife, earnestly advised her to deform herself what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the king, whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She, who by this time was not ignorant, how Athelwold had stepped between her and the king, against his coming arrays herself richly, using whatever art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the king, inflamed with her love the more for that he had been so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolved not only to recover his intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destined spouse; and appointing with him as was usual a day of hunting, drawn aside in a forest now called Harewood, smote him through with a dart. Some censure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but considered well, it may be judged more favourably, and that no man of sensible spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to life what worse treason could have been committed against him? It chanced that the earl's base son coming by upon the fact, the king sternly asked him how he liked his game; he submissly answering, that whatsoever pleased the king, must not displease him; the king returned to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favoured him, making amends in the son for what he had done to the father. Elfrida forthwith he took to wife, who to expiate her former husband's death, though therein she had no hand, covered the place of his bloodshed with a monastery of nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no

d Post Christ. 973. Sax. an. Ingulf. e Post Christ. 974. Sax. an f Post Christ. 975

way excusable, that he took a virgin Wilfrida by force out of the nunnery, where she was placed by her friends to avoid his pursuit, and kept her as his concubine: but lived not obstinately in the offence; for sharply reproved by Dunstan, he submitted to seven years penance, and for that time to want his coronation: but why he had it not before, is left unwritten. Another story there goes of Edgar fitter for a novel than a history; but as I find it in Malmsbury, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstained not from women, and coming on a day to Andover, caused a duke's daughter there dwelling, reported rare of beauty, to be brought to him. The mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her daughter should be so deflowered, at fit time of night sent in her attire one of her waiting maids: a maid it seems not unhandsome nor unwitty; who supplied the place of her young lady. Night passed, the maid going to rise but daylight scarce yet appearing, was by the king asked why she made such haste; she answered, to do the work which her lady had set her; at which the king wondering, and with much ado staying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the duke's daughter, she falling at his feet besought him, that since at the command of her lady she came to his bed, and was enjoyed by him, he would be pleased in recompence to set her free from the hard service of her mistress. The king a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a jest, took the maid away with him, advanced her above the lady, loved her, and accompanied with her only, till he married Elfrida. These only are his faults upon record, rather to be wondered how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at sixteen to the licence of a sceptre; and that his virtues were so many and mature, he dying before the age wherein wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness: however, with him died all the Saxon glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double conquest, and the causes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praises of their former actions and liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another book.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

Edward the Younger.

Edward, the eldest son of Edgar by Egelfleda his first wife, the daughter of duke Ordmer, was according to right and his father's will placed in the throne; Elfrida, his second wife, and her faction only repining, who laboured to have had her son Ethelred, a child of seven years, preferred before him; that she under that pretence might have ruled all. Meanwhile comets were seen in heaven, portending not famine only, which followed the next year, but the troubled state of the whole realm not long after to ensue. The troubles begun in Edwin's days, between monks and secular priests, now revived and drew on either side many of the nobles into parties. For Elfere duke of the Mercians, with many other peers, corrupted as is said with gifts,[a] drove the monks out of those monasteries where Edgar had placed them, and in their stead put secular priests with their wives. But Ethelwin duke of East-Angles, with his brother Elfwold, and earl Britnorth, opposed them, and gathering an army defended the abbeys of East-Angles from such intruders. To appease these tumults, a synod was called at Winchester; and, nothing there concluded, a general council both of nobles and prelates was held at Caln in Wiltshire, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against Dunstan, the room wherein they sat fell upon their heads, killing some, maiming others, Dunstan only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the king absent by reason of his tender age. This accident quieted the controversy, and brought both parts to hold with Dunstan and the monks. Meanwhile the king addicted to a religious life, and of a mild spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his stepmother and her son Ethelred: to whom she, displeased that the name only of king was wanting, practised thenceforth to remove King Edward out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. Edward on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendants followed the dogs, hearing that Ethelred and his mother lodged at Corvesgate, (Corfe castle, saith Camden, in the isle of Purbeck,) innocently went thither. She with all show of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his horse; and while he was drinking, caused one of her servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a poniard. The poor youth, who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the stirrup, he was dragged along the way, traced by his blood, and buried without honour at Werham, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After which by duke Elfere (who, as Malmsbury saith,[b] had a hand in his death) he was royally interred at Skepton or Shaftsbury. The murderess Elfrida, at length repenting, spent the residue of her days in sorrow and great penance.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred, second son of Edgar by Elfrida, (for Edmund died a child,) his brother Edward wickedly removed, was now next in right to succeed,[c] and accordingly crowned at Kingston: reported by some, fair of visage, comely of person, elegant of behaviour;[d] but the event will show, that with many sluggish and ignoble vices he quickly shamed his outside; born and prolonged a fatal mischief of the people, and the ruin

a Florent. Sim. Dun. b Post Christ. 978. Malms. c Post Christ. 979. Malms. d Florent. Sim. Dun.

of his country; whereof he gave early signs from his first infancy, bewraying the font and water while the bishop was baptizing him. Whereat Dunstan much troubled, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, "By God and God's mother, this boy will prove a sluggard." Another thing is written of him in his childhood; which argued no bad nature, that hearing of his brother Edward's cruel death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother, offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him so with great wax-candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. Dunstan though unwilling set the crown upon his head; but at the same time foretold openly, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the land, in avengement of his brother's innocent blood.[e] And about the same time, one midnight, a cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all England; and within three years[f] the Danish tempest, which had long surceased, revolved again upon this island. To the more ample relating whereof, the Danish history, at least their latest and diligentest historian, as neither from the first landing of Danes, in the reign of West-Saxon Brithric, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more than enough to make out the bare names and successions of their uncertain kings, and their small actions, at home: unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own annals; the surer and the sadder witnesses of their doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly barbarous. [g] For the Danes well understanding that England had now a slothful king to their wish, first landing at Southampton from seven great ships, took the town, spoiled the country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was Devonshire and Cornwall uninfested on the shore,[h] pirates of Norway also harried the coast of West-chester:[i] and to add a worse calamity, the city of London was burnt, casually or not, is not written. [k] It chanced four years after, that Ethelred besieged Rochester; some way or other offended by the bishop thereof. Dunstan, not approving the cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not St. Andrew the patron of that city, nor waste his lands; an old craft of the clergy to secure their church-lands, by entailing them on some Saint: the king not hearkening, Dunstan, on this condition that the siege might be raised, sent him a hundred pounds, the money was accepted and the siege dissolved. Dunstan, reprehending his avarice, sent him again this word, "because thou hast respected money more than religion, the evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not in my days, for so God hath spoken." The next year was calamitous,[l] bringing strange fluxes upon men, and murrain upon cattle. [m] Dunstan the year following died, a strenuous bishop, zealous without dread of person, and for aught appears, the best of many ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular affairs. He was chaplain at first to King Athelstan, and Edmund who succeeded, much employed in court affairs, till envied by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by Edmund forbidden the court; but by the earnest mediation, saith Ingulf, of Turketul the chancellor, received at length to favour, and made abbot of Glaston; lastly by Edgar and the general vote, archbishop of Canterbury. Not long after his death, the Danes arriving in Devonshire were met by Goda lieutenant of that country, and Strenwold a valiant leader, who put back the Danes, but with loss of their own lives. [n] The third year following, under the conduct of Justin and Guthmund the son of Steytan, they landed and spoiled Ipswich, fought with Britnoth duke of the East-Angles about Maldon, where they slew him; the slaughter else had been equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the English not able to resist, by council of Siric then archbishop of Canterbury, and two dukes Ethelward and Alfric, it was thought best for the present to buy that with silver, which they could not gain with their iron; and ten thousand pounds was paid to the Danes for peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. [o] The next year but one, they took by storm and rifled Bebbanburg, an ancient city near Durham: sailing thence to the mouth of Humber, they wasted both sides thereof, Yorkshire and Lindsey, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three noblemen, Frana, Frithegist, and Godwin; but being all Danes by the father's side, willingly began flight, and forsook their own forces betrayed to the enemy. [p] No less treachery was at sea; for Alfric, the son of Elfer duke of Mercia, whom the king for some offence had banished, but now recalled, sent from London with a fleet to surprise the Danes, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his fleet, saith Florent, perceiving, pursued, took the ship, but missed of his person; the Londoners by chance grappling with the East-Angles made them fewer, saith my author, by many thousands. Others say,[q] that by this notice of Alfric the Danes not only escaped, but with a greater fleet set upon the English, took many of their ships, and in triumph brought them up the Thames, intending to besiege London: for Anlaf king of Norway, and Swane of Denmark, at the head of these, came with ninety-four galleys. The king, for this treason of Alfric, put out his son's eyes; but the Londoners both by land and water so valiantly resisted their besiegers, that they were forced in one day, with great loss, to give over. But what they could not on the city, they wrecked themselves on the countries round about, wasting with sword and fire all Essex, Kent, and Sussex. Thence horsing their foot, diffused far wider their outrageous incursions, without mercy either to sex or age. The slothful king, instead of warlike opposition in the field, sends ambassadors to treat about another payment;[r] the sum promised was now sixteen thousand pounds; till which paid, the Danes wintered at Southampton; Ethelred in-

e Sim. Dun.
f Post Christ 982. Malms. Sim. Dun. Hoved.
g Eadmer. Florent.
h Hoved.
k Post Christ. 986. Malms. Ingulf.
l Post Christ. 987. Malms.
m Post Christ. 988. Malms.
n Post Christ. 991. Sim. Dun
o Post Christ. 993. Sim. Dun.
p Florent. Hunting.
q Post Christ. 994. Sim. Dun
r Malms.

viting Anlaf to come and visit him at Andover,[s] where he was royally entertained, some say baptized, or confirmed, adopted son by the king, and dismissed with great presents, promising by oath to depart and molest the kingdom no more;[t] which he performed; but the calamity ended not so, for after some intermission of their rage for three years,[u] the other navy of Danes sailing about to the west, entered Severn, and wasted one while South Wales, then Cornwall and Devonshire, till at length they wintered about Tavistock. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallowed up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behind them, easy to be imagined. [x] In sum, the next year they afflicted Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight; by the English many resolutions were taken, many armies raised, but either betrayed by the falsehood, or discouraged by the weakness, of their leaders, they were put to the rout or disbanded themselves. For soldiers most commonly are as their commanders, without much odds of valour in one nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplined and conducted. [y] The following year brought them back upon Kent, where they entered Medway, and besieged Rochester; but the Kentish men assembling gave them a sharp encounter, yet that sufficed not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Against these depopulations the king levied an army; but the unskilful leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burdening and impoverishing the people, consuming the public treasure, and more emboldening the enemy, than if they had sat quietly at home. What cause moved the Danes next[z] year to pass into Normandy, is not recorded; but that they returned thence more outrageous than before. Meanwhile the king, to make some diversion, undertakes an expedition both by land and sea into Cumberland, where the Danes were most planted; there and in the Isle of Man, or, as Camden saith, Anglesey, imitating his enemies in spoiling and unpeopling. The Danes from Normandy, arriving in the river Ex, laid siege to Exeter;[a] but the citizens, as those of London, valorously defending themselves, they wrecked their anger, as before, on the villages round about. The country people of Somerset and Devonshire assembling themselves at Penho, shewed their readiness, but wanted a head; and besides being then but few in number, were easily put to flight; the enemy plundering all at will, with loaded spoils passed into the Isle of Wight; from whence all Dorsetshire and Hampshire felt again their fury. The Saxon annals write, that before their coming to Exeter, the Hampshire men had a bickering with them,[b] wherein Ethelward the king's general was slain, adding other things hardly to be understood, and in one ancient copy; so end. Ethelred, whom no adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely, and propose a third tribute to the Danes: they willingly hearken, but the sum is enhanced now to twenty-four thousand pounds, and paid; the Danes thereupon abstaining from hostility. But the king, to strengthen his house by some potent affinity, marries Emma,[c] whom the Saxons call Elgiva, daughter of Richard duke of Normandy. With him Ethelred formerly had war, or no good correspondence, as appears by a letter of pope John the fifteenth,[d] who made peace between them about eleven years before; puffed up now with his supposed access of strength by this affinity, he caused the Danes all over England, though now living peaceably,[e] in one day perfidiously to be massacred, both men, women, and children; sending private letters to every town and city, whereby they might be ready all at the same hour; which till the appointed time (being the ninth of July) was concealed with great silence,[f] and performed with much unanimity; so generally hated were the Danes. Mat. West. writes, that this execution upon the Danes was ten years after; that Huna, one of Ethelred's chief captains, complaining of the Danish insolences in time of peace, their pride, their ravishing of matrons and virgins, incited the king to this massacre, which in the madness of rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, Gunhildis the sister of Swane was not spared, though much deserving not pity only, but all protection: she, with her husband earl Palingus coming to live in England, and receiving Christianity, had her husband and young son slain before her face, herself then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost England dear. [g] Some say this was done by the traitor Edric, to whose custody she was committed; but the massacre was some years before Edric's advancement; and if it were done by him afterwards, it seems to contradict the private correspondence which he was thought to hold with the Danes. For Swane, breathing revenge, hasted the next year into England,[h] and by the treason or negligence of Count Hugh, whom Emma had recommended to the government of Devonshire, sacked the city of Exeter, her wall from east to west-gate broken down: after this wasting Wiltshire, the people of that county, and of Hampshire, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him; but Alfric their general, whose son's eyes the king had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the king, by ruining his own country, when he should have ordered his battle, the enemy being at hand, feigned himself taken with a vomiting; whereby his army in great discontent, destitute of a commander, turned from the enemy: who straight took Wilton and Salisbury, carrying the pillage thereof to the ships. [i] Thence the next year landing on the coast of Norfolk, he wasted the country, and set Norwich on fire; Ulfketel duke of the East-Angles, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his forces, after consultation had, thought it best to make peace with the Dane, which he breaking

s Malms. t Huntingd. u Post Christ. 997. Sim. Dun.
x Post Christ. 998. Sim. Dun. y Post Christ. 999. Sim. Dun.
z Post Christ. 1000. Sim. Dun. a Post Christ. 1001. Sim. Dun.
b Post Christ. 1002. Sim. Dun. c Malms. d Calvis.
e Florent. Huntingd. f Calvis. g Mat. West.
h Post Christ. 1003. Sim. Dun. i Post Christ. 1004. Sim. Dun.

within three weeks, issued silently out of his ships, came to Thetford, staid there a night, and in the morning left it flaming. Ulfketel, hearing this, commanded some to go and break or burn his ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secresy and speed was possible, drawing together his forces, went out against the enemy, and gave them a fierce onset retreating to their ships: but much inferiour in number, many of the chief East-Angles there lost their lives. Nor did the Danes come off without great slaughter of their own; confessing that they never met in England with so rough a charge. The next year,[k] whom war could not, a great famine drove Swane out of the land. But the summer following,[l] another great fleet of Danes entered the port of Sandwich, thence poured out over all Kent and Sussex, made prey of what they found. The king levying an army out of Mercia, and the West-Saxons, took on him for once the manhood to go out and face them; but they, who held it safer to live by rapine, than to hazard a battle, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy camp, following their wonted course of robbery, then running to their ships. Thus all autumn they wearied out the king's army, which gone home to winter, they carried all their pillage to the Isle of Wight, and there staid till Christmas; at which time the king being in Shropshire, and but ill employed, (for by the procurement of Edric, he caused, as is thought, Alfhelm, a noble duke, treacherously to be slain,[m] and the eyes of his two sons to be put out,) they came forth again, overrunning Hampshire and Berkshire, as far as Reading and Wallingford: thence to Ashdune, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the people in arms by the river Kenet; but making their way through, they got safe with vast booty to their ships. [n] The king and his courtiers wearied out with their last summer's jaunt after the nimble Danes to no purpose, which by proof they found too toilsome for their soft bones, more used to beds and couches, had recourse to their last and only remedy, their coffers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty-six thousand pound (for the Danes knew how to milk such easy kine) in name of tribute and expenses: which out of the people over all England, already half beggared, was extorted and paid. About the same time Ethelred advanced Edric, surnamed Streon, from obscure condition to be duke of Mercia, and marry Edgitha the king's daughter. The cause of his advancement, Florent of Worcester, and Mat. West. attribute to his great wealth, gotten by fine policies and a plausible tongue: he proved a main accessory to the ruin of England, as his actions will soon declare. Ethelred the next year,[o] somewhat rousing himself, ordained that every three hundred and ten hides (a hide is so much land as one plow can sufficiently till) should set out a ship or galley, and every nine hides find a corslet and headpiece: new ships in every port were built, victualled, fraught with stout mariners, and soldiers, and appointed to meet all at Sandwich. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, dissension among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. Birthric, the brother of Edric, falsely accused Wulnoth, a great officer set over the South-Saxons, who, fearing the potency of his enemies, with twenty ships got to sea, and practised piracy on the coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surprised, Birthric sets forth with eighty ships; all which, driven back by a tempest and wrecked upon the shore, were burnt soon after by Wulnoth. Disheartened with this misfortune, the king returns to London, the rest of his navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon Turkill, a Danish earl, came with a navy to the isle of Tanet,[p] and in August a far greater, led by Heming and Ilaf, joined with him. Thence coasting to Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to assault Canterbury; but the citizens and East-Kentish men, coming to composition with them for three thousand pounds, they departed thence to the Isle of Wight, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the king levies an army through all the land, and in several quarters places them nigh the sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the Danes were not thereby hindered from exercising their wonted robberies. It happened that the Danes were one day gone up into the country far from their ships; the king having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantageous; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted loyalty among them. Edric with subtile arguments, that had a show of deep policy, disputed and persuaded the simplicity of his fellow counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the Danes pass without ambush or interception. The Danes, where they expected danger finding none, passed on with great joy and booty to their ships. After this, sailing about Kent, they lay that winter in the Thames, forcing Kent and Essex to contribution, ofttimes attempting the city of London, but repulsed as oft to their great loss. Spring begun, leaving their ships, they passed through Chiltern wood into Oxfordshire,[q] burnt the city, and thence returning with divided forces, wasted on both sides the Thames; but hearing that an army from London was marched out against them, they on the north side passing the river at Stanes, joined with them on the south into one body, and enriched with great spoils, came back through Surrey to their ships; which all the Lent-time they repaired. After Easter sailing to the East-Angles they arrived at Ipswich, and came to a place called Ringmere, where they heard that Ulfketel with his forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertained them; but his men at length giving back, through the subtlety of a Danish servant among them who began the

k Post Christ. 1005. Sim. Dun.
l Post Christ. 1006. Sim. Dun.
m Florent.
n Post Christ. 1007. Sim. Dun.
o Post Christ. 1008. Sim. Dun.
p Post Christ. 1009. Sim. Dun.
q Post Christ. 1010. Sim. Dun. Florent.

flight, lost the field; though the men of Cambridgeshire stood to it valiantly. In this battle Ethelstan, the king's son-in-law, with many other noblemen, were slain; whereby the Danes, without more resistance, three months together had the spoiling of those countries and all the fens, burnt Thetford and Grantbrig, or Cambridge; thence to a hilly place not far off, called by Huntingdon, Balesham, by Camden, Gogmagog hills, and the villages thereabout, they turned their fury, slaying all they met save one man, who getting up into a steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole Danish army. They therefore so leaving him, their foot by sea, their horse by land through Essex, returned back laden to their ships left in the Thames. But many days passed not between, when sallying again out of their ships as out of savage dens, they plundered over again all Oxfordshire, and added to their prey Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertfordshire;[r] then like wild beasts glutted returning to their caves. A third excursion they made into Northamptonshire, burnt Northampton, ransacking the country round; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the West-Saxons, and in like sort harassing all Wiltshire, returned, as I said before, like wild beasts or rather sea monsters to their water-stables, accomplishing by Christmas the circuit of their whole year's good deeds; an unjust and inhuman nation, who, receiving or not receiving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their livelihood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceased not; for the next year[s] repeating the same cruelties on both sides the Thames, one way as far as Huntingdon, the other as far as Wiltshire and Southampton, solicited again by the king for peace, and receiving their demands both of tribute and contribution, they slighted their faith; and in the beginning of September laid siege to Canterbury. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of Almere the archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacre as a sport; some they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members; infants, pulled from their mothers' breasts, were either tossed on spears, or carts drawn over them; matrons and virgins by the hair dragged and ravished. [t] Alfage the grave archbishop above others hated of the Danes, as in all counsels and actions to his might their known opposer, taken, wounded, imprisoned in a noisome ship; the multitude are tithed, and every tenth only spared. [u] Early the next year before Easter, while Ethelred and his peers were assembled at London, to raise now the fifth tribute amounting to forty-eight thousand pound, the Danes at Canterbury propose to the archbishop,[x] who had been now seven months their prisoner, life and liberty, if he paid them three thousand pound: which he refusing as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his tenants, is permitted till the next Sunday to consider; then hauled before the counsel, of whom Turkill was chief, and still refusing, they rise, most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of their axes, then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with stones; till one Thrun a converted Dane, pitying him half dead, to put him out of pain, with a pious impiety, at one stroke of his axe on the head dispatched him. His body was carried to London, and there buried, thence afterward removed to Canterbury. By this time the tribute paid, and peace so often violated sworn again by the Danes, they dispersed their fleet; forty-five of them, and Turkill their chief, staid at London with the king, swore him allegiance to defend his land against all strangers, on condition only to be fed and clothed by him. But this voluntary friendship of Turkill was thought to be deceitful, that staying under this pretence he gave intelligence to Swane, when most it would be seasonable to come. [y] In July therefore of the next year, King Swane arriving at Sandwich, made no stay there, but sailing first to Humber, thence into Trent, landed and encamped at Gainsburrow; whither without delay repaired to him the Northumbrians, with Uthred their earl; those of Lindsey also, then those of Fisburg, and lastly all on the north of Watlingstreet (which is a highway from east to west-sea) gave oath and hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded horses and provision for his army, taking with him besides bands and companies of their choicest men; and committing to his son Canute the care of his fleet and hostages, he marches towards the South-Mercians, commanding his soldiers to exercise all acts of hostility; with the terrour whereof fully executed, he took in few days the city of Oxford, then Winchester; thence tending to London, in his hasty passage over the Thames, without seeking bridge or ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his expedition against London prosperous; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the city, wherein the king then was, and Turkill with his Danes, he was stoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence back to Wallingford and Bath, directing his course, after usual havoc made, he sat a while and refreshed his army. There Ethelm, an earl of Devonshire, and other great officers in the west, yielded him subjection. These things flowing to his wish, he betook him to his navy, from that time styled and accounted king of England; if a tyrant, saith Simeon, may be called a king. The Londoners also sent him hostages, and made their peace, for they feared his fury. Ethelred, thus reduced to narrow compass, sent Emma his queen, with his two sons had by her, and all his treasure, to Richard II, her brother, duke of Normandy; himself with his Danish fleet abode some while at Greenwich, then sailing to the Isle of Wight, passed after Christmas into Normandy; where he was honourably received at Roan by the duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards Emma his sister, besides his dissolute company with other women. Meanwhile Swane[z] ceased not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the people, spoiling them when he listed; besides, the like did Turkill at Greenwich. The next year beginning,[a] Swane sickens and dies; some

r Huntingd. s Post Christ. 1011. Sim. Dun.
t Eadmer. Malms. u Post Christ. 1012. Sim. Dun.

x Eadmer. y Post Christ. 1013. Sim. Dun.
z Malms. a Post Christ. 1014. Sim. Dun. Mat. West.

say terrified and smitten by an appearing shape of St. Edmund armed, whose church at Bury he had threatened to demolish; but the authority hereof relies only upon the legend of St. Edmund. After his death the Danish army and fleet made his son Canute their king: but the nobility and states of England sent messengers to Ethelred, declaring that they preferred none before their native sovereign, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more clemency. Whereat the king rejoicing sends over his son Edward with embassadors, to court both high and low, and win their love, promising largely to be their mild and devoted lord, to consent in all things to their will, follow their counsel, and whatever had been done or spoken by any man against him, freely to pardon, if they would loyally restore him to be their king. To this the people cheerfully answered, and amity was both promised and confirmed on both sides. An embassy of lords is sent to bring back the king honourably; he returns in Lent, and is joyfully received of the people, marches with a strong army against Canute; who having got horses and joined with the men of Lindsey, was preparing to make spoil in the countries adjoining; but by Ethelred unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driven to his ships, and his confederates of Lindsey, left to the anger of their countrymen, executed without mercy both by fire and sword. Canute in all haste sailing back to Sandwich, took the hostages given to his father from all parts of England, and with slit noses, ears cropped, and hands chopped off, setting them ashore, departed into Denmark. Yet the people were not disburdened, for the king raised out of them thirty thousand pound to pay his fleet of Danes at Greenwich. To these evils the sea in October passed his bounds, overwhelming many towns in England, and of their inhabitants many thousands. [b]The year following, an assembly being at Oxford, Edric of Streon having invited two noblemen, Sigeferth and Morcar, the sons of Earngrun of Scavenburg, to his lodging, secretly murdered them; the king, for what cause is unknown, seized their estates, and caused Algith the wife of Sigeferth to be kept at Maidulfsburg, now Malmsbury; whom Edmund the prince there married against his father's mind, then went and possessed their lands, making the people there subject to him. Mat. Westm. saith, that these two were of the Danes who had seated themselves in Northumberland, slain by Edric under colour of treason laid to their charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the death of their masters,[c] were beaten back; and driven into a church, defending themselves were burnt there in the steeple. Meanwhile Canute returning from Denmark with a great navy,[d] two hundred ships richly gilded and adorned, well fraught with arms and all provision; and, which Encomium Emmæ mentions not, two other kings, Lachman of Sweden, Olav of Norway, arrived at Sandwich: and, as the same author then living writes, sent out spies to discover what resistance on land was to be expected; who returned with certain report, that a great army of English was in readiness to oppose them. Turkill, who upon the arrival of these Danish powers kept faith no longer with the English, but joining now with Canute,[e] as it were now to reingratiate himself after his revolt, whether real or complotted, counselled him (being yet young) not to land, but to leave to him the management of this first battle: the king assented, and he with the forces which he had brought, and part of those which arrived with Canute, landing to their wish, encountered the English, though double in number, at a place called Scorastan, and was at first beaten back with much loss. But at length animating his men with rage only and despair, obtained a clear victory, which won him great reward and possessions from Canute. But of this action no other writer makes mention. From Sandwich therefore sailing about to the river Frome, and there landing, over all Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire he spread wasteful hostility.[f] The king lay then sick at Cosham in this county; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his enemies. Howbeit Edmund in one part, and Edric of Streon in another, raised forces by themselves; but so soon as both armies were united, the traitor Edric being found to practise against the life of Edmund, he removed with his army from him; whereof the enemy took great advantage. Edric easily enticing the forty ships of Danes to side with him, revolted to Canute: the West-Saxons also gave pledges, and furnished him with horses. By which means the[g] year ensuing, he with Edric the traitor passing the Thames at Creclad, about twelfthtide, entered into Mercia, and especially Warwickshire, depopulating all places in their way. Against these prince Edmund, for his hardiness called Ironside, gathered an army; but the Mercians refused to fight unless Ethelred with the Londoners came to aid them; and so every man returned home. After the festival, Edmund, gathering another army, besought his father to come with the Londoners, and what force besides he was able; they came with great strength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good success, it was told the king, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own forces would fall off and betray him. The king daunted with this perhaps cunning whisper of the enemy, disbanding his army, returns to London. Edmund betook him into Northumberland, as some thought to raise fresh forces; but he with earl Uthred on the one side, and Canute with Edric on the other, did little else but waste the provinces; Canute to conquer them, Edmund to punish them who stood neuter: for which cause Stafford, Shropshire, and Leicestershire, felt heavily his hand; while Canute, who was ruining the more southern shires, at length marched into Northumberland; which Edmund hearing dismissed his forces, and came to London. Uthred the earl hasted back to Northumberland, and finding no other remedy, submitted himself with all the Northumbrians, giving hostages to Canute. Nevertheless by his command or connivance,

b Post Christ. 1015. Sim. Dun.
c Malms.
d Leges Edw. Conf. Tit. deduct. Norm.
e Encom. Em.
f Camd.
g Post Christ. 1016. Sim. Dun.

and the hand of one Turebrand a Danish lord, Uthred was slain, and Iric another Dane made earl in his stead. This Uthred, son of Walteof, as Simeon writes, in his treatise of the siege of Durham, in his youth obtained a great victory against Malcolm, son of Kened king of Scots, who with the whole power of his kingdom was fallen into Northumberland, and laid siege to Durham. Walteof the old earl, unable to resist, had secured himself in Bebbanburg, a strong town; but Uthred gathering an army raised the siege, slew most of the Scots, their king narrowly escaping, and with the heads of their slain fixed upon poles beset round the walls of Durham. The year of this exploit Simeon clears not, for in 969, and in the reign of Ethelred, as he affirms, it could not be. Canute by another way returning southward, joyful of his success, before Easter came back with all the army to his fleet. About the end of April ensuing, Ethelred, after a long, troublesome, and ill governed reign, ended his days at London, and was buried in the church of St. Paul.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

After the decease of Ethelred, they of the nobility who were then at London, together with the citizens, chose [h] Edmund his son (not by Emma, but a former wife the daughter of Earl Thored) in his father's room; but the archbishops, abbots, and many of the nobles assembling together, elected Canute; and coming to Southampton where he then remained, renounced before him all the race of Ethelred, and swore him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both religious and secular, to be their faithful lord. [i] But Edmund, with all speed going to the West-Saxons, was joyfully received of them as their king, and of many other provinces by their example. Meanwhile Canute about mid May came with his whole fleet up the river to London; then causing a great dike to be made on the Surrey side, turned the stream, and drew his ships thither west of the bridge; then begirting the city with a broad and deep trench, assailed it on every side; but repulsed as before by the valorous defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his army for the defence of his ships, with the rest sped him to the West-Saxons, ere Edmund could have time to assemble all his powers; who yet with such as were at hand, invoking divine aid, encountered the Danes at Pen by Gillingham in Dorsetshire, and put him to flight. After midsummer, increased with new forces, he met with him again at a place called Sherastan, now Sharstan; but Edric, Almar, and Algar, with the Hampshire and Wiltshire men, then siding with the Danes, he only maintained the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Daylight returning renewed the conflict, wherein the Danes appearing inferiour, Edric to dishearten the English cuts off the head of one Osmer, in countenance and hair somewhat resembling the king, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that Edmund being slain, and this his head, it was time for them to fly; which fallacy Edmund perceiving, and openly showing himself to his soldiers, by a spear thrown at Edric, that missing him yet slew one next him,[k] and through him another behind, they recovered heart, and lay sore upon the Danes till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, Canute, sensible of his loss, marched away by stealth to his ships at London, renewing there his leaguer. Some would have this battle at Sherastan the same with that at Scorastan before mentioned, but the circumstance of time permits not, that having been before the landing of Canute, this a good while after, as by the process of things appears. From Sherastan or Sharstan Edmund returned to the West-Saxons, whose valour Edric fearing lest it might prevail against the Danes, sought pardon of his revolt, and obtaining it swore loyalty to the king, who now the third time coming with an army from the West-Saxons to London, raised the siege, chasing Canute and his Danes to their ships. Then after two days passing the Thames at Brentford, and so coming on their backs, kept them so turned, and obtained the victory; then returns again to his West-Saxons, and Canute to his siege, but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he entered with his ships a river then called Arenne; and from the banks thereof wasted Mercia; thence their horse by land, their foot by ship came to Medway. Edmund in the mean while with multiplied forces out of many shires crossing again at Brentford, came into Kent, seeking Canute; encountered him at Otford, and so defeated, that of his horse they who escaped fled to the isle of Sheppey; and a full victory he had gained, had not Edric still the traitor by some wile or other detained his pursuit: and Edmund, who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be so misled, ever after forsaken of his wonted fortune. Canute crossing with his army into Essex, thence wasted Mercia worse than before, and with heavy prey returned to his ships: them Edmund with a collected army pursuing overtook at a place called Assandune or Asseshill,[l] now Ashdown in Essex; the battle on either side was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious Edric perceiving the victory to incline towards Edmund, with that part of the army which was under him fled, as he had promised Canute, and left the king overmatched with numbers: by which desertion the English were overthrown, duke Alfric, duke Godwin, and Ulfketel the valiant duke of East-Angles, with a great part of the nobility slain, so as the English of a long time had not received a greater blow. Yet after a while Edmund, not absurdly called Ironside, preparing again to try his fortune in another field, was hindered by Edric and others of his faction, advising him to make peace and divide the kingdom with Canute. To which Edmund overruled, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually given, both kings met together at a place called Deorhirst in Gloucestershire; [m] Edmund on the west side of Severn, Canute on the east, with their armies, then both in person wafted into an island, at that time called Olanege,[n] now Alney, in

h Florent. Aelred in the life of Edw. Conf. i Florent. Sim. Dun.

k Malms. l Camd. m Camd. n Camd.

the midst of the river; swearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the kingdom between them. Then interchanging arms and the habit they wore, assessing also what pay should be allotted to the navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cause thereof others write otherwise; Malmsbury, that Edmund grieving at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to Canute, offering him single combat, to prevent in their own cause the effusion of more blood than their own; that Canute, though of courage enough, yet not unwisely doubting to adventure his body of small timber, against a man of iron sides, refused the combat, offering to divide the kingdom. This offer pleasing both armies, Edmund was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his hereditary kingdom should rule the West-Saxons and all the South, Canute the Mercians and the North. Huntingdon followed by Mat. Westm. relates, that the peers on every side wearied out with continual warfare, and not refraining to affirm openly that they two who expected to reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the kings were content; the island was their lists, the combat knightly; till Knute, finding himself too weak, began to parley, which ended as is said before. After which the Londoners bought their peace of the Danes, and permitted them to winter in the city. But King Edmund about the feast of St. Andrew unexpectedly deceased at London, and was buried near to Edgar his grandfather at Glaston. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common fame, saith Malmsbury, lays the guilt thereof upon Edric, who to please Canute, allured with promise of reward two of the king's privy chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the stool, by thrusting a sharp iron into his hinder parts. Huntingdon, and Mat. Westm. relate it done at Oxford by the son of Edric, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital. Edmund dead, Canute meaning to reign sole king of England, calls to him all the dukes, barons, and bishops of the land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and Edmund dividing the kingdom, whether the sons and brothers of Edmund were to govern the West-Saxons after him, Canute living? They who understood his meaning, and feared to undergo his anger, timorously answered, that Edmund they knew had left no part thereof to his sons or brethren, living or dying; but that he intended Canute should be their guardian, till they came to age of reigning. Simeon affirms, that for fear or hope of reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which, he put many of them to death not long after.

CANUTE, or KNUTE.

Canute having thus sounded the nobility,[o] and by them understood, received their oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and oath from the Danish nobles; whereupon the house of Edmund was renounced, and Canute crowned. Then they enacted, that Edwi brother of Edmund, a prince of great hope, should be banished the realm. But Canute, not thinking himself secure while Edwi lived, consulted with Edric how to make him away; who told him of one Ethelward a decayed nobleman, likeliest to do the work. Ethelward sent for, and tempted by the king in private with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promised to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferred it. But Edwi afterwards received into favour, as a snare, was by him, or some other of his false friends, Canute contriving it, the same year slain. Edric also counselled him to dispatch Edward and Edmund, the sons of Ironside; but the king doubting that the fact would seem too foul done in England, sent them to the king of Sweden, with like intent; but he, disdaining the office, sent them for better safety to Solomon king of Hungary; where Edmund at length died, but Edward married Agatha daughter to Henry the German emperor. A digression in the laws of Edward Confessor under the title of Lex Noricorum saith, that this Edward, for fear of Canute, fled of his own accord to Maleselot king of the Rugians, who received him honourably, and of that country gave him a wife. Canute, settled in his throne, divided the government of his kingdom into four parts; the West-Saxons to himself, the East-Angles to earl Turkill, the Mercians to Edric, the Northumbrians to Iric; then made peace with all princes round about him, and, his former wife being dead, in July married Emma, the widow of king Ethelred. The Christmas following was an ill feast to Edric, of whose treason the king having now made use as much as served his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betrayed, caused him to be slain at London in the palace, thrown over the city wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of Edric fixed on a pole, he commanded to be set on the highest tower of London, as in a double sense he had promised him for the murder of King Edmund to exalt him above all the peers of England. Huntingdon, Malmsbury, and Mat. Westm. write, that suspecting the king's intention to degrade him from his Mercian dukedom, and upbraiding him with his merits, the king enraged caused him to be strangled in the room, and out at a window thrown into the Thames. Another writes,[p] that Eric at the king's command struck off his head. Other great men, though without fault, as duke Norman the son of Leofwin, Ethelward son of duke Agelmar, he put to death at the same time, jealous of their power or familiarity with Edric: and notwithstanding peace, kept still his army; to maintain which, the next year[q] he squeezed out of the English, though now his subjects, not his enemies, seventy-two, some say, eighty-two thousand pound, besides fifteen thousand out of London. Meanwhile great war arose at Carr, between Uthred son of Waldef, earl of Northumberland, and Malcolm son of Kened king of Scots, with whom held Eugenius king of Lothian. But here Simeon the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain Uthred by Canute two years before, and set Iric in his place: Iric

o Post Christ. 1017 Sim Dun. Sax. an. p Encom. Em. Ingulf.

q Post Christ. 1018. Sim. Dun. Huntingd. Mat. West.

therefore it must needs be, not Uthred, who managed this war against the Scots. About which time at a convention of Danes at Oxford, it was agreed on both parties to keep the laws of Edgar; Mat. Westm. saith of Edward the elder. The next[r] year Canute sailed into Denmark, and there abode all winter. Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. say, he went thither to repress the Swedes; and that the night before a battle was fought with them, Godwin, stealing out of the camp with his English, assaulted the Swedes, and had got the victory ere Canute in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprise, though against discipline, he had the English in more esteem ever after. In the spring, at his return into England,[s] he held in the time of Easter a great assembly at Chichester, and the same year was with Turkill the Dane at the dedication of a church by them built at Assendune, in the place of that great victory which won him the crown. But suspecting his greatness, the year following banished him the realm, and found occasion to do the like by Iric the Northumbrian earl upon the same jealousy. [t]Nor yet content with his conquest of England, though now above ten years enjoyed, he passed with fifty ships into Norway, dispossessed Olave their king, and subdued the land,[u] first with great sums of money sent the year before to gain him a party, then coming with an army to compel the rest. Thence returning king of England, Denmark, and Norway, yet not secure in his mind,[x] under colour of an embassy sent into banishment Hacun a powerful Dane, who had married the daughter of his sister Gunildis, having conceived some suspicion of his practices against him: but such course was taken, that he never came back; either perishing at sea, or slain by contrivance the next[y] year in Orkney. Canute therefore having thus established himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, sailing[z] again into Denmark, went thence to Rome, and offered there to St. Peter great gifts of gold and silver, and other precious things; besides the usual tribute of Romscot, giving great alms by the way,[a] both thither and back again, freeing many places of custom and toll with great expense, where strangers were wont to pay, having vowed great amendment of life at the sepulchre of Peter and Paul, and to his whole people in a large letter written from Rome yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a church to St. Edmund at Bury, whom his ancestors had slain,[b] threw out the secular priests, who had intruded there, and placed monks in their stead; then going into Scotland, subdued and received homage of Malcolm, and two other kings there, Melbeath and Jermare. Three years[d] after, having made Swane, his supposed son by Algiva of Northampton, duke Alfhelm's daughter, (for others say the son of a priest, whom Algiva barren[e] had got ready at the time of her feigned labour,) king of Norway, and Hardecnute, his son by Emma, king of Denmark; and designed Harold, his son by Algiva of Northampton, king of England; died[f] at Shaftsbury, and was buried at Winchester in the old monastery. This king, as appears, ended better than he began; for though he seems to have had no hand in the death of Ironside, but detested the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, delivered them to deserved punishment, yet he spared Edric, whom he knew to be the prime author of that detestable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquished, then extinguished, Edmund for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with a changed countenance, "traitor to God and me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee, to have slain thy master my confederate brother, and the Lord's anointed." [g]Whereupon although present and private execution was in rage done upon Edric, yet he himself in cool blood scrupled not to make away the brother and children of Edmund, who had better right to be the Lord's anointed here than himself. When he had obtained in England what he desired, no wonder if he sought the love of his conquered subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and state for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married Emma, and that Richard duke of Normandy her brother might the less care what became of Alfred and Edward, her sons by King Ethelred. He commanded to be observed the ancient Saxon laws, called afterwards the laws of Edward the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observed them. His letter from Rome professes, if he had done aught amiss in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his officers and viscounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any person, or to enrich the king, they suffer injustice to be done in the land; commands his treasurers to pay all his debts ere his return home, which was by Denmark, to compose matters there; and what his letter professed, he performed all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attained the utmost of their ambitions and desires; then to think God appeased by their seeking to bribe him with a share, however large, of their ill-gotten spoils; and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit Canute was famous through Europe, and much honoured of Conrade the emperor, then at Rome, with rich gifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from toll and custom. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as Huntingdon reports it, with great scene of circumstance, and emphatical expression, to shew the small power of kings in respect of God;

r Post Christ. 1019. Sim. Dun.
s Post Christ. 1020. Sim. Dun.
t Post Christ. 1021. Sim. Dun. Malms.
u Post Christ. 1028. Sim. Dun.
x Post Christ. 1029. Sim. Dun.
y Post Christ. 1030. Sim. Dun.
z Post Christ. 1031. Sim. Dun.
a Hunting l.
b Post Christ. 1032. Sim. Dun.
c Huntingd.
d Post Christ. 1035. Sim. Dun.
e Florent.
f Florent.
g Malms.

which, unless to court-parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caused his royal seat to be set on the shore, while the tide was coming in; and with all the state that royalty could put into his countenance, said thus to the sea; "Thou sea belongest to me, and the land whereon I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunished resisted my commands: I charge thee come no further upon my land, neither presume to wet the feet of thy sovereign lord." But the sea, as before, came rolling on, and without reverence both wet and dashed him. Whereat the king quickly rising wished all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous power of a king, and that none indeed deserved the name of a king, but he whose eternal laws both heaven, earth, and sea obey. A truth so evident of itself, as I said before, that unless to shame his court-flatterers, who would not else be convinced, Canute needed not to have gone wetshod home: the best is, from that time forth he never would wear a crown, esteeming earthly royalty contemptible and vain.

HAROLD

Harold for his swiftness surnamed Harefoot,[h] the son of Canute by Algiva of Northampton, (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a shoemaker's wife, as Swane before of a priest; others of a maidservant, to conceal her barrenness,) in a great assembly at Oxford was by duke Leofric and the Mercians, with the Londoners, according to his father's testament, elected king;[i] but without the regal habiliments, which Ælnot, the archbishop, having in his custody, refused to deliver up, but to the sons of Emma, for which Harold ever after hated the clergy; and (as the clergy are wont thence to infer) all religion. Godwin earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons with him, stood for Hardecnute. Malmsbury saith, that the contest was between Dane and English; that the Danes and Londoners grown now in a manner Danish, were all for Hardecnute: but he being then in Denmark, Harold prevailed, yet so as that the kingdom should be divided between them; the west and south part reserved by Emma for Hardecnute till his return. But Harold, once advanced into the throne, banished Emma his mother-in-law, seized on his father's treasure at Winchester, and there remained. [k] Emma, not holding it safe to abide in Normandy while duke William the bastard was yet under age, retired to Baldwin earl of Flanders. In the mean while Elfred and Edward sons of Ethelred, accompanied with a small number of Norman soldiers in a few ships, coming to visit their mother Emma not yet departed the land, and perhaps to see how the people were inclined to restore them their right, Elfred was sent for by the king then at London; but in his way met at Guilford by earl Godwin, who with all seeming friendship entertained him, was in the night surprised and made prisoner, most of his company put to various sorts of cruel death, decimated twice over; then brought to London, was by the king sent bound to Ely, had his eyes put out by the way, and delivered to the monks there, died soon after in their custody. Malmsbury gives little credit to this story of Elfred, as not chronicled in his time, but rumoured only. Which Emma however hearing sent away her son Edward, who by good hap accompanied not his brother, with all speed into Normandy. But the author of "Encomium Emmæ," who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some monk, yet lived, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation, differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of Harold, that he, not content to have practised in secret (for openly he durst not) against the life of Emma, sought many treacherous ways to get her son within his power; and resolved at length to forge a letter in the name of their mother, inviting them into England, the copy of which letter he produces written to this purpose.

"EMMA in name only queen, to her sons Edward and Elfred imparts motherly salutation. While we severally bewail the death of our lord the king, most dear sons! and while daily you are deprived more and more of the kingdom your inheritance; I admire what counsel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay is a daily strengthening to the reign of your usurper, who incessantly goes about from town to city, gaining the chief nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the power of him who now overrules them. I entreat therefore, that one of you come to me speedily, and privately, to receive from me wholesome counsel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplished. By this messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewel, as dear both as my own heart."

These letters were sent to the princes then in Normandy, by express messengers, with presents also as from their mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. Elfred therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few ships and small numbers about him appearing on the coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of earl Godwin, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. Emma greatly sorrowing for the loss of her son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the nobles her faithfullest adherents into Flanders, had her dwelling assigned at Bruges by the earl; where having remained about two years,[l] she was visited out of Denmark by Hardecnute her son; and he not long had remained with her there, when Harold in England, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the taxing of every port at eight marks of silver to sixteen ships, died at London, some say at

h Florent. Brompton. Huntingd. Mat. West.
i Encom. Em.
k Post Christ. 1036. Sim. Dun.
l Post Christ. 1039. Sim. Dun. Huntingd.

Oxford, and was buried at Winchester. [m] After which, most of the nobility, both Danes and English now agreeing, send embassadors to Hardecnute still at Bruges with his mother, entreating him to come and receive as his right the sceptre; who before midsummer came with sixty ships, and many soldiers out of Denmark.

HARDECNUTE.

Hardecnute received with acclamation, and seated in the throne, first called to mind the injuries done to him or his mother Emma in the time of Harold; sent Alfric archbishop of York, Godwin, and others, with Troud his executioner, to London, commanding them to dig up the body of King Harold, and throw it into a ditch; but by a second order, into the Thames. Whence taken up by a fisherman, and conveyed to a churchyard in London belonging to the Danes, it was interred again with honour. This done, he levied a sore tax, that eight marks to every rower, and twelve to every officer in his fleet, should be paid throughout England: by which time they who were so forward to call him over had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he called to account Godwin earl of Kent, and Leving bishop of Worcester, about the death of Elfred his half brother, which Alfric the archbishop laid to their charge; the king deprived Leving of his bishopric, and gave it to his accuser: but the year following, pacified with a round sum, restored it to Leving. [n] Godwin made his peace by a sumptuous present, a galley with a gilded stem bravely rigged, and eighty soldiers in her, every one with bracelets of gold on each arm, weighing sixteen ounces, helmet, corslet, and hilts of his sword gilded; a Danish curtaxe, listed with gold or silver, hung on his left shoulder, a shield with boss and nails gilded in his left hand, in his right a lance; besides this, he took his oath before the king, that neither of his own counsel or will, but by the command of Harold, he had done what he did, to the putting out Elfred's eyes. The like oath took most of the nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. [o] The next year Hardecnute sending his house-carles, so they called his officers, to gather the tribute imposed; two of them, rigorous in their office, were slain at Worcester by the people; whereat the king enraged sent Leofric duke of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with great forces and commission to slay the citizens, rifle and burn the city, and waste the whole province. Affrighted with such news, all the people fled: the countrymen whither they could, the citizens to a small island in Severn, called Beverege, which they fortified and defended stoutly till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their city they found sacked and burnt; wherewith the king was appeased. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his halfbrethren, though rivals of his crown, he shewed himself always tenderly affectioned; as now towards Edward, who without fear came to him out of Normandy, and with unfeigned kindness received, remained safely and honourably in his court. [p] But Hardecnute the year following, at a feast wherein Osgod a great Danish lord gave his daughter in marriage at Lambeth to Prudon another potent Dane, in the midst of his mirth, sound and healthful to sight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at Winchester beside his father. He was it seems a great lover of good cheer; sitting at table four times a day, with great variety of dishes and superfluity to all comers. Whereas, saith Huntingdon, in our time princes in their houses made but one meal a day. He gave his sister Gunildis, a virgin of rare beauty, in marriage to Henry the Alman emperor; and to send her forth pompously, all the nobility contributed their jewels and richest ornaments. But it may seem a wonder, that our historians, if they deserve that name, should in a matter so remarkable, and so near their own time, so much differ. Huntingdon relates, against the credit of all other records, that Hardecnute thus dead, the English rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the Danish yoke, sent over to Elfred, the elder son of Emma by King Ethelred, of whom we heard but now that he died a prisoner at Ely, sent thither by Harold six years before; that he came now out of Normandy, with a great number of men, to receive the crown; that earl Godwin, aiming to have his daughter queen of England, by marrying her to Edward a simple youth, for he thought Elfred of a higher spirit than to accept her, persuaded the nobles, that Elfred had brought over too many Normans, had promised them land here, that it was not safe to suffer a warlike and subtle nation to take root in the land, that these were to be so handled as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the king: thereupon by common consent of the nobles, both Elfred and his company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for Edward out of Normandy, with hostages to be left there of their faithful intentions to make him king, and their desires not to bring over with him many Normans; that Edward at their call came then first out of Normandy; whereas all others agree, that he came voluntarily over to visit Hardecnute, as is before said, and was remaining then in court at the time of his death. For Hardecnute dead, saith Malmsbury, Edward, doubting greatly his own safety, determined to rely wholly on the advice and favour of earl Godwin; desiring therefore by messengers to have private speech with him, the earl a while deliberated: at last assenting, prince Edward came, and would have fallen at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help, to convey him some whither out of the land. Godwin soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himself the son of Ethelred, the grandchild of Edgar, right heir to the crown at full age; not to think of flying, but of reigning, which might easily be brought about, if he would

[m] Post Christ. 1040. Sim. Dun. Malms. [n] Malms.

[o] Post Christ. 1041 Sim Dun [p] Post Christ. 1042. Sim. Dun.

follow his counsel; then setting forth the power and authority which he had in England, promised it should be all his to set him on the throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his house, and to marry his daughter. Edward, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to whatever Godwin required. An assembly of states thereupon met at Gillingham, where Edward pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of Godwin was accepted. Others, as Brompton, with no probability write, that Godwin at this time was fled into Denmark, for what he had done to Elfred, returned and submitted himself to Edward then king, was by him charged openly with the death of Elfred, and not without much ado, by the intercession of Leofric and other peers, received at length into favour.

EDWARD the Confessor.

Glad were the English delivered so unexpectedly from their Danish masters, and little thought how near another conquest was hanging over them. Edward, the Easter following,[q] crowned at Winchester, the same year accompanied with earl Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, came again thither on a sudden, and by their counsel seized on the treasure of his mother Emma. The cause alleged is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have loved Ethelred her former husband, and thereafter the children by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to monasteries. [r] About this time also King Edward, according to promise, took to wife Edith or Egith earl Godwin's daughter, commended much for beauty, modesty, and beyond what is requisite in a woman, learning. Ingulf, then a youth lodging in the court with his father, saw her oft, and coming from the school, was sometimes met by her and posed, not in grammar only, but in logic. Edward the next year but one[s] made ready a strong navy at Sandwich against Magnus king of Norway, who threatened an invasion, had not Swane king of Denmark diverted him by a war at home to defend his own land;[t] not out of good will to Edward, as may be supposed, who at the same time expressed none to the Danes, banishing Gunildis the niece of Canute with her two sons, and Osgod by surname Clapa, out of the realm. [u] Swane, overpowered by Magnus, sent the next year to entreat aid of King Edward; Godwin gave counsel to send him fifty ships fraught with soldiers; but Leofric and the general voice gainsaying, none were sent. [x] The next year Harold Harvager, king of Norway, sending embassadors, made peace with King Edward; but an earthquake at Worcester and Derby, pestilence and famine in many places, much lessened the enjoyment thereof. [y] The next year Henry the emperor, displeased with Baldwin earl of Flanders, had straitened him with a great army by land; and sending to King Edward, desired him with his ships to hinder what he might his escape by sea. The king therefore, with a great navy, coming to Sandwich, there staid till the emperor came to an agreement with earl Baldwin. Mean while Swane son of earl Godwin, who, not permitted to marry Edgiva the abbess of Chester by him deflowered, had left the land, came out of Denmark with eight ships, feigning a desire to return into the king's favour; and Beorn his cousin german, who commanded part of the king's navy, promised to intercede, that his earldom might be restored him. Godwin therefore and Beorn with a few ships, the rest of the fleet gone home, coming to Pevensey, (but Godwin soon departed thence in pursuit of twenty-nine Danish ships, who had got much booty on the coast of Essex, and perished by tempest in their return,) Swane with his ships comes to Beorn at Pevensey, guilefully requests him to sail with him to Sandwich, and reconcile him to the king, as he had promised. Beorn mistrusting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his ship attended by three only of his servants: but Swane, set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the king, took Beorn now in his power, and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, slew and buried him in a deep ditch. After which the men of Hastings took six of his ships, and brought them to the king at Sandwich; with the other two he escaped into Flanders, there remaining till Aldred bishop of Worcester by earnest mediation wrought his peace with the king. About this time King Edward sent to pope Leo, desiring absolution from a vow which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to Rome, if God vouchsafed him to reign in England; the pope dispensed with his vow, but not without the expense of his journey given to the poor, and a monastery built or re-edified to St. Peter; who in vision to a monk, as is said, chose Westminster, which King Edward thereupon rebuilding endowed with large privileges and revenues. The same year, saith Florent of Worcester, certain Irish pirates with thirty-six ships entered the mouth of Severn, and with the aid of Griffin prince of South Wales, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the river Wye, burnt Dunedham, and slew all the inhabitants they found. Against whom Aldred bishop of Worcester, with a few out of Gloucester and Herefordshire, went out in haste: but Griffin, to whom the Welsh and Irish had privily sent messengers, came down upon the English with his whole power by night, and early in the morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. [a] The next year but one, King Edward remitted the Danish tax which had continued thirty-eight years heavy upon the land since Ethelred first paid it to the Danes, and what remained thereof in his treasury he sent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the English; while studying gratitude to those Normans, who to him in exile had been helpful, he called them over to public offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purse; by this means exasperating either

q Post Christ. 1043. Sim. Dun.
r Malms.
s Post Christ. 1045. Sim. Dun.
t Post Christ. 1046. Sim. Dun.
u Post Christ. 1047. Sim. Dun.
x Post Christ. 1048. Sim. Dun.
y Post Christ. 1049. Sim. Dun.
z Malms.
a Post Christ. 1051. Sim. Dun. Ingulf.

nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman conquest. Robert a monk of that country, who had been serviceable to him there in time of need, he made bishop, first of London, then of Canterbury; William his chaplain, bishop of Dorchester. Then began the English to lay aside their own ancient customs, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great peers to speak French in their houses, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility, ashamed of their own: a presage of their subjection shortly to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly. But that which gave beginning to many troubles ensuing happened this year, and upon this occasion. [b] Eustace earl of Boloign, father of the famous Godfrey who won Jerusalem from the Saracens, and husband to Goda the king's sister, having been to visit King Edward, and returning by Canterbury to take ship at Dover, one of his harbingers, insolently seeking to lodge by force in a house there, provoked so the master thereof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The count with his whole train going to the house where his servant had been killed, slew both the slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the townsmen running to arms requited him with the slaughter of twenty more of his servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping, ran back with clamour to the king; whom, seconded by other Norman courtiers, he stirred up to great anger against the citizens of Canterbury. Earl Godwin in haste is sent for, the cause related and much aggravated by the king against that city, the earl commanded to raise forces, and use the citizens thereof as enemies. Godwin, sorry to see strangers more favoured of the king than his native people, answered, that "it were better to summon first the chief men of the town into the king's court, to charge them with sedition, where both parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted; if otherwise, by fine or loss of life might satisfy the king, whose peace they had broken, and the count whom they had injured: till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile punishment them of his own country unheard, whom his office was rather to defend." The king displeased with his refusal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an assembly of all the peers to be held at Gloucester, where the matter might be fully tried; the assembly was full and frequent according to summons: but Godwin mistrusting his own cause, or the violence of his adversaries, with his two sons, Swane and Harold, and a great power gathered out of his own and his sons' earldoms, which contained most of the south-east and west parts of England, came no farther than Beverstan, giving out that their forces were to go against the Welsh, who intended an irruption into Herefordshire; and Swane under that pretence lay with part of his army thereabout. The Welsh understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before the king, left Godwin detected of false accusation in great hatred to all the assembly. Leofric therefore and Siward, dukes of great power, the former in Mercia, the other in all parts beyond Humber, both ever faithful to the king, send privily with speed to raise the forces of their provinces. Which Godwin not knowing sent bold to King Edward, demanding count Eustace and his followers, together with those Boloignians, who, as Simeon writes, held a castle in the jurisdiction of Canterbury. The king, as then having but little force at hand, entertained him a while with treaties and delays, till his summoned army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. Godwin, thus matched, commanded his sons not to begin fight against the king; begun with, not to give ground. The king's forces were the flower of those counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: but Leofric and the wiser sort, detesting civil war,[c] brought the matter to this accord; that hostages given on either side, the cause should be again debated at London. Thither the king and lords coming with their army, sent to Godwin and his sons (who with their powers were come as far as Southwark) commanding their appearance unarmed with only twelve attendants, and that the rest of their soldiers they should deliver over to the king. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction denied; but to dismiss their soldiers refused not, nor in aught else to obey the king as far as might stand with honour and the just regard of their safety. This answer not pleasing the king, an edict was presently issued forth, that Godwin and his sons within five days depart the land. He, who perceived now his numbers to diminish, readily obeyed, and with his wife and three sons, Tosti, Swane, and Gyrtha, with as much treasure as their ship could carry, embarked at Thorney, sailed into Flanders to earl Baldwin, whose daughter Judith Tosti had married: for Wulnod his fourth son was then a hostage to the king in Normandy; his other two, Harold and Leofwin, taking ship at Bristow, in a vessel that lay ready there belonging to Swane, passed into Ireland. King Edward, pursuing his displeasure, divorced his wife Edith earl Godwin's daughter, sending her despoiled of all her ornaments to Warewel with one waiting-maid; to be kept in custody by his sister the abbess there. [d] His reason of so doing was as harsh as his act, that she only, while her nearest relations were in banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home. After this, William duke of Normandy, with a great number of followers, coming into England, was by King Edward honourably entertained, and led about the cities and castles, as it were to shew him what ere long was to be his own, (though at that time, saith Ingulf, no mention thereof passed between them,) then, after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismissed, he returned home. [e] The next year Queen Emma died, and was buried at Winchester. The chronicle attributed to John Brompton a Yorkshire abbot, but rather of some nameless author living under Edward III, or later, reports that the year before, by Robert the archbishop she was accused both of consenting to the death of her son Elfred, and of preparing poison for Edward also; lastly of too

b Malms. c Sim. Dun. d Malms. e Post Christ. 1052. Sim. Dun.

much familiarity with Alwin bishop of Winchester: that to approve her innocence, praying overnight to St Swithune, she offered to pass blindfold between certain ploughshares redhot, according to the ordalian law, which without harm she performed; that the king thereupon received her to honour, and from her and the bishop, penance for his credulity; that the archbishop, ashamed of his accusation, fled out of England: which, besides the silence of ancienter authors, (for the bishop fled not till a year after,) brings the whole story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be proved, that in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning ploughshares, Queen Emma gave to the abbey of St. Swithune nine manors, and bishop Alwin other nine. About this time Griffin prince of South Wales wasted Herefordshire; to oppose whom the people of that country, with many Normans, garrisoned in the castle of Hereford, went out in arms, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driven away by the Welsh. Soon after which Harold and Leofwin, sons of Godwin, coming into Severn with many ships, in the confines of Somerset and Dorsetshire, spoiled many villages, and resisted by those of Somerset and Devonshire, slew in a fight more than thirty of their principal men, many of the common sort, and returned with much booty to their fleet. [f] King Edward on the other side made ready above sixty ships at Sandwich well stored with men and provision, under the conduct of Odo and Radulf two of his Norman kindred, enjoining them to find out Godwin, whom he heard to be at sea. To quicken them, he himself lay on shipboard, ofttimes watched and sailed up and down in search of those pirates. But Godwin, whether in a mist, or by other accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of Kent, and dispersing several messengers abroad, by fair words allured the chief men of Kent, Surrey, and Essex, to his party; which news coming to the king's fleet at Sandwich, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without effect to London. Godwin, advertised of this, forthwith sailed to the Isle of Wight; where at length his two sons Harold and Leofwin finding him, with their united navy lay on the coast, forbearing other hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh victuals from land as they needed. Thence as one fleet they set forward to Sandwich, using all fair means by the way to increase their numbers both of mariners and soldiers. The king then at London, startled at these tidings, gave speedy order to raise forces in all parts that had not revolted from him; but now too late, for Godwin within a few days after with his ships or galleys came up the river Thames to Southwark, and till the tide returned had conference with the Londoners; whom by fair speeches (for he was held a good speaker in those times) he brought to his bent. The tide returned, and none upon the bridge hindering, he rowed up in his galleys along the south bank; where his land-army, now come to him, in array of battle now stood on the shore; then turning toward the north side of the river, where the king's galleys lay in some readiness, and land forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the soldiers on either side soon declared their resolution not to fight English against English. Thence coming to treaty, the king and the earl reconciled, both armies were dissolved, Godwin and his sons restored to their former dignities, except Swane, who, touched in conscience for the slaughter of Beorn his kinsman, was gone barefoot to Jerusalem, and, returning home, died by sickness or Saracens in Lycia; his wife Edith, Godwin's daughter, King Edward took to him again, dignified as before. Then were the Normans, who had done many unjust things under the king's authority, and given him ill counsel against his people, banished the realm; some of them, not blamable, permitted to stay. Robert archbishop of Canterbury, William of London, Ulf of Lincoln, all Normans, hardly escaping with their followers, got to sea. The archbishop went with his complaint to Rome; but returning, died in Normandy at the same monastery from whence he came. Osbern and Hugh surrendered their castles, and by permission of Leofric passed through his countries with their Normans to Macbeth king of Scotland. [g] The year following, Rhese, brother to Griffin, prince of South Wales, who by inroads had done much damage to the English, taken at Bulendun, was put to death by the king's appointment, and his head brought to him at Gloucester. The same year at Winchester, on the second holy day of Easter, earl Godwin, sitting with the king at table, sunk down suddenly in his seat as dead: his three sons, Harold, Tosti, and Girtha, forthwith carried him into the king's chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had so seized him, that the fifth day after he expired. The Normans who hated Godwin give out, saith Malmsbury, that mention happening to be made of Elfred, and the king thereat looking sourly upon Godwin, he, to vindicate himself, uttered these words: "Thou, O king, at every mention made of thy brother Elfred, lookest frowningly upon me; but let God not suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I be guilty of aught done against his life or thy advantage;" that after these words, choaked with the morsel taken, he sunk down and recovered not. His first wife was the sister of Canute, a woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying up English youths and maids to sell in Denmark, whereof she made great gain; but ere long was struck with thunder and died. [h] The year ensuing, Siward earl of Northumberland, with a great number of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet at the king's appointment, made an expedition into Scotland, vanquished the tyrant Macbeth, slaying many thousands of Scots with those Normans that went thither, and placed Malcolm son of the Cumbrian king in his stead; yet not without loss of his own son, and many other both English and Danes. Told of his son's death,[i] he asked whether he received his death's wound before or behind. When it was answered, before; "I am glad," saith he, "and should not else have thought him, though my son, worthy of burial." In the mean while

f Malms. g Post Christ. 1053. Sim. Dun. h Post Christ. 1054. Sim. Dun. i Huntingd.

King Edward, being without issue to succeed him, sent Aldred bishop of Winchester with great presents to the emperor, entreating him to prevail with the king of Hungary, that Edward, the remaining son of his brother Edmund Ironside, might be sent into England. Siward, but one year surviving his great victory, died at York;[k] reported by Huntingdon a man of giant like stature; and by his own demeanour at point of death manifested, of a rough and mere soldierly mind. For much disdaining to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caused himself completely armed, and weaponed with battleaxe and shield, to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of war, as they are such, but as they serve to end war soonest by a victorious peace. His earldom the king bestowed on Tosti the son of earl Godwin: and soon after, in a convention held at London, banished without visible cause, Huntingdon saith for treason, Algar the son of Leofric; who, passing into Ireland, soon returned with eighteen ships to Griffin prince of South Wales, requesting his aid against King Edward. He, assembling his powers, entered with him into Herefordshire; whom Radulf a timorous captain, son to the king's sister, not by Eustace, but a former husband, met two miles distant from Hereford; and having horsed the English, who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he with his French and Normans beginning to fly, taught the English by his example. Griffin and Algar, following the chase, slew many, wounded more, entered Hereford, slew seven canons defending the minster, burnt the monastery and reliques, then the city; killing some, leading captive others of the citizens, returned with great spoils; whereof King Edward having notice gathered a great army at Gloucester under the conduct of Harold, now earl of Kent, who strenuously pursuing Griffin entered Wales, and encamped beyond Straddale. But the enemy flying before him farther into the country, leaving there the greater part of his army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offered, with the rest he returned, and fortified Hereford with a wall and gates. Meanwhile Griffin and Algar, dreading the diligence of Harold, after many messages to and fro, concluded a peace with him. Algar, discharging his fleet with pay at West-Chester, came to the king, and was restored to his earldom. But Griffin with breach of faith, the next year[l] set upon Leofgar the bishop of Hereford and his clerks then at a place called Glastbrig, with Agelnorth viscount of the shire, and slew them; but Leofric, Harold, and King Edward, by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduced him to peace. [m] The next year, Edward son of Edmund Ironside, for whom his uncle King Edward had sent to the emperor, came out of Hungary, designed successor to the crown; but within a few days after his coming died at London, leaving behind him Edgar Atheling his son, Margaret and Christiana his daughters. About the same time also died earl Leofric in a good old age, a man of no less virtue than power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his country, happily wedded to Godiva, a woman of great praise. His son Algar found less favour with King Edward, again banished the year after his father's death,[n] but he again by the aid of Griffin and a fleet from Norway, maugre the king, soon recovered his earldom. [o] The next year Malcolm king of Scots, coming to visit King Edward, was brought on his way by Tosti the Northumbrian, to whom he swore brotherhood: yet the next year but one,[p] while Tosti was gone to Rome with Aldred archbishop of York for his pall, this sworn brother, taking advantage of his absence, roughly harassed Northumberland. The year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent inroads and robberies of Griffin, whom no bonds of faith could restrain, King Edward sent against him after Christmas Harold now duke of West-Saxons,[q] with no great body of horse, from Gloucester, where he then kept his court; whose coming heard of Griffin not daring to abide, nor in any part of his land holding himself secure, escaped hardly by sea, ere Harold, coming to Rudeland, burnt his palace and ships there, returning to Gloucester the same day. [r] But by the middle of May setting out with a fleet from Bristow, he sailed about the most part of Wales, and met by his brother Tosti with many troops of horse, as the king had appointed, began to waste the country; but the Welsh giving pledges, yielded themselves, promised to become tributary, and banish Griffin their prince; who lurking somewhere was the next year[s] taken and slain by Griffin prince of North Wales; his head with the head and tackle of his ship sent to Harold, by him to the king, who of his gentleness made Blechgent and Rithwallon, or Rivallon, his two brothers, princes in his stead; they to Harold in behalf of the king swore fealty and tribute. [t] Yet the next year Harold having built a fair house at a place called Portasceith in Monmouthshire, and stored it with provision, that the king might lodge there in time of hunting, Caradoc, the son of Griffin slain the year before,[u] came with a number of men, slew all he found there, and took away the provision. Soon after which the Northumbrians in a tumult at York beset the palace of Tosti their earl, slew more than two hundred of his soldiers and servants, pillaged his treasure, and put him to fly for his life. The cause of this insurrection they alleged to be, for that the queen Edith had commanded, in her brother Tosti's behalf, Gospatric a nobleman of that country to be treacherously slain in the king's court; and that Tosti himself the year before with like treachery had caused to be slain in his chamber Gamel and Ulf, two other of their noblemen, besides his intolerable exactions and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole country, coming up to complain of their grievances, met with Harold at Northampton, whom the king at Tosti's request had sent to pacify the Northumbrians; but they laying open the cruelty of his government,

k Post Christ. 1055. Sim. Dun.
l Post Christ. 1056 Sim Dun.
m Post Christ. 1057. Sim. Dun.
n Post Christ. 1058. Sim. Dun.
o Post Christ 1059.
p Post Christ. 1061. Sim. Dun.
q Post Christ. 1062. Sim. Dun.
r Post Christ. 1063. Sim. Dun.
s Post Christ. 1064. Sim. Dun.
t Post Christ. 1065. Sim. Dun.
u Camden.

and their own birthright of freedom not to endure the tyranny of any governor whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and Harold hearing reason, all the accomplices of Tosti were expelled the earldom. He himself, banished the realm, went into Flanders; Morcar the son of Algar made earl in his stead. Huntingdon tells another cause of Tosti's banishment, that one day at Windsor, while Harold reached the cup to King Edward, Tosti, envying to see his younger brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his hair; the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants rushing between, and Tosti forbidden the court. He with continued fury riding to Hereford, where Harold had many servants, preparing an entertainment for the king, came to the house and set upon them with his followers; then lopping off hands, arms, legs of some, heads of others, threw them into buts of wine, meath, or ale, which were laid in for the king's drinking: and at his going away charged them to send him this word, that of other fresh meats he might bring with him to his farm what he pleased, but of souse he should find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous act the king pronounced him banished; that the Northumbrians, taking advantage at the king's displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be revenged of his cruelties done to themselves. But this no way agrees; for why then should Harold or the king so much labour with the Northumbrians to readmit him, if he were a banished man for his crimes done before? About this time it happened, that Harold putting to sea one day for his pleasure,[x] in a fisherboat, from his manor at Boseham in Sussex, caught with a tempest too far off lands was carried into Normandy; and by the earl of Pontiew, on whose coast he was driven, at his own request brought to duke William; who, entertaining him with great courtesy, so far won him, as to promise the duke by oath of his own accord, not only the castle of Dover then in his tenure, but the kingdom also after King's Edward's death to his utmost endeavour, thereupon betrothing the duke's daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say, that King Edward himself, after the death of Edward his nephew, sent Harold thither on purpose to acquaint duke William with his intention to bequeath him his kingdom:[y] but Malmsbury accounts the former story to be the truer. Ingulf writes, that King Edward now grown old, and perceiving Edgar his nephew both in body and mind unfit to govern, especially against the pride and insolence of Godwin's sons, who would never obey him; duke William on the other side of high merit, and his kinsman by the mother, had sent Robert archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint the duke with his purpose, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that King Edward upon such considerations had sent one or other; but archbishop Robert was fled the land, and dead many years before. Eadmer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the king's permission or connivance, to get free his brother Wulnod and nephew Hacun the son of Swane, whom the king had taken hostages of Godwin, and sent into Normandy; that King Edward foretold Harold, his journey thither would be to the detriment of all England, and his own reproach; that duke William then acquainted Harold, how Edward ere his coming to the crown had promised, if ever he attained it, to leave duke William successor after him. Last of these Matthew Paris writes, that Harold, to get free of duke William, affirmed his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret confederacy: so variously are these things reported. After this King Edward grew sickly,[z] yet as he was able kept his Christmas at London, and was at the dedication of St. Peter's church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt; but on the eve of Epiphany, or Twelfthtide, deceased much lamented, and in the church was entombed. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectured by his words in anger to a peasant, who had crossed his game, (for with hunting and hawking he was much delighted,) "by God and God's mother," said he, "I shall do you as shrewd a turn if I can;" observing that law maxim, the best of all his successors, "that the king of England can do no wrong." The softness of his nature gave growth to factions of those about him, Normans especially and English; these complaining, that Robert the archbishop was a sower of dissension between the king and his people, a traducer of the English; the other side, that Godwin and his sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the king, usurping to themselves equal share in the government, ofttimes making sport with his simplicity;[a] that through their power in the land, they made no scruple to kill men of whose inheritance they took a liking, and so to take possession. The truth is, that Godwin and his sons did many things boisterously and violently, much against the king's mind; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his wife Edith Godwin's daughter in such aversation, as in bed, never to have touched her; whether for this cause, or mistaken chastity, not commendable; to inquire further, is not material. His laws held good and just, and long after desired by the English of their Norman kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at table not excessive, at festivals nothing puffed up with the costly robes he wore, which his queen with curious art had woven for him in gold. He was full of almsdeeds, and exhorted the monks to like charity. He is said to be the first English king that cured the disease thence called the king's evil; yet Malmsbury blames them who attribute that cure to his royalty, not to his sanctity; said also to have cured certain blind men with the water wherein he hath washed his hands. A little before his death, lying speechless two days, the third day, after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true vision, not an illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout monks, whom he knew in Normandy to have

x Malms.

y Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Noricor.

z Post Christ. 1066. Sim. Dun.

a Huntingd.

lived and died well, who appearing told him they were sent messengers from God to foretel, that because the great ones of England, dukes, lords, bishops, and abbots, were not ministers of God, but of the devil, God had delivered the land to their enemies; and when he desired, that he might reveal this vision, to the end they might repent, it was answered, they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them: at this relation others trembling, Stigand the simonious archbishop, whom Edward much to blame had suffered many years to sit primate in the church, is said to have laughed, as at the feverish dream of a doting old man; but the event proved it true.

HAROLD, son of Earl Godwin.

Harold, whether by King Edward a little before his death ordained successor to the crown, as Simeon of Durham and [b] others affirm; or by the prevalence of his faction, excluding Edgar the right heir, grandchild to Edmund Ironside, as Malmsbury and Huntingdon agree; no sooner was the funeral of King Edward ended, but on the same day was elected and crowned king: and no sooner placed in the throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavoured to make good laws, repealed bad, became a great patron to church and churchmen, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evildoers, charged all his officers to punish thieves, robbers, and all disturbers of the peace, while he himself by sea and land laboured in the defence of his country: so good an actor is ambition. In the mean while a blazing star, seven mornings together, about the end of April was seen to stream terribly, not only over England, but other parts of the world; foretelling here, as was thought, the great changes approaching: plainliest prognosticated by Elmer, a monk of Malmsbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own legs for soaring too high. He in his youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted wings to his hands and feet; with these on the top of a tower, spread out to gather air, he flew more than a furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his limbs; yet so conceited of his art, that he attributed the cause of his fall to the want of a tail, as birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration, yet for the strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing, as I found it placed in my author. But to digress no farther: Tosti the king's brother coming from Flanders, full of envy at his younger brother's advancement to the crown, resolved what he might to trouble his reign; forcing therefore them of Wight Isle to contribution, he sailed thence to Sandwich, committing piracies on the coast between. Harold, then residing at London, with a great number of ships drawn together, and of horse troops by land, prepares in person for Sandwich: whereof Tosti having notice directs his course with sixty ships towards Lindsey,[c] taking with him all the seamen he found, willing or unwilling; where he burnt many villages, and slew many of the inhabitants; but Edwin the Mercian duke, and Morcar his brother, the Northumbrian earl, with their forces on either side, soon drove him out of the country. Who thence betook him to Malcolm the Scottish king, and with him abode the whole summer. About the same time duke William sending embassadors to admonish Harold of his promise and oath, to assist him in his plea to the kingdom, he made answer, that by the death of his daughter betrothed to him on that condition, he was absolved of his oath;[d] or not dead, he could not take her now an outlandish woman, without consent of the realm; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of the states, he had sworn away the right of the kingdom; that what he swore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner then his prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the duke, to require or expect of him the foregoing of a kingdom, conferred upon him with universal favour and acclamation of the people. To this flat denial he added contempt, sending the messengers back, saith Matthew Paris, on maimed horses. The duke, thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the pope, setting forth the justice of his cause; which Harold, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the ways to Rome were stopped, sought not to do. Duke William, besides the promise and oath of Harold, alleged that King Edward, by the advice of Seward, Godwin himself, and Stigand the archbishop, had given him the right of succession, and had sent him the son and nephew of Godwin, pledges of the gift: the pope sent to duke William, after this demonstration of his right, a consecrated banner. Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an army of tall and stout soldiers, under captains of great skill and mature age, came in August to the port of St. Valeric. Meanwhile Harold from London comes to Sandwich, there expecting his navy; which also coming, he sails to the Isle of Wight; and having heard of duke William's preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the coast, and foot forces every where in fit places to guard the shore. But ere the middle of September, provision failing when it was most needed, both fleet and army return home. When on a sudden, Harold Harvager king of Norway, with a navy of more than five hundred great ships,[e] (others lessen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand,) appears at the mouth of Tine; to whom earl Tosti with his ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting set sail with all speed, and entered the river Humber. Thence turning into Ouse, as far as Rical, landed, and won York by assault. At these tidings Harold with all his power hastes thitherward; but ere his coming, Edwin and Morcar at Fulford by York, on the north side of Ouse, about the feast of St. Matthew had given them battle; successfully at first, but overborn at length with numbers; and forced to turn their backs, more of them perished in the river, than in the fight. The Norwegians taking with them

b Hoved. Florent. c Malms.

d Eadmer. e Malms. Matt. Paris.

five hundred hostages out of York, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retired to their ships. But the fifth day after, King Harold with a great and well-appointed army coming to York, and at Stamford bridge, or Battle bridge on Darwent, assailing the Norwegians, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them, with Harvager their king, and Tosti his own brother.[f] But Olave the king's son, and Paul earl of Orkney, left with many soldiers to guard the ships, surrendering themselves with hostages, and oath given never to return as enemies, he suffered freely to depart with twenty ships, and the small remnant of their army. [g]One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgotten, who with incredible valour keeping the bridge a long hour against the whole English army, with his single resistance delayed their victory; and scorning offered life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an arrow; and by his fall opened the passage of pursuit to a complete victory. Wherewith Harold lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former shows of popularity, defrauded his soldiers their due and well-deserved share of the spoils. While these things passed in Northumberland, duke William lay still at St. Valerie; his ships were ready, but the wind served not for many days; which put the soldiery into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky sign of their success; at last the wind came favourable, the duke first under sail awaited the rest at anchor, till all coming forth, the whole fleet of nine hundred ships with a prosperous gale arrived at Hastings. At his going out of the boat by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the omen,[h] a soldier standing by said aloud, that their duke had taken possession of England. Landed, he restrained his army from waste and spoil, saying that they ought to spare what was their own. But these things are related of Alexander and Cæsar, and I doubt thence borrowed by the monks to inlay their story. The duke for fifteen days after landing kept his men quiet within the camp, having taken the castle of Hastings, or built a fortress there. Harold secure the while, and proud of his new victory, thought all his enemies now under foot: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him that duke William of Normandy with a great multitude of horse and foot, slingers and archers, besides other choice auxiliaries which he had hired in France, was arrived at Pevensey. Harold, who had expected him all the summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was October, with his forces much diminished after two sore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to London. Thence not tarrying for supplies, which were on their way towards him, hurries into Sussex, (for he was always in haste since the day of his coronation,) and ere the third part of his army could be well put in order, finds the duke about nine miles from Hastings, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his enemies: them discovered, such the duke causing to be led about, and after well filled with meat and drink, sent back. They not otherwise brought word, that the duke's army were most of them priests; for they saw their faces all over shaven; the English then using to let grow on their upper lip large mustachios, as did anciently the Britons. The king laughing answered, that they were not priests, but valiant and hardy soldiers. Therefore said Girtha his brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his age, "Forbear thou thyself to fight, who art obnoxious to duke William by oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of battle, who may justly fight in the defence of our country; thou, reserved to fitter time, mayst either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead." The king not hearkening to this, lest it might seem to argue fear in him or a bad cause, with like resolution rejected the offers of duke William sent to him by a monk before the battle, with this only answer hastily delivered, "Let God judge between us." The offers were these, that Harold would either lay down the sceptre, or hold it of him, or try his title with him by single combat in sight of both armies, or refer it to the pope. These rejected, both sides prepared to fight the next morning, the English from singing and drinking all night, the Normans from confession of their sins, and communion of the host. The English were in a strait disadvantageous place, so that many, discouraged with their ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slipped away before the onset, the rest in close order, with their battleaxes and shields, made an impenetrable squadron: the king himself with his brothers on foot stood by the royal standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwoven with gold and precious stones. The Norman foot, most bowmen, made the foremost front, on either side wings of horse somewhat behind. The duke arming, and his corslet given him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, "The strength of my dukedom will be turned now into a kingdom." Then the whole army singing the song of Rowland, the remembrance of whose exploits might hearten them, imploring lastly divine help, the battle began; and was fought sorely on either side: but the main body of English foot by no means would be broken, till the duke, causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into open disorder, then turned suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought their overthrow; yet so they died not unmanfully, but turning oft upon their enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and filled up a great ditch with their carcasses. Thus hung the victory wavering on either side from the third hour of day to evening; when Harold having maintained the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an arrow, fell at length, and left his soldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied enemy. With Harold fell also his two brothers, Leofwin and Girtha, with them greatest part of the English nobility. His body lying dead a knight or soldier wounding on the thigh, was by the duke pre-

[f] Camd. [g] Malms. [h] Sim. Dun

sently turned out of military service Of Normans and French were slain no small number; the duke himself that day not a little hazarded his person, having had three choice horses killed under him. Victory obtained, and his dead carefully buried, the English also by permission, he sent the body of Harold to his mother without ransom, though she offered very much to redeem it; which having received she buried at Waltham, in a church built there by Harold. In the mean while, Edwin and Morcar, who had withdrawn themselves from Harold, hearing of his death, came to London; sending Aldgith the queen their sister with all speed to West-chester. Aldred archbishop of York, and many of the nobles, with the Londoners, would have set up Edgar the right heir, and prepared themselves to fight for him; but Morcar and Edwin not liking the choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their forces, and returned home. Duke William, contrary to his former resolution, (if Florent of Worcester, and they who follow him,[i] say true,) wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way; or rather, as saith Malmsbury, not in hostile but in regal manner, came up to London, met at Barcham by Edgar, with the nobles, bishops, citizens, and at length Edwin and Morcar, who all submitted to him, gave hostages and swore fidelity, he to them promised peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to London with all his army, he was on Christmas-day solemnly crowned in the great church at Westminster, by Aldred archbishop of York, having first given his oath at the altar, in presence of all the people, to defend the church, well govern the people, maintain right law, prohibit rapine and unjust judgment. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the choice of their native king, were constrained to take the yoke of an outlandish conqueror. With what minds and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, William of Malmsbury spares not to lay open. Not a few years before the Normans came, the clergy, though in Edward the Confessor's days, had lost all good literature and religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin service; he was a miracle to others who knew his grammar. The monks went clad in fine stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in itself no fault, yet to their consciences was irreligious. The great men, given to gluttony and dissolute life, made a prey of the common people, abusing their daughters whom they had in service, then turning them off to the stews; the meaner sort tippling together night and day, spent all they had in drunkenness, attended with other vices which effeminate men's minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of war, they gave to William their conqueror so easy a conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity ofttimes exempts not good men from their share in evil times with the bad.

[i] Sim. Dun.

If these were the causes of such misery and thraldom to those our ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, than here in fit season to remember this age in the midst of her security, to fear from like vices, without amendment, the revolution of like calamities?

OF

TRUE RELIGION, HERESY, SCHISM, TOLERATION;

AND WHAT BEST MEANS MAY BE USED

AGAINST THE GROWTH OF POPERY.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1673.]

It is unknown to no man, who knows aught of concernment among us, that the increase of popery is at this day no small trouble and offence to greatest part of the nation; and the rejoicing of all good men that it is so: the more their rejoicing, that God hath given a heart to the people, to remember still their great and happy deliverance from popish thraldom, and to esteem so highly the precious benefit of his gospel, so freely and so peaceably enjoyed among them. Since therefore some have already in public with many considerable arguments exhorted the people, to beware the growth of this Romish weed; I thought it no less than a common duty, to lend my hand, how unable soever, to so good a purpose. I will not now enter into the labyrinth of councils and fathers, an entangled wood, which the papists love to fight in, not with hope of victory, but to obscure the shame of an open overthrow: which yet in that kind of combat, many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently given them. And such manner of dispute with them to learned men is useful and very commendable. But I shall insist now on what is plainer to common apprehension, and what I have to say, without longer introduction.

True religion is the true worship and service of God, learnt and believed from the word of God only. No man or angel can know how God would be worshipped and served, unless God reveal it: he hath revealed and taught it us in the Holy Scriptures by inspired ministers, and in the gospel by his own Son and his apostles, with strictest command, to reject all other traditions or additions whatsoever. According to that of St. Paul, "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema, or accursed." And Deut. iv. 2: "Ye shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish aught from it." Rev. xxii. 18, 19: "If any man shall add, &c. If any man shall take away from the words," &c. With good and religious reason therefore all protestant churches with one consent, and particularly the church of England in her thirty-nine articles, artic. 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere, maintain these two points, as the main principles of true religion; that the rule of true religion is the word of God only: and that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is to believe, though as the church believes, against or without express authority of Scripture. And if all protestants, as universally as they hold these two principles, so attentively and religiously would observe them, they would avoid and cut off many debates and contentions, schisms and persecutions, which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite against the common adversary. For hence it directly follows, that no true protestant can persecute, or not tolerate, his fellow-protestant, though dissenting from him in some opinions, but he must flatly deny and renounce these two his own main principles, whereon true religion is founded; while he compels his brother from that which he believes as the manifest word of God, to an implicit faith (which he himself condemns) to the endangering of his brother's soul, whether by rash belief, or outward conformity: for "whatsoever is not of faith, is sin."

I will now as briefly shew what is false religion or heresy, which will be done as easily: for of contraries the definitions must needs be contrary. Heresy therefore is a religion taken up and believed from the traditions of men, and additions to the word of God. Whence also it follows clearly, that of all known sects, or pretended religions, at this day in christendom, popery is the only or the greatest heresy: and he who is so forward to brand all others for heretics, the obstinate papist, the only heretic. Hence one of their own famous writers found just cause to style the Romish church "Mother of errour, school of heresy." And whereas the papist boasts himself to be a Roman Catholic, it is a mere contradiction, one of the pope's bulls, as if he should say, universal particular, a catholic schismatic. For catholic in Greek signifies universal: and the christian church was so called, as consisting of

all nations to whom the gospel was to be preached, in contradistinction to the Jewish church, which consisted for the most part of Jews only.

Sects may be in a true church as well as in a false, when men follow the doctrine too much for the teacher's sake, whom they think almost infallible; and this becomes, through infirmity, implicit faith; and the name sectary pertains to such a disciple.

Schism is a rent or division in the church, when it comes to the separating of congregations; and may also happen to a true church, as well as to a false; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of communion, if they can agree in the right administration of that wherein they communicate, keeping their other opinions to themselves, not being destructive to faith. The Pharisees and Sadducees were two sects, yet both met together in their common worship of God at Jerusalem. But here the papist will angrily demand, What! are Lutherans, Calvinists, anabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, no heretics? I answer, all these may have some errours, but are no heretics. Heresy is in the will and choice professedly against Scripture; errour is against the will, in misunderstanding the Scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly: hence it was said well by one of the ancients, "Err I may, but a heretic I will not be." It is a human frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all these profess to set the word of God only before them as the rule of faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for illumination of the Holy Spirit, to understand the rule and obey it, they have done what man can do: God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job; good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some points of doctrine. But some will say, with Christians it is otherwise, whom God hath promised by his Spirit to teach all things. True, all things absolutely necessary to salvation: but the hottest disputes among protestants, calmly and charitably inquired into, will be found less than such. The Lutheran holds consubstantiation; an errour indeed, but not mortal. The Calvinist is taxed with predestination, and to make God the author of sin; not with any dishonourable thought of God, but it may be overzealously asserting his absolute power, not without plea of Scripture. The anabaptist is accused of denying infants their right to baptism; again they say, they deny nothing but what the Scripture denies them. The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Scripture and the apostolic creed; as for terms of trinity, triniunity, coessentiality, tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in Scripture, which by a general protestant maxim is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words, belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known; a mystery indeed in their sophistic subtilties, but in Scripture a plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of less moment. They dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word "satisfaction," as not scriptural: but they acknowledge him both God and their Saviour. The Arminian lastly is condemned for setting up free will against free grace; but that imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon Scripture only. It cannot be denied, that the authors or late revivers of all these sects or opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives written, and the same of their many eminent and learned followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblamable in their lives: and it cannot be imagined, that God would desert such painful and zealous labourers in his church, and ofttimes great sufferers for their conscience, to damnable errours and a reprobate sense, who had so often implored the assistance of his Spirit; but rather, having made no man infallible, that he hath pardoned their errours, and accepts their pious endeavours, sincerely searching all things according to the rule of Scripture, with such guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by prayer. What protestant then, who himself maintains the same principles, and disavows all implicit faith, would persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate, such men as these, unless he mean to abjure the principles of his own religion? If it be asked, how far they should be tolerated: I answer, doubtless equally, as being all protestants; that is, on all occasions to give account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several assemblies, public writing, and the freedom of printing. For if the French and Polonian protestants enjoy all this liberty among papists, much more may a protestant justly expect it among protestants; and yet sometimes here among us, the one persecutes the other upon every slight pretence.

But he is wont to say, he enjoins only things indifferent. Let them be so still; who gave him authority to change their nature by enjoining them? if by his own principles, as is proved, he ought to tolerate controverted points of doctrine not slightly grounded on Scripture, much more ought he not impose things indifferent without Scripture. In religion nothing is indifferent, but, if it come once to be imposed, is either a command or a prohibition, and so consequently an addition to the word of God, which he professes to disallow. Besides, how unequal, how uncharitable must it needs be, to impose that which his conscience cannot urge him to impose, upon him whose conscience forbids him to obey! What can it be but love of contention for things not necessary to be done, to molest the conscience of his brother, who holds them necessary to be not done? To conclude, let such a one but call to mind his own principles above mentioned, and he must necessarily grant, that neither he can impose, nor the other believe or obey, aught in religion, but from the word of God only. More amply to understand this, may be read the 14th and 15th chapters to the Romans, and the contents of the 14th, set forth no doubt but with full authority of the church of England: the gloss is this; "Men may not contemn or condemn one the other for things indifferent." And in the 6th article above mentioned, "Whatsoever is not read in

Holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation." And certainly what is not so, is not to be required at all; as being an addition to the word of God expressly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot contest, whether protestants ought to tolerate one another, if men will be but rational and not partial, may be ended without need of more words to compose it.

Let us now inquire, whether popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other.

But ecclesiastical is ever pretended to political. The pope by this mixed faculty pretends right to kingdoms and states, and especially to this of England, thrones and unthrones kings, and absolves the people from their obedience to them; sometimes interdicts to whole nations the public worship of God, shutting up their churches: and was wont to drain away greatest part of the wealth of this then miserable land, as part of his patrimony, to maintain the pride and luxury of his court and prelates: and now, since, through the infinite mercy and favour of God, we have shaken off his Babylonish yoke, hath not ceased by his spies and agents, bulls and emissaries, once to destroy both king and parliament; perpetually to seduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the people. Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable, to tolerate men thus principled in religion towards the state, I submit it to the consideration of all magistrates, who are best able to provide for their own and the public safety. As for tolerating the exercise of their religion, supposing their state-activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that toleration is either public or private; and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders; not privately, without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry, though secret. Ezek. viii. 7, 8: "And he brought me to the door of the court, and when I looked, behold, a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged, behold a door; and he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here." And ver. 12; "Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark?" &c. And it appears by the whole chapter, that God was no less offended with these secret idolatries, than with those in public; and no less provoked, than to bring on and hasten his judgments on the whole land for these also.

Having shewn thus, that popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private; it must be now thought how to remove it, and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our natives, and not foreigners, privileged by the law of nations. Are we to punish them by corporal punishment, or fines in their estates, upon account of their religion? I suppose it stands not with the clemency of the gospel, more than what appertains to the security of the state: but first we must remove their idolatry, and all the furniture thereof, whether idols, or the mass wherein they adore their God under bread and wine: for the commandment forbids to adore, not only "any graven image, but the likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." If they say, that by removing their idols we violate their consciences, we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on Scripture: and they themselves confess in their late defences, that they hold not their images necessary to salvation, but only as they are enjoined them by tradition.

Shall we condescend to dispute with them? The Scripture is our only principle in religion; and by that only they will not be judged, but will add other principles of their own, which, forbidden by the word of God, we cannot assent to. And [in several places of the gospel] the common maxim also in logic is, "against them who deny principles, we are not to dispute." Let them bound their disputations on the Scripture only, and an ordinary protestant, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind their doctors. They will not go about to prove their idolatries by the word of God, but turn to shifts and evasions, and frivolous distinctions: idols they say are laymen's books, and a great means to stir up pious thoughts and devotion in the learnedest. I say, they are no means of God's appointing, but plainly the contrary: let them hear the prophets; Jer. x. 8; "The stock is a doctrine of vanities." Hab. ii. 18; "What profiteth the graven image, that the maker thereof hath graven it; the molten image and a teacher of lies?" But they allege in their late answers, that the laws of Moses, given only to the Jews, concern not us under the gospel; and remember not that idolatry is forbidden as expressly: but with these wiles and fallacies "compassing sea and land, like the Pharisees of old, to make one proselyte," they lead away privily many simple and ignorant souls, men and women, "and make them twofold more the children of hell than themselves,' Matt. xxiii. 15. But the apostle hath well warned us, I may say, from such deceivers as these, for their mystery was then working. "I beseech you, brethren," saith he, "mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the heart of the simple," Rom. xvi. 17, 18.

The next means to hinder the growth of popery will be, to read duly and diligently the Holy Scriptures, which, as St. Paul saith to Timothy, who had known them from a child, "are able to make wise unto salvation." And to the whole church of Colossi; "Let the word of Christ dwell in you plentifully, with all wisdom," Col. iii. 16. The papal antichristian church permits not her laity to read the Bible in their own tongue: our church on the contrary hath proposed it to all men, and to this end translated it into English, with profitable notes on what is met with obscure,

though what is most necessary to be known be still plainest; that all sorts and degrees of men, not understanding the original, may read it in their mother tongue. Neither let the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business from the studious reading thereof. Our Saviour saith, Luke x. 41, 42: "Thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful." If they were asked, they would be loth to set earthly things, wealth or honour, before the wisdom of salvation. Yet most men in the course and practice of their lives are found to do so; and through unwillingness to take the pains of understanding their religion by their own diligent study, would fain be saved by a deputy. Hence comes implicit faith, ever learning and never taught, much hearing and small proficience, till want of fundamental knowledge easily turns to superstition or popery: therefore the apostle admonishes, Eph. iv. 14: "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive." Every member of the church, at least of any breeding or capacity, so well ought to be grounded in spiritual knowledge, as, if need be, to examine their teachers themselves, Acts xvii. 11: "They searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." Rev. ii. 2: "Thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not." How should any private Christian try his teachers, unless he be well grounded himself in the rule of Scripture, by which he is taught. As therefore among papists, their ignorance in Scripture chiefly upholds popery; so among protestant people, the frequent and serious reading thereof will soonest pull popery down.

Another means to abate popery, arises from the constant reading of Scripture, wherein believers, who agree in the main, are every where exhorted to mutual forbearance and charity one towards the other, though dissenting in some opinions. It is written, that the coat of our Saviour was without seam; whence some would infer, that there should be no division in the church of Christ. It should be so indeed; yet seams in the same cloth neither hurt the garment, nor misbecome it; and not only seams, but schisms will be while men are fallible: but if they who dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued. The papist with open mouth makes much advantage of our several opinions; not that he is able to confute the worst of them, but that we by our continual jangle among ourselves make them worse than they are indeed. To save ourselves therefore, and resist the common enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within ourselves, that with joint forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground: and why should we not? The gospel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various opinions, and hath promised a good and happy event thereof; Phil. iii. 15: "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." And we are bid, 1 Thess. v. 21: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." St. Paul judged, that not only to tolerate, but to examine and prove all things, was no danger to our holding fast that which is good. How shall we prove all things, which includes all opinions at least founded on Scripture, unless we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and seriously read them? If he who thinks himself in the truth professes to have learnt it, not by implicit faith, but by attentive study of the Scriptures, and full persuasion of heart; with what equity can he refuse to hear or read him, who demonstrates to have gained his knowledge by the same way? Is it a fair course to assert truth, by arrogating to himself the only freedom of speech, and stopping the mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct way to bring in that papistical implicit faith, which we all disclaim. They pretend it would unsettle the weaker sort; the same groundless fear is pretended by the Romish clergy. At least then let them have leave to write in Latin, which the common people understand not; that what they hold may be discussed among the learned only. We suffer the idolatrous books of papists, without this fear, to be sold and read as common as our own: why not much rather of anabaptists, Arians, Arminians, and Socinians? There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, his judgment sharpened, and the truth which he holds more firmly established. If then it be profitable for him to read, why should it not at least be tolerable and free for his adversary to write? In logic they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear: it follows then, that all controversy being permitted, falsehood will appear more false, and truth the more true; which must needs conduce much, not only to the confounding of popery, but to the general confirmation of unimplicit truth.

The last means to avoid popery is, to amend our lives: it is a general complaint, that this nation of late years is grown more numerously and excessively vicious than heretofore; pride, luxury, drunkenness, whoredom, cursing, swearing, bold and open atheism every where abounding: where these grow, no wonder if popery also grow apace. There is no man so wicked, but at some times his conscience will wring him with thoughts of another world, and the peril of his soul; the trouble and melancholy, which he conceives of true repentance and amendment, he endures not, but inclines rather to some carnal superstition, which may pacify and lull his conscience with some more pleasing doctrine. None more ready and officious to offer herself than the Romish, and opens wide her office, with all her faculties, to receive him; easy confession, easy absolution, pardons, indulgences, masses for him both quick and dead, Agnus Dei's, relics, and the like: and he, instead of "working out his salvation with fear and trembling," straight thinks in his heart, (like another kind of fool than he in the Psalms,) to bribe God as a corrupt judge; and by his proctor, some priest, or friar, to buy out his peace with money, which he cannot with his repentance. For God, when men sin outrageously, and will

not be admonished, gives over chastizing them, perhaps by pestilence, fire, sword, or famine, which may all turn to their good, and takes up his severest punishments, hardness, besottedness of heart, and idolatry, to their final perdition. Idolatry brought the heathen to heinous transgressions, Rom. ii. And heinous transgressions ofttimes bring the slight professors of true religion to gross idolatry: 1 Thess. ii. 11, 12: "For this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." And Isaiah xliv. 18, speaking of idolaters, "They have not known nor understood, for he hath shut their eyes that they cannot see, and their hearts that they cannot understand." Let us therefore, using this last means, last here spoken of, but first to be done, amend our lives with all speed; lest through impenitency we run into that stupidity which we now seek all means so warily to avoid, the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments, popery.

A

BRIEF HISTORY OF MOSCOVIA,

AND OF OTHER LESS KNOWN COUNTRIES LYING EASTWARD OF RUSSIA AS FAR AS CATHAY.

GATHERED FROM THE WRITINGS OF SEVERAL EYEWITNESSES.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1682.]

THE PREFACE.

THE study of geography is both profitable and delightful; but the writers thereof, though some of them exact enough in setting down longitudes and latitudes, yet in those other relations of manners, religion, government, and such like, accounted geographical, have for the most part missed their proportions. Some too brief and deficient satisfy not; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the reader, while they tell long stories of absurd superstitions, ceremonies, quaint habits, and other petty circumstances little to the purpose. Whereby that which is useful, and only worth observation, in such a wood of words, is either overslipped, or soon forgotten; which perhaps brought into the mind of some men more learned and judicious, who had not the leisure or purpose to write an entire geography, yet at least to assay something in the description of one or two countries, which might be as a pattern or example to render others more cautious hereafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induced Paulus Jovius to describe only Moscovy and Britain. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with Moscovy, as being the most northern region of Europe reputed civil; and the more northern parts thereof first discovered by English voyagers. Wherein I saw I had by much the advantage of Jovius. What was scattered in many volumes, and observed at several times by eyewitnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert authors; who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern bounds of Russia, to the walls of Cathay, in several late journies made thither over land by Russians, who describe the countries in their way far otherwise than our common geographers. From proceeding further other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published; that so many things remarkable, dispersed before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collecting them.

MOSCOVIA:

OR,

RELATIONS OF MOSCOVIA,

AS FAR AS HATH BEEN DISCOVERED BY ENGLISH VOYAGES;

GATHERED FROM THE WRITINGS OF SEVERAL EYEWITNESSES:

AND THE OTHER LESS KNOWN COUNTRIES LYING EASTWARD OF RUSSIA AS FAR AS CATHAY, LATELY DISCOVERED AT SEVERAL TIMES BY THE RUSSIANS.

CHAP. I.

A brief description.

THE empire of Moscovia, or as others call it Russia, is bounded on the north with Lapland and the ocean; southward by the Crim Tartar; on the west by Lithuania, Livonia, and Poland; on the east by the river Ob, or Oby, and the Nagayan Tartars on the Volga as far as Astracan.

The north parts of this country are so barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thousand miles;[a] and so cold in winter, that the very sap of their woodfuel burning on the fire freezes at the brand's end, where it drops. The mariners, which were left on shipboard in the first English voyage thither, in going up only from the cabins to the hatches,[b] had their breath so congealed by the cold, that they fell down as it were stifled. The bay of St. Nicholas, where they first put in,[c] lieth in sixty-four degrees; called so from the abbey there built of wood, wherein are twenty monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great drunkards: their church is fair, full of images and tapers. There are besides but six houses, whereof one built by the English. In the bay over against the abbey is Rose Island,[d] full of damask and red roses, violets, and wild rosemary; the isle is in circuit seven or eight miles; about the midst of May, the snow there is cleared, having two months been melting; then the ground in fourteen days is dry, and grass knee-deep within a month; after September frost returns, and snow a yard high: it hath a house built by the English near to a fresh fair spring. North-east of the abbey, on the other side of Duina, is the castle of Archangel, where the English have another house. The river Duina, beginning about seven hundred miles within the country, having first received Pinega, falls here into the sea, very large and swift, but shallow. It runneth pleasantly between hills on either side; beset like a wilderness with high fir and other trees. Their boats of timber, without any iron in them, are either to sail, or to be drawn up with ropes against the stream.

North-east beyond Archangel standeth Lampas,[e] where twice a-year is kept a great fair of Russes, Tartars, and Samoëds; and to the landward Mezen, and Slobotca, two towns of traffic between the river Pechora, or Petzora, and Duina: to seaward lies the cape of Candinos, and the island of Colgoieve, about thirty leagues from the bar of Pechory in sixty-nine degrees.[f]

The river Pechora or Petzora, holding his course through Siberia, how far the Russians thereabouts know not, runneth into the sea at seventy-two mouths, full of ice; abounding with swans, ducks, geese, and partridge, which they take in July, sell the feathers, and salt the bodies for winter provision. On this river spreading to a lake stands the town of Pustozera in sixty-eight degrees,[g] having some eighty or a hundred houses, where certain merchants of Hull wintered in the year sixteen hundred and eleven. The town Pechora, small and poor, hath three churches. They traded there up the river four days' journey to Oustzilma a small town of sixty houses. The Russians that have travelled say, that this river springs out of the mountains of Jougoria, and runs through Permia. Not far from the mouth thereof are the straits of Vaigats, of which hereafter: more eastward is the point of Naramzy, the next to that the river Ob;[h] beyond which the Moscovites have extended lately their dominion. Touching the Riphæan mountains, whence Tanais was anciently thought to spring, our men could hear nothing; but rather that the whole country is champaign,

a Hack. 251. b Ibid. vol. 1. 248. c Ibid. 376. d Ibid 365 e Ibid. 284. f Purc. part 3. 533. g Ibid Purc. h Purc. 549, 445, 551.

and in the northernmost part huge and desert woods of fir, abounding with black wolves, bears, buffs, and another beast called rossomakka, whose female bringeth forth by passing through some narrow place, as between two stakes, and so presseth her womb to a disburdening. Travelling southward they found the country more pleasant, fair, and better inhabited, corn, pasture, meadows, and huge woods. Arkania (if it be not the same with Archangel) is a place of English trade, from whence a day's journey distant, but from St. Nicholas a hundred versts,[i] Colmogro stands on the Duina; a great town not walled, but scattered. The English have here lands of their own, given them by the emperor, and fair houses: not far beyond, Pinega, running between rocks of alabaster and great woods, meets with Duina. From Colmogro to Ustiug are five hundred versts or little miles, an ancient city upon the confluence of Juga and Sucana into Duina,[k] which there first receives his name. Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great city so named of the river which passes through the midst; it hath a castle walled about with brick and stone, and many wooden churches, two for every parish, the one in winter to be heated, the other used in summer; this is a town of much traffic, a thousand miles from St. Nicholas. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under open sky by the river side, and other provision only what they bring with them. From Wologda by sled they go to Yeraslave on the Volga, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs two thousand seven hundred versts to the Caspian sea,[l] having his head spring out of Bealozera, which is a lake, amidst whereof is built a strong tower, wherein the kings of Moscovy reserve their treasure in time of war. From this town to Rostove, then to Pereslave, a great town situate on a fair lake; thence to Mosco.

Between Yeraslave and Mosco, which is two hundred miles, the country is so fertile, so populous and full of villages, that in a forenoon seven or eight hundred sleds are usually seen coming with salt-fish, or laden back with corn.[m]

Mosco the chief city, lying in fifty-five degrees, distant from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the suburbs, but rudely built;[n] their houses and churches most of timber, few of stone, their streets unpaved; it hath a fair castle four-square, upon a hill, two miles about, with brick walls very high, and some say eighteen foot thick, sixteen gates, and as many bulwarks; in the castle are kept the chief markets, and in winter on the river, being then firm ice. This river Moscua on the south-west side encloses the castle, wherein are nine fair churches with round gilded towers, and the emperor's palace; which neither within nor without is equal for state to the king's houses in England, but rather like our buildings of old fashion, with small windows, some of glass, some with lattices, or iron bars.

They who travel from Mosco to the Caspian, go by water down the Moscua to the river Occa;[o] then by certain castles to Rezan, a famous city now ruinate; the tenth day to Nysnovogrod, where Occa falls into Volga, which the Tartars call Edel. From thence the eleventh day to Cazan a Tartar city of great wealth heretofore, now under the Russian; walled at first with timber and earth, but since by the emperor Vasiliwich with freestone. From Cazan, to the river Cama, falling into Volga from the province of Permia, the people dwelling on the left side are Gentiles, and live in woods without houses:[p] beyond them to Astracan, Tartars of Mangat, and Nagay: on the right side those of Crimme. From Mosco to Astracan is about six hundred leagues. The town is situate in an island on a hill-side walled with earth, but the castle with earth and timber; the houses, except that of the governor, and some few others, poor and simple; the ground utterly barren, and without wood: they live there on fish, and sturgeon especially; which hanging up to dry in the streets and houses brings whole swarms of flies, and infection to the air, and oft great pestilence. This island in length twelve leagues, three in breadth, is the Russian limit toward the Caspian, which he keeps with a strong garrison, being twenty leagues from that sea, into which Volga falls at seventy mouths. From St. Nicholas, or from Mosco to the Caspian, they pass in forty-six days and nights, most part by water.

Westward from St. Nicholas twelve hundred miles is the city[q] Novogrod fifty-eight degrees, the greatest mart town of all this dominion, and in bigness not inferior to Mosco. The way thither is through the western bottom of St. Nicholas bay, and so along the shore full of dangerous rocks to the monastery Solofky, wherein are at least two hundred monks; the people thereabout in a manner savages, yet tenants to those monks. Thence to the dangerous river Owiga, wherein are waterfalls as steep as from a mountain, and by the violence of their descent kept from freezing: so that the boats are to be carried there a mile over land; which the tenants of that abbey did by command, and were guides to the merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the town Povensa, standing within a mile of the famous lake Onega three hundred and twenty miles long, and in some places seventy, at narrowest twenty-five broad, and of great depth. Thence by some monasteries to the river Swire; then into the lake Ladiscay much longer than Onega; after which into the river Volhusky, which through the midst of Novogrod runs into this lake, and this lake into the Baltic sound by Narva and Revel. Their other cities toward the western bound are Plesco, Smolensko, or Vobsco.

The emperor exerciseth absolute power: if any man die without male issue, his land returns to the emperor.[r] Any rich man, who through age or other impotency is unable to serve the public, being informed of, is turned out of his estate, and forced with his family to live on a small pension, while some other more deserving is by the duke's authority put into possession. The manner of informing the duke is thus: Your grace, saith one, hath such a subject, abounding with riches,

i Hack. 376. k Ibid. 312. l Ibid. 377, 218
m Ibid. 251. 335. n Ibid. 313.

o Ibid. 325. p Ibid. 331.
q Ibid 365. r Ibid. 240.

but for the service of the state unmeet; and you have others poor and in want, but well able to do their country good service. Immediately the duke sends forth to inquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, saith he, you have too much living, and are unserviceable to your prince; less will serve you, and the rest maintain others who deserve more. The man thus called to impart his wealth repines not, but humbly answers, that all he hath is God's and the duke's, as if he made restitution of what more justly was another's, than parted with his own. Every gentleman hath rule and justice over his own tenants: if the tenants of two gentlemen agree not, they seek to compose it; if they cannot, each brings his tenant before the high judge of that country. They have no lawyers, but every man pleads his own cause, or else by bill or answer in writing delivers it with his own hands to the duke: yet justice, by corruption of inferior officers, is much perverted. Where other proof is wanted, they may try the matter by personal combat, or by champion. If a debtor be poor, he becomes bondman to the duke, who lets out his labour till it pay the debt; till then he remains in bondage. Another trial they have by lots.[s]

The revenues of the emperor are what he list, and what his subjects are able; and he omits not the coarsest means to raise them: for in every good town there is a drunken tavern, called a Cursemay, which the emperor either lets out to farm, or bestows on some duke, or gentleman,[t] in reward of his service, who for that time is lord of the whole town, robbing and spoiling at his pleasure, till being well enriched, he is sent at his own charge to the wars, and there squeezed of his ill-got wealth; by which means the waging of war is to the emperor little or nothing chargeable.

The Russian armeth not less in time of war than three hundred thousand men,[u] half of whom he takes with him into the field, the rest bestows in garrisons on the borders. He presseth no husbandman or merchant but the youth of the realm. He useth no foot, but such as are pioneers, or gunners, of both which sort thirty thousand. The rest being horsemen, are all archers, and ride with a short stirrup, after the Turkish. Their armour is a coat of plate, and a skull on their heads. Some of their coats are covered with velvet, or cloth of gold; for they desire to be gorgeous in arms, but the duke himself above measure; his pavilion covered with cloth of gold or silver, set with precious stones. They use little drums at the saddle-bow, instead of spurs, for at the sound thereof the horses run more swiftly.

They fight without order;[x] nor willingly give battle, but by stealth or ambush. Of cold and hard diet marvellously patient; for when the ground is covered with snow frozen a yard thick, the common soldier will lie in the field two months together without tent, or covering over head; only hangs up his mantle against that part from whence the weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his back under the wind: his drink, the cold stream mingled with oatmeal, and the same all his food: his horse, fed with green wood and bark, stands all this while in the open field, yet does his service. The emperor gives no pay at all, but to strangers; yet repays good deserts in war with certain lands during life; and they who oftenest are sent to the wars, think themselves most favoured,[y] though serving without wages. On the twelfth of December yearly, the emperor rides into the field, which is without the city, with all his nobility, on jennets and Turkey horses in great state; before him five thousand harquebusiers, who shoot at a bank of ice, till they beat it down; the ordnance, which they have very fair of all sorts, they plant against two wooden houses filled with earth at least thirty foot thick, and beginning with the smallest, shoot them all off thrice over, having beat those two houses flat. Above the rest six great cannon they have, whose bullet is a yard high, so that a man may see it flying: then out of mortar-pieces they shoot wildfire into the air. Thus the emperor having seen what his gunners can do, returns home in the same order.

They follow the Greek church, but with excess of superstitions:[z] their service is in the Russian tongue. They hold the ten commandments not to concern them, saying, that God gave them under the law, which Christ by his death on the cross hath abrogated: the eucharist they receive in both kinds. They observe four lents, have service in their churches daily, from two hours before dawn till evening;[a] yet for whoredom, drunkenness, and extortion none worse than the clergy.

They have many great and rich monasteries,[b] where they keep great hospitality. That of Trojetes hath in it seven hundred friars, and is walled about with brick very strongly, having many pieces of brass ordnance on the walls; most of the lands, towns, and villages within forty miles belong to those monks, who are also as great merchants as any in the land. During Easter holydays when two friends meet, they take each other by the hand; one of them saying, The Lord is risen; the other answering,[c] It is so of a truth; and then they kiss, whether men or women. The emperor esteemeth the metropolitan next to God, after our lady, and St. Nicholas, as being his spiritual officer, himself but his temporal. [d] But the Muscovites that border on Tartaria are yet pagans.

When there is love between two,[e] the man, among other trifling gifts, sends to the woman a whip, to signify, if she offend, what she must expect; and it is a rule among them, that if the wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks herself not beloved, and is the worse; yet they are very obedient, and stir not forth, but at some seasons. Upon utter dislike, the husband divorces; which liberty no doubt they received first with their religion from the Greek church,[f] and the imperial laws.

Their dead they bury with new shoes on their feet,[g] as to a long journey; and put letters testimonial in their hands to St. Nicholas, or St. Peter, that this was

s Hac. 309. t Ibid. 314. u Ibid. 239. 250.
x Ibid. 314. 250. y Ibid. 316. z Ibid. 253 a Ibid. 242, 321.
b Ibid. 320. c Ibid. 318. d Ibid. 320. 254.
e Ibid. 322. f Ibid. 311. g Ibid. 242, 254, 323.

a Russe or Russes, and died in the true faith; which, as they believe, St. Peter having read, forthwith admits him into heaven.

They have no learning,[h] nor will suffer to be among them; their greatest friendship is drinking; they are great talkers, liars, flatterers, and dissemblers. They delight in gross meats and noisome fish; their drink is better, being sundry sorts of meath; the best made with juice of a sweet and crimson berry called Maliena, growing also in France;[i] other sorts with blackcherry, or divers other berries: another drink they use in the spring drawn from the birch-tree root, whose sap after June dries up. But there are no people that live so miserably as the poor of Russia; if they have straw and water they make shift to live; for straw dried and stamped in winter time is their bread; in summer grass and roots; at all times bark of trees is good meat with them; yet many of them die in the street for hunger, none relieving or regarding them.

When they are sent into foreign countries,[k] or that strangers come thither, they are very sumptuous in apparel, else the duke himself goes but meanly.

In winter they travel only upon sleds,[l] the ways being hard, and smooth with snow, the rivers all frozen: one horse with a sled will draw a man four hundred miles in three days; in summer the way is deep, and travelling ill. The Russe of better sort goes not out in winter, but on his sled; in summer on his horse: in his sled he sits on a carpet, or a white bear's skin; the sled drawn with a horse well decked, with many fox or wolf tails about his neck, guided by a boy on his back, other servants riding on the tail of the sled.

The Russian sea breeds a certain beast which they call a morse;[m] who seeks his food on the rocks, climbing up with help of his teeth; whereof they make as great account as we of the elephant's tooth.

CHAP. II.

Of Samoëdia, Siberia, and other countries north-east, subject to the Muscovites.

North-east of Russia lieth Samoëdia by the river Ob. This country was first discovered by Oneke a Russian; who first trading privately among them in rich furs, got great wealth, and the knowledge of their country; then revealed his discovery to Boris protector to Pheodor, shewing how beneficial that country gained would be to the empire. Who sending embassadors among them gallantly attired, by fair means won their subjection to the empire, every head paying yearly two skins of richest sables. Those messengers travelling also two hundred leagues beyond Ob eastward, made report of pleasant countries, abounding with woods and fountains, and people riding on elks and loshes; others drawn on sleds by rein-deer; others by dogs as swift as deer. The Samoëds that came along with those messengers, returning to Mosco, admired the stateliness of that city, and were as much admired for excellent shooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far distant as hardly could be discerned.

The river Ob is reported[a] by the Russes to be in breadth the sailing of a summer's day; but full of islands and shoals, having neither woods, nor, till of late, inhabitants. Out of Ob they turn into the river Tawze. The Russians have here, since the Samoëds yielded them subjection, two governors, with three or four hundred gunners; have built villages and some small castles; all which place they call Mongozey or Molgomsay.[b] Further upland they have also built other cities of wood, consisting chiefly of Poles, Tartars, and Russes, fugitive or condemned men; as Vergateria, Siber, whence the whole country is named, Tinna, thence Tobolsca on this side Ob, on the rivers Irtis, and Tobol, chief seat of the Russian governor; above that, Zergolta in an island of Ob, where they have a customhouse. Beyond that on the other side Ob, Narim, and Tooina, now a great city.[c] Certain churches also are erected in those parts; but no man forced to religion; beyond Narim eastward on the river Telta is built the castle of Comgoscoi, and all this plantation began since the year 1590, with many other towns like these. And these are the countries from whence come all the sables and rich furs.

The Samoëds have no towns or certain place of abode, but up and down where they find moss for their deer;[d] they live in companies peaceably, and are governed by some of the ancientest amongst them, but are idolaters. They shoot wondrous cunningly; their arrow-heads are sharpened stones, or fish bones, which latter serve them also for needles; their thread being the sinews of certain small beasts, wherewith they sow the furs which clothe them; the furry side in summer outward, in winter inward. They have many wives, and their daughters they sell to him who bids most; which, if they be not liked, are turned back to their friends, the husband allowing only to the father what the marriage feast stood him in. Wives are brought to bed there by their husbands, and the next day go about as before. They till not the ground; but live on the flesh of those wild beasts which they hunt. They are the only guides to such as travel Jougoria, Siberia, or any of those north-east parts in winter;[e] being drawn on sleds with bucks riding post day and night, if it be moonlight, and lodge on the snow under tents of deer-skins, in whatever place they find enough of white moss to feed their sled-stags, turning them loose to dig it up themselves out of the deep snow: another Samoëd, stepping to the next wood, brings in store of firing: round about which they lodge within their tents, leaving the top open to vent smoke; in which manner they are as warm as the stoves in Russia. They carry provision of meat with them, and partake besides of what fowl or venison the Samoëd kills with shooting by the way; their

h Hac. 241, 314. i Ibid. 323. k Ibid. 239.
l Ibid. 314. m Ibid. 252. a Purch. part 3. p. 513, 510.

b Ibid. 521, 526. c Purch. part 3. p. 526, 527.
d Ibid. 522. 555. e Ibid. 518.

drink is melted snow. Two deer being yoked to a sled, riding post, will draw two hundred miles in twenty-four hours without resting, and laden with their stuff, will draw it thirty miles in twelve.

CHAP. III.

Of Tingoësia, and the countries adjoining eastward, as far as Cathay.

Beyond Narim and Comgoscoi[a] the soldiers of those garrisons, travelling by appointment of the Russian governor in the year 1605, found many goodly countries not inhabited, many vast deserts and rivers; till at the end of ten weeks they spied certain cottages and herds, or companies of people, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and signified to the Samoëds and Tartars, which were guides to the Russian soldiers, that they were called Tingoësi; that their dwelling was on the great river Jenissey. This river is said to be far bigger than Ob,[b] distant from the mouth thereof four days and nights sailing; and likewise falls into the sea of Naramzie: it hath high mountains on the east, some of which cast out fire, to the west a plain and fertile country, which in the spring-time it overflows about seventy leagues; all that time the inhabitants keep them in the mountains, and then return with their cattle to the plain. The Tingoësi are a very gentle nation, they have great swoln throats,[c] like those in Italy that live under the Alps; at persuasion of the Samoëds they forthwith submitted to the Russian government: and at their request travelling the next year to discover still eastward, they came at length to a river, which the savages of that place called Pisida,[d] somewhat less than Jenissey; beyond which hearing ofttimes the tolling of brazen bells, and sometimes the noise of men and horses, they durst not pass over; they saw there certain sails afar off, square, and therefore supposed to be like Indian or China sails, and the rather for that they report that great guns have been heard shot off from those vessels. In April and May they were much delighted with the fair prospect of that country, replenished with many rare trees, plants, and flowers, beasts and fowl. Some think here to be the borders of Tangut in the north of Cathay.[e] Some of those Samoëds, about the year 1610, travelled so far till they came in view of a white city, and heard a great din of bells, and report there came to them men all armed in iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611, divers out of Cathay, and others from Alteen Czar, who styles himself the golden king, came and traded at Zergolta, or Surgoot, on the river Ob, bringing with them plates of silver. Whereupon Michael Pheodorowich the Russian emperor, in the year 1619, sent certain of his people from Tooma to Alteen, and Cathay, who returned with embassadors from those princes. These relate,[f] that from Tooma in ten days and a half, three days whereof over a lake, where rubies and sapphires grow, they came to the Alteen king, or king of Alty; through his land in five weeks they passed into the country of Sheromugaly, or Mugalla, where reigned a queen called Manchica; whence in four days they came to the borders of Cathay, fenced with a stone wall, fifteen fathom high; along the side of which, having on the other hand many pretty towns belonging to Queen Manchica, they travelled ten days without seeing any on the wall, till they came to the gate; where they saw very great ordnance lying, and three thousand men in watch. They traffic with other nations at the gate, and very few at once are suffered to enter. They were travelling from Tooma to this gate twelve weeks; and from thence to the great city of Cathay ten days. Where being conducted to the house of embassadors, within a few days there came a secretary from King Tambur, with two hundred men well apparelled, and riding on asses, to feast them with divers sorts of wine, and to demand their message; but having brought no presents with them, they could not be admitted to his sight; only with his letter to the emperor they returned, as is aforesaid, to Tobolsca. They report, that the land of Mugalla reaches from Boghar to the north sea,[g] and hath many castles built of stone, foursquare, with towers at the corners covered with glazed tiles; and on the gates alarm-bells, or watch-bells, twenty pound weight of metal; their houses built also of stone, the ceilings cunningly painted with flowers of all colours. The people are idolaters; the country exceeding fruitful. They have asses and mules, but no horses. The people of Cathay say, that this great wall stretches from Boghar to the north sea, four months journey, with continual towers a slight shot distant from each other, and beacons on every tower; and that this wall is the bound between Magulla and Cathay. In which are but five gates; those narrow, and so low, that a horseman sitting upright cannot ride in. Next to the wall is the city Shirokalga; it hath a castle well furnished with short ordnance and small shot, which they who keep watch on the gates, towers, and walls, duly at sun-set and rising discharge thrice over. The city abounds with rich merchandise, velvets, damasks, cloth of gold, and tissue, with many sorts of sugars. Like to this is the city Yara, their markets smell odoriferously with spices, and Tayth more rich than that. Shirooan yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to Cathaia the imperial city is two days journey, built of white stone, foursquare, in circuit four days going, cornered with four white towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the wall, white intermingled with blue, and loopholes furnished with ordnance. In the midst of this white city stands a castle built of magnet, where the king dwells, in a sumptuous palace, the top whereof is overlaid with gold. The city stands on even ground encompassed with the river Youga, seven days journey from the sea. The people are very fair but not warlike, delighting most in rich traffick. These relations are referred hither, because we have them from Rus

a Purch. part 3. p. 527. b Ibid 527, 551, 546, 527. c Ibid.

d Ibid. 528. e Ibid. 543, 546. f Ibid. 797 g Ibid. 799.

sians; who report also, that there is a sea beyond [h] Oby so warm, that all kind of seafowl live thereabout as well in winter as in summer. Thus much briefly of the sea and lands between Russia and Cathay.

CHAP. IV.

The succession of Moscovia dukes and emperors, taken out of their chronicles by a Polac, with some later additions.[a]

The great dukes of Moscovy derive their pedigree, though without ground, from Augustus Cæsar: whom they fable to have sent certain of his kingdom to be governors over many remote provinces; and among them, Prussus over Prussia; him to have had his seat on the eastern Baltic shore by the river Wixel; of whom Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor descended by the fourth generation, were by the Russians, living then without civil government, sent for in the year 573, to bear rule over them, at the persuasion of Gostomislius chief citizen of Novogrod. They therefore, taking with them Olechus their kinsman, divided those countries among themselves, and each in his province taught them civil government.

Ivor, son of Rurek, the rest dying without issue, became successor to them all; being left in nonage under the protection of Olechus. He took to wife Olha daughter to a citizen of Plesco, of whom he begat Stoslaus; but after that being slain by his enemies, Olha his wife went to Constantinople, and was there baptized Helena.

Stoslaus fought many battles with his enemies; but was at length by them slain, who made a cup of his skull, engraven with this sentence in gold; "Seeking after other men's, he lost his own." His sons were Teropulchus, Olega, and Volodimir.

Volodimir, having slain the other two, made himself sole lord of Russia; yet after that fact inclining to christian religion, had to wife Anna sister of Basilius and Constantine Greek emperors; and with all his people, in the year 988, was baptized, and called Basilius. Howbeit Zonaras reporteth, that before that time Basilius the Greek emperor sent a bishop to them; at whose preaching they not being moved, but requiring a miracle, he after devout prayers, taking the book of gospel into his hands, threw it before them all into the fire; which remaining there unconsumed, they were converted.

Volodimir had eleven sons, among whom he divided his kingdom; Boristus and Glebus for their holy life registered saints; and their feast kept every year in November with great solemnity. The rest, through contention to have the sole government, ruined each other; leaving only Jaroslaus inheritor of all.

Volodimir, son of Jaroslaus, kept his residence in the ancient city Kiow upon the river Boristhenes. And after many conflicts with the sons of his uncles and having subdued all, was called Monomachus. He made war with Constantine the Greek emperor, wasted Thracia, and returning home with great spoils to prepare new war, was appeased by Constantine; who sent Neophytus bishop of Ephesus, and Eustathius abbot of Jerusalem, to present him with part of our Saviour's cross, and other rich gifts, and to salute him by the name of Czar, or Cæsar: with whom he thenceforth entered into league and amity.

After him in order of descent Vuszevolodus, George, Demetrius.

Then George his son, who in the year 1237 was slain in battle by the Tartar prince Bathy, who subdued Muscovia, and made it tributary. From that time the Tartarians made such dukes of Russia, as they thought would be most pliable to their ends; of whom they required, as oft as embassadors came to him out of Tartary, to go out and meet them; and in his own court to stand bareheaded, while they sate and delivered their message. At which time the Tartars wasted also Polonia, Selesia, and Hungaria, till pope Innocent the Fourth obtained peace of them for five years. This Bathy, say the Russians, was the father of Tamerlane, whom they call Temirkutla.

Then succeeded Jaroslaus, the brother of George, then Alexander his son.

Daniel, the son of Alexander, was he who first made the city of Mosco his royal seat, builded the castle, and took on him the title of great duke.

John, the son of Daniel, was surnamed Kaleta, that word signifying a scrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his alms.

His son Simeon, dying without issue, left the kingdom to John his next brother; and he to his son Demetrius, who left two sons, Basilius and George.

Basilius reigning had a son of his own name, but doubting lest not of his own body, through the suspicion he had of his wife's chastity, him he disinherits, and gives the dukedom to his brother George.

George, putting his nephew Basilius in prison, reigns; yet at his death, either through remorse, or other cause, surrenders him the dukedom.

Basilius, unexpectedly thus attaining his supposed right, enjoyed it not long in quiet; for Andrew and Demetrius, the two sons of George, counting it injury not to succeed their father, made war upon him, and surprising him on a sudden, put out his eyes. Notwithstanding which, the boiarens, or nobles, kept their allegiance to the duke, though blind, whom therefore they called Cziemnox.

John Vasiliwich, his son, was the first who brought the Russian name out of obscurity into renown. To secure his own estate, he put to death as many of his kindred, as were likely to pretend; and styled himself great duke of Wolodimiria, Moscovia, Novogardia, Czar of all Russia. He won Plesco, the only walled city in all Muscovy, and Novogrod, the richest, from the Lithuanians, to whom they had been subject fifty years before; and from the latter carried home three

h Purch. p. 806

a Hac. vol. i. p. 221.

hundred waggons laden with treasure. He had war with Alexander king of Poland, and with the Livonians; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his daughter Helena, whom he had to wife, from the Greek church to the Romish; with the Livonians for no other cause, but to enlarge his bounds: though he were often foiled by Plettebergius, great master of the Prussian knights. His wife was daughter to the duke of Tyversky; of her he begat John; and to him resigned his dukedom; giving him to wife the daughter of Steven, palatine of Moldavia; by whom he had issue Demetrius, and deceased soon after. Vasiliwich, therefore, reassuming the dukedom, married a second wife Sophia, daughter to Thomas Palæologus: who is said to have received her dowry out of the pope's treasury, upon promise of the duke to become Romish.

This princess, of a haughty mind, often complaining that she was married to the Tartar's vassal, at length by continual persuasions, and by a wile, found means to ease her husband and his country of that yoke. For whereas till then the Tartar had his procurators, who dwelt in the very castle of Mosco, to oversee state affairs, she feigned that from heaven she had been warned, to build a temple to saint Nicholas on the same place where the Tartar agents had their house. Being therefore delivered of a son, she made it her request to the prince of Tartary, whom she had invited to the baptizing, that he would give her that house, which obtaining, she razed to the ground, and removed those overseers out of the castle; and so by degrees dispossessed them of all which they held in Russia. She prevailed also with her husband, to transfer the dukedom from Demetrius the son of John deceased, to Gabriel his eldest by her.

Gabriel, no sooner duke, but changed his name to Basilius, and set his mind to do nobly; he recovered great part of Moscovy from Vitoldus duke of Lithuania; and on the Boristhenes won Smolensko and many other cities in the year 1514. He divorced his first wife, and of Helena daughter to duke Glinski begat Juan Vasiliwich.

Juan Vasiliwich, being left a child, was committed to George his uncle and protector; at twenty-five years of age he vanquished the Tartars of Cazan and Astracan, bringing home with him their princes captive; made cruel war in Livonia, pretending right of inheritance. He seemed exceedingly devout; and whereas the Russians in their churches use out of zeal and reverence to knock their heads against the ground, his forehead was seldom free of swellings and bruises, and very often seen to bleed. The cause of his rigour in government he alleged to be the malice and treachery of his subjects. But some of the [b] nobles, incited by his cruelty, called in the Crim Tartar, who in the year 1571 broke into Russia, burnt Mosco to the ground. He reigned fifty-four years, had three sons, of which the eldest, being strook on a time by his father, with grief thereof died; his other sons were Pheodor and Demetrius. In the time of Juan Vasiliwich the English came first by sea into the north parts of Russia.

Pheodor Juanowich, being under age, was left to the protection of Boris, brother to the young empress, and third son by adoption in the emperor's will.[c] After forty days of mourning, the appointed time of coronation being come, the emperor issuing out of his palace,[d] the whole clergy before him, entered with his nobility the church of Blaveshina or blessedness; whence after service to the church of Michael, then to our lady church, being the cathedral. In midst whereof a chair was placed, and most unvaluable garments put upon him; there also was the imperial crown set on his head by the metropolitan, who out of a small book in his hand read exhortations to the emperor of justice and peaceable government. After this, rising from his chair he was invested with an upper robe, so thick with orient pearls and stones, as weighed two hundred pounds, the train born up by six dukes; his staff imperial was of a unicorn's horn three foot and a half long, beset with rich stones; his globe and six crowns carried before him by princes of the blood; his horse at the church door stood ready with a covering of embroidered pearl, saddle and all suitable, to the value of three hundred thousand marks. There was a kind of bridge made three ways, one hundred and fifty fathom long, three foot high, two fathom broad, whereon the emperor with his train went from one church to another above the infinite throng of people making loud acclamations: at the emperor's returning from those churches they were spread underfoot with cloth of gold, the porches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet and stammel cloth, all which, as the emperor passed by, were cut and snatched by them that stood next; besides new minted coins of gold and silver cast among the people. The empress in her palace was placed before a great open window in rich and shining robes, among her ladies. After this the emperor came into parliament, where he had a banquet served by his nobles in princely order; two standing on either side his chair with battleaxes of gold; three of the next rooms great and large, being set round with plate of gold and silver, from the ground up to the roof. This triumph lasted a week, wherein many royal pastimes were seen; after which, election was made of the nobles to new offices and dignities. The conclusion of all was a peal of one hundred and seventy brass ordnance two miles without the city, and twenty thousand harquebuzes twice over; and so the emperor with at least fifty thousand horse returned through the city to his palace, where all the nobility, officers, and merchants brought him rich presents. Shortly after the emperor, by direction of Boris, conquered the large country of Siberia, and took prisoner the king thereof; he removed also corrupt officers and former taxes. In sum, a great alteration in the government followed, yet all quietly and without tumult. These things reported abroad strook such awe into the neighbour kings, that the Crim Tartar, with his wives also, and many nobles valiant and personable men, came to visit the Russian. There came also twelve hundred Polish gentlemen, many Circassians, and people of other nations, to offer

b Horsey's Observations.

c Hac. vol 166

d Horsey.

service; embassadors from the Turk, the Persian, Georgian, and other Tartar princes; from Almany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark. But this glory lasted not long, through the treachery of Boris, who procured the death first of Demetrius, then of the emperor himself, whereby the imperial race, after the succession of three hundred years, was quite extinguished.

Boris adopted, as before was said, third son to Juan Vasiliwich, without impeachment now ascended the throne; but neither did he enjoy long what he had so wickedly compassed, divine revenge rising up against him a counterfeit of that Demetrius, whom he had caused to be murdered at Ouglets.[e] This upstart, strengthened with many Poles and Cossacks, appears in arms to claim his right out of the hands of Boris, who sent against him an army of two hundred thousand men, many of whom revolted to this Demetrius: Peter Basman, the general, returning to Mosco with the empty triumph of a reported victory. But the enemy still advancing, Boris one day, after a plentiful meal, finding himself heavy and pained in the stomach, laid him down on his bed; but ere his doctors, who made great haste, came to him, was found speechless, and soon after died with grief, as is supposed, of his ill success against Demetrius. Before his death, though it were speedy, he would be shorn, and new christened. He had but one son, whom he loved so fondly, as not to suffer him out of sight; using to say he was lord and father of his son, and yet his servant, yea his slave. To gain the people's love. which he had lost by his ill getting the empire, he used two policies; first he caused Mosco to be fired in four places, that in the quenching thereof he might shew his great care and tenderness of the people; among whom he likewise distributed so much of his bounty, as both new built their houses, and repaired their losses. At another time the people murmuring, that the great pestilence, which had then swept away a third part of the nation, was the punishment of their electing him, a murderer, to reign over them, he built galleries round about the utmost wall of Mosco, and there appointed for one whole month twenty thousand pound to be given to the poor, which well nigh stopped their mouths. After the death of Boris, Peter Basman, their only hope and refuge, though a young man, was sent again to the wars, with him many English, Scots, French, and Dutch; who all with the other general Goleeche fell off to the new Demetrius, whose messengers, coming now to the suburbs of Mosco, were brought by the multitude to that spacious field before the castle gate, within which the council were then sitting, many of whom were by the people's threatening called out, and constrained to hear the letters of Demetrius openly read: which, long ere the end, wrought so with the multitude, that furiously they broke into the castle, laying violence on all they met; when straight appeared coming towards them two messengers of Demetrius formerly sent, pitifully whipped and roasted, which added to their rage. Then was the whole city in an uproar, all the great counsellors' houses ransacked, especially of the Godonovas, the kindred and family of Boris. Such of the nobles that were best beloved by entreaty prevailed at length to put an end to this tumult. The empress, flying to a safer place, had her collar of pearl pulled from her neck; and by the next message command was given to secure her, with her son and daughter. Whereupon Demetrius by general consent was proclaimed emperor. The empress, now seeing all lost, counselled the prince her son to follow his father's example, who, it seems, had dispatched himself by poison; and with a desperate courage beginning the deadly health, was pledged effectually by her son; but the daughter, only sipping, escaped. Others ascribe this deed to the secret command of Demetrius, and self-murder imputed to them, to avoid the envy of such a command.

Demetrius Evanowich, for so he called himself, who succeeded,[f] was credibly reported the son of Gregory Peupoloy a Russe gentleman, and in his younger years to have been shorn a friar, but escaping from the monastery, to have travelled Germany and other countries, but chiefly Poland: where he attained to good sufficiency in arms and other experience; which raised in him such high thoughts, as, grounding on a common belief among the Russians that the young Demetrius was not dead, but conveyed away, and their hatred against Boris, on this foundation, with some other circumstances, to build his hopes no lower than an empire; which on his first discovery found acceptation so generally, as planted him at length on the royal seat: but not so firmly as the fair beginning promised; for in a short while the Russians finding themselves abused by an impostor, on the sixth day after his marriage, observing when his guard of Poles were most secure, rushing into the palace before break of day, dragged him out of his bed, and when he had confessed the fraud, pulled him to pieces; with him Peter Basman was also slain, and both their dead bodies laid open in the market-place. He was of no presence, but otherwise of a princely disposition; too bountiful, which occasioned some exactions; in other matters a great lover of justice, not unworthy the empire which he had gotten, and lost only through greatness of mind, neglecting the conspiracy, which he knew the Russians were plotting. Some say their hatred grew, for that they saw him alienated from the Russian manners and religion, having made Buchinskoy a learned protestant his secretary. Some report from Gilbert's relation, who was a Scot, a captain of his guard, that lying on his bed awake, not long before the conspiracy, he saw the appearance of an aged man coming toward him, at which he rose, and called to them that watched; but they denied to have seen any such pass by them. He returning to his bed, and within an hour after, troubled again with the same apparition, sent for Buchinskoy, telling him he had now twice the same night seen an aged man, who at his second coming told him, that though he were a good prince of himself, yet for the injustice and oppression of his inferiour ministers, his empire should be taken from him. The secretary counselled him to embrace true religion, affirming that for

e Post Christ. 1601. Purch. part 3. p. 750.

f Purch. part 3. p. 764.

lack thereof his officers were so corrupt. The emperor seemed to be much moved, and to intend what was persuaded him. But a few days after, the other secretary, a Russian, came to him with a drawn sword, of which the emperor made slight at first; but he after bold words assaulted him, straight seconded by other conspirators, crying liberty. Gilbert, with many of the guard oversuddenly surprised, retreated to Coluga, a town which they fortified; most of the other strangers were massacred, except the English, whose mediation saved also Buchinskoy. Shusky, who succeeded him, reports in a letter to King James otherwise of him; that his right name was Gryshca the son of Boughdan; that to escape punishment for villanies done, he turned friar, and fell at last to the black art; and fearing that the metropolitan intended therefore to imprison him, fled into Lettow; where by counsel of Sigismund the Poland king, he began to call himself Demetry of Ouglitts; and by many libels and spies privily sent into Mosco, gave out the same; that many letters and messengers thereupon were sent from Boris into Poland, and from the patriarch, to acquaint him who the runagate was: but the Polanders giving them no credit, furnished him the more with arms and money, notwithstanding the league; and sent the palatine Sandamersko and other lords to accompany him into Russia, gaining also a prince of the Crim Tartars to his aid; that the army of Boris, hearing of his sudden death, yielded to this Gryshca, who, taking to wife the daughter of Sandamersko, attempted to root out the Russian clergy, and to bring in the Romish religion, for which purpose many Jesuits came along with him. Whereupon Shusky with the nobles and metropolitans, conspiring against him, in half a year gathered all the forces of Moscovia, and surprising him, found in writing under his own hand all these his intentions; letters also from the pope and cardinals to the same effect, not only to set up the religion of Rome, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refused.

Vasily Evanowich Shusky,[g] after the slaughter of Demetry or Gryshca, was elected emperor, having not long before been at the block for reporting to have seen the true Demetrius dead and buried; but Gryshca not only recalled him, but advanced him to be the instrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of fifty; nobly descended, never married, of great wisdom reputed, a favourer of the English: for he saved them from rifling in the former tumults. Some say[h] he modestly refused the crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him; yet after that, growing jealous of his title, removed by poison and other means all the nobles, that were like to stand his rivals; and is said to have consulted with witches of the Samoëds, Lappians, and Tartarians, about the same fears; and being warned of one Michalowich to have put to death three of that name, yet a fourth was reserved by fate to succeed him, being then a youth attendant in the court, one of those that held the golden axes, and least suspected. But before that time he also was supplanted by another reviving Demetrius brought in by the Poles; whose counterfeited hand, and strange relating of privatest circumstances, had almost deceived Gilbert himself, had not their persons been utterly unlike; but Gryshca's wife so far believed him for her husband, as to receive him to her bed. Shusky, besieged in his castle of Mosco, was adventurously supplied with some powder and ammunition by the English; and with two thousand French, English, and Scots, with other forces from Charles king of Sweden. The[i] English, after many miseries of cold and hunger, and assaults by the way, deserted by the French, yielded most of them to the Pole, near Smolensko, and served him against the Russ. [k] Meanwhile this second Demetrius, being now rejected by the Poles, with those Russians that sided with him laid siege to Mosco; Zolkiewsky, for Sigismund king of Poland, beleaguers on the other side with forty thousand men; whereof fifteen hundred English, Scotch, and French. Shusky, despairing success, betakes him to a monastery; but with the city is yielded to the Pole; who turns now his force against the counterfeit Demetrius; he seeking to fly is by a Tartar slain in his camp. Smolensko held out a siege of two years, then surrendered. Shusky the emperor, carried away into Poland, there ended miserably in prison. But before his departure out of Moscovy, the Polanders in his name sending for the chief nobility, as to a last farewel, cause them to be entertained in a secret place and there dispatched: by this means the easier to subdue the people. Yet the Poles were starved at length out of those places in Mosco, which they had fortified. Wherein the Russians, who besieged them, found, as is reported, sixty barrels of man's flesh powdered, being the bodies of such as died among them, or were slain in fight.

[l] After which the empire of Russia broke to pieces, the prey of such as could catch, every one naming himself, and striving to be accounted, that Demetrius of Ouglitts. Some chose Uladislaus King Sigismund's son, but he not accepting, they fell to a popular government; killing all the nobles under pretence of favouring the Poles. Some overtures of receiving them were made, as some say, to King James, and Sir John Meric and Sir William Russell employed therein. Thus Russia remaining in this confusion, it happened that a mean man, a butcher, dwelling in the north about Duina, inveighing against the baseness of their nobility,[m] and the corruption of officers, uttered words, that if they would but choose a faithful treasurer to pay well the soldiers, and a good general, (naming one Pozarsky, a poor gentleman, who after good service done, lived not far off retired and neglected,) that then he doubted not to drive out the Poles. The people assent, and choose that general; the butcher they make their treasurer; who both so well discharged their places, that with an army soon gathered they raise the siege of Mosco, which the Polanders had renewed; and with Boris Licin, another great soldier of that country, fall into consultation about the choice of an emperor, and

g Post Christ. 1606.
i Post Christ. 1609.
h Purch. part 3. p. 769. &c.
k Purch. 770.
m Purch. part 3 790.
l Post Christ. 1612.

choose at last Michalowich, or Michael Pheodorowich, the fatal youth, whose name Shusky so feared.

"Michael Pheodorowich thus elected by the valour of Pozarsky and Boris Licin, made them both generals of his forces, joining with them another great commander of the Cossacks, whose aid had much befriended him; the butcher also was made a counsellor of state. Finally, a peace was made up between the Russians and the Poles; and that partly by the mediation of King James.

CHAP. V.

The first discovery of Russia by the north-east, 1553, *with the English embassies, and entertainments at that court, until the year* 1604.

The discovery of Russia by the northern ocean,[a] made first, of any nation that we know, by Englishmen, might have seemed an enterprise almost heroic; if any higher end than the excessive love of gain and traffic had animated the design. Nevertheless, that in regard that many things not unprofitable to the knowledge of nature, and other observations, are hereby come to light, as good events ofttimes arise from evil occasions, it will not be the worst labour to relate briefly the beginning and prosecution of this adventurous voyage; until it became at last a familiar passage.

When our merchants perceived the commodities of England to be in small request abroad, and foreign merchandise to grow higher in esteem and value than before, they began to think with themselves, how this might be remedied. And seeing how the Spaniards and Portugals had increased their wealth by discovery of new trades and countries, they resolved upon some new and strange navigation. At the same time Sebastian Chabota, a man for the knowledge of sea affairs much renowned in those days, happened to be in London. With him first they consult; and by his advice conclude to furnish out three ships for the search and discovery of the northern parts. And having heard that a certain worm is bred in that ocean, which many times eateth through the strongest oak, they contrive to cover some part of the keel of those ships with thin sheets of lead; and victual them for eighteen months; allowing equally to their journey, their stay, and their return. Arms also they provide, and store of munition, with sufficient captains and governors for so great an enterprise. To which among many, and some void of experience, that offered themselves, Sir Hugh Willoughby, a valiant gentleman, earnestly requested to have the charge. Of whom before all others both for his goodly personage, and singular skill in the services of war, they made choice to be admiral; and of Richard Chancelor, a man greatly esteemed for his skill, to be chief pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards deputy of Ireland, who coming where the adventurers were gathered together, though then a young man, with a grave and elegant speech commended Chancelor unto them.

After this, they omitted no inquiry after any person, that might inform them concerning those north-easterly parts, to which the voyage tended; and two Tartarians then of the king's stable were sent for; but they were able to answer nothing to purpose. So after much debate it was concluded, that by the twentieth of May the ships should depart. Being come near Greenwich, where the court then lay, presently the courtiers came running out, the privy council at the windows, the rest on the towers and battlements. The mariners all apparelled in watchet, or skycoloured cloth, discharge their ordnance; the noise whereof, and of the people shouting, is answered from the hills and waters with as loud an echo. Only the good King Edward then sick beheld not this sight, but died soon after. From hence putting into Harwich, they staid long and lost much time. At length passing by Shetland, they kenned a far off Ægelands, being an innumerable sort of islands called Rost Islands in sixty-six degrees. Thence to Lofoot in sixty-eight, to Seinam in seventy degrees; these islands belong all to the crown of Denmark. Whence departing Sir Hugh Willoughby set out his flag, by which he called together the chief men of his other ships to counsel; where they conclude, in case they happened to be scattered by tempest, that Wardhouse, a noted haven in Finmark, be the appointed place of their meeting. The very same day afternoon so great a tempest arose, that the ships were some driven one way, some another, in great peril. The general with his loudest voice called to Chancelor not to be far from him; but in vain, for the admiral sailing much better than his ship, and bearing all her sails, was carried with great swiftness soon out of sight; but before that, the ship-boat, striking against her ship, was overwhelmed in view of the Bonaventure, whereof Chancelor was captain. [b]The third ship also in the same storm was lost. But Sir Hugh Willoughby escaping that storm, and wandering on those desolate seas till the eighteenth of September, put into a haven where they had weather as in the depth of winter; and there determining to abide till spring, sent out three men south-west to find inhabitants; who journied three days, but found none; then other three went westward four days journey, and lastly three south-east three days; but they all returning without news of people, or any sign of habitation, Sir Hugh with the company of his two ships abode there till January, as appears by a will since found in one of the ships; but then perished all with cold. This river or haven was Arzina in Lapland, near to Kegor,[c] where they were found dead the year after by certain Russian fishermen. Whereof the English agent at Mosco having notice, sent and recovered the ships with the dead bodies and most of the goods, and sent them for England; but the ships being unstaunch, as is supposed, by their two years wintering in Lapland, sunk by the way with their dead, and them also that brought them. But now Chancelor, with his ship and company thus left, shaped

u Post Christ. 1613.

a Hac. vol. i. 243, 234.

b Hac. 235.

c Ibid. 464.

his course to Wardhouse, the place agreed on to expect the rest; where having staid seven days without tidings of them, he resolves at length to hold on his voyage; and sailed so far till he found no night, but continual day and sun clearly shining on that huge and vast sea for certain days. At length they enter into a great bay, named, as they knew after, from St. Nicholas; and spying a fisherboat, made after him to know what people they were. The fishermen amazed with the greatness of his ship, to them a strange and new sight, sought to fly; but overtaken, in great fear they prostrate themselves, and offer to kiss his feet; but he raising them up with all signs and gestures of courtesy, sought to win their friendship. They no sooner dismissed, but spread abroad the arrival of a strange nation, whose humanity they spake of with great affection; whereupon the people running together, with like return of all courteous usage receive them; offering them victuals freely, nor refusing to traffic, but for a loyal custom which bound them from that, without first the consent had of their king. After mutual demands of each other's nation, they found themselves to be in Russia, where Juan Vasiliwich at that time reigned emperor. To whom privily the governor of that place sending notice of the strange guests that were arrived, held in the mean while our men in what suspense he could. The emperor well pleased with so unexpected a message, invites them to his court, offering them post horses at his own charge, or if the journey seemed over long, that they might freely traffic where they were. But ere this messenger could return, having lost his way, the Muscovites themselves loath that our men should depart, which they made shew to do, furnished them with guides and other conveniences, to bring them to their king's presence. Chancelor had now gone more than half his journey, when the sledman sent to court meets him on the way; delivers him the emperor's letters; which when the Russes understood, so willing they were to obey the contents thereof, that they quarrelled and strove who should have the preferment to put his horses to the sled. So after a long and troublesome journey of fifteen hundred miles he arrived at Mosco. After he had remained in the city about twelve days, a messenger was sent to bring them to the king's house. Being entered within the court gates, and brought into an outward chamber, they beheld there a very honourable company to the number of a hundred, sitting all apparelled in cloth of gold down to their ancles: next conducted to the chamber of presence, there sat the emperor on a lofty and very royal throne; on his head a diadem of gold, his robe all of goldsmith's work, in his hand a chrystal sceptre garnished and beset with precious stones; no less was his countenance full of majesty. Beside him stood his chief secretary; on his other side the great commander of silence, both in cloth of gold; then sat his council of a hundred and fifty round about on high seats, clad all as richly. Chancelor, nothing abashed, made his obeisance to the emperor after the English manner. The emperor having taken and read his letters, after some inquiry of King Edward's health, invited them to dinner, and till then dismissed them. But before dismission the secretary presented their present bareheaded; till which time they were all covered; and before admittance our men had charge not to speak, but when the emperor demanded aught. Having sat two hours in the secretary's chamber, they were at length called in to dinner; where the emperor was set at table, now in a robe of silver, and another crown on his head. This place was called the golden palace, but without cause, for the Englishmen had seen many fairer; round about the room, but at distance, were other long tables; in the midst a cupboard of huge and massy goblets, and other vessels of gold and silver; among the rest four great flaggons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of towers and dragons' heads. The guests ascended to their tables by three steps; all apparelled in linen, and that lined with rich furs. The messes came in without order, but all in chargers of gold, both to the emperor, and to the rest that dined there, which were two hundred persons; on every board also were set cups of gold without number. The servitors, one hundred and forty, were likewise arrayed in gold, and waited with caps on their heads. They that are in high favour sit on the same bench with the emperor, but far off. Before meat came in, according to the custom of their kings, he sent to every guest a slice of bread; whom the officer naming, saith thus, John Basiliwich, emperor of Russ, &c., doth reward thee with bread, at which words all men stand up. Then were swans in several pieces served in, each piece in a several dish, which the great duke sends about as the bread, and so likewise the drink. In dinner-time he twice changed his crown, his waiters thrice their apparel; to whom the emperor in like manner gives both bread and drink with his own hands; which they say is done to the intent that he may perfectly know his own household; and indeed when dinner was done, he called his nobles every one before him by name; and by this time candles were brought in, for it grew dark; and the English departed to their lodgings from dinner, an hour within night.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty-five,[d] Chancelor made another voyage to this place with letters from Queen Mary; had a house in Mosco, and diet appointed him; and was soon admitted to the emperor's presence in a large room spread with carpets; at his entering and salutation all stood up, the emperor only sitting, except when the queen's name was read, or spoken; for then he himself would rise: at dinner he sat bareheaded; his crown and rich cap standing on a pinnacle by. [e] Chancelor returning for England, Osep Napea, governor of Wologda, came in his ship embassador from the Russe; but suffering shipwreck in Pettislego, a bay in Scotland, Chancelor, who took more care to save the embassador than himself, was drowned, the ship rifled, and most of her lading made booty by the people thereabout.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty-seven,[f] Osep

d Hac. 258, 263, 465.

e Ibid. 286.

f Ibid. 310, &c.

Napea returned into his country with Anthony Jenkinson, who had the command of four tall ships. He reports of a whirlpool between the Rost Islands and Lofoot called Malestrand; which from half ebb to half flood is heard to make so terrible a noise, as shakes the door-rings of houses in those islands ten miles off; whales that come within the current thereof make a pitiful cry; trees carried in and cast out again have the ends and boughs of them so beaten, as they seem like the stalks of bruised hemp. About Zeinam they saw many whales very monstrous, hard by their ships; whereof some by estimation sixty foot long; they roared hideously, it being then the time of their engendering. At Wardhouse, he saith, the cattle are fed with fish. Coming to Mosco, he found the emperor sitting aloft in a chair of state, richly crowned, a staff of gold in his hand wrought with costly stone. Distant from him sat his brother, and a youth the emperor's son of Casan, whom the Russe had conquered; there dined with him diverse embassadors, christian and heathen, diversely apparelled: his brother with some of the chief nobles sat with him at table: the guests were in all six hundred. In dinner-time came in six musicians; and standing in the midst, sung three several times, but with little or no delight to our men; there dined at the same time in other halls two thousand Tartars, who came to serve the duke in his wars. The English were set at a small table by themselves, direct before the emperor; who sent them diverse bowls of wine and meath, and many dishes from his own hand: the messes were but mean, but the change of wines and several meaths were wonderful. As oft as they dined with the emperor, he sent for them in the morning, and invited them with his own mouth. [g] On Christmas day being invited, they had for other provision as before, but for store of gold and silver plate excessive; among which were twelve barrels of silver, hooped with fine gold, containing twelve gallons apiece.

In the year fifteen hundred and sixty was the first English traffic to the Narve in Livonia, till then concealed by Danskers and Lubeckers.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-one. The same Anthony Jenkinson made another voyage to Mosco; and arrived while the emperor was celebrating his marriage with a Circassian lady; during which time the city gates for three days were kept shut; and all men whatsoever straitly commanded to keep within their houses; except some of his household; the cause whereof is not known.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-six. He made again the same voyage;[h] which now men usually made in a month from London to St. Nicholas with good winds, being seven hundred and fifty leagues.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-eight. Thomas Randolf, Esq. went embassador to Muscovy,[i] from Queen Elizabeth; and in his passage by sea met nothing remarkable save great store of whales, whom they might see engendering together, and the spermaceti swimming on the water. At Colmogro he was met by a gentleman from the emperor, at whose charge he was conducted to Mosco; but met there by no man; not so much as the English; lodged in a fair house built for embassadors; but there confined upon some suspicion which the emperor had conceived; sent for at length after seventeen weeks' delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrowed horse, his men on foot. In a chamber before the presence were sitting about three hundred persons, all in rich robes taken out of the emperor's wardrobe for that day; they sat on three ranks of benches, rather for shew than that the persons were of honour; being merchants, and other mean inhabitants. The embassador saluted them, but by them unsaluted, passed on with his head covered. At the presence door being received by two which had been his guardians, and brought into the midst, he was there willed to stand still, and speak his message from the queen; at whose name the emperor stood up, and demanded her health: then giving the embassador his hand to kiss, fell to many questions. The present being delivered, which was a great silver bowl curiously graven, the emperor told him, he dined not that day openly because of great affairs; but, saith he, I will send thee my dinner, and augment thy allowance. And so dismissing him, sent a duke richly apparelled soon after to his lodging, with fifty persons, each of them carrying meat in silver dishes covered; which himself delivered into the embassador's own hands, tasting first of every dish, and every sort of drink; that done set him down with his company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The emperor sent back with this embassador another of his own called Andrew Savin.

Fifteen hundred and seventy-one. Jenkinson made a third voyage; but was staid long at Colmogro by reason of the plague in those parts; at length had audience where the court then was, near to Pereslave; to which place the emperor was returned from his Swedish war with ill success: and Mosco the same year had been wholly burnt by the Crim: in it the English house, and diverse English were smothered in the cellars, multitudes of people in the city perished, all that were young led captive with exceeding spoil.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-three. [k] Juan Basiliwich having the year before sent his embassador Pheodor Andrewich about matters of commerce, the queen made choice of Sir Jerom Bowes, one of her household, to go into Russia; who being attended with more than forty persons, and accompanied with the Russe returning home, arrived at St. Nicholas. The Dutch by this time had intruded into the Muscovy trade, which by privilege long before had been granted solely to the English; and had corrupted to their side Shalkan the chancellor, with others of the great ones; who so wrought, that a creature of their own was sent to meet Sir Jerom at Colmogro, and to offer him occasions of dislike: until at Vologda he was received by another from the emperor; and at Heraslave by a duke well accompanied, who presented him with a coach and ten geldings. Two miles from Mosco met him four gentlemen with two hundred horse, who, after short salute,

g Hac 317. h Ibid. 311 i Ibid. 373. k Ibid. vol i. 458.

assion, told him what they had to say from the emperor, willing him to alight, which the embassador soon refused, unless they also lighted; whereon they stood long debating; at length agreed, great dispute followed, whose foot should first touch the ground. Their message delivered, and then embracing, they conducted the embassador to a house at Mosco, built for him purposely. At his going to court, he and his followers honourably mounted and apparelled, the emperor's guard were set on either side all the way about six thousand shot. At the court gate met him four noblemen in cloth of gold, and rich fur caps, embroidered with pearl and stone; then four others of greater degree, in which passage there stood along the walls, and sat on benches, seven or eight hundred men in coloured satins and gold. At the presence door met him the chief herald, and with him all the great officers of court, who brought him where the emperor sat. there were set by him three crowns of Muscovy, Cazan, and Astracan; on each side stood two young noblemen, costly apparelled in white, each of them had a broad axe on his shoulder; on the benches round sat above an hundred noblemen. Having given the embassador his hand to kiss, and inquired of the queen's health, he willed him to go sit in the place provided for him, nigh ten paces distant; from thence to send him the queen's letters and present. Which the embassador thinking not reasonable stepped forward; but the chancellor meeting him, would have taken his letters; to whom the embassador said, that the queen had directed no letters to him; and so went on and delivered them to the emperor's own hands; and after a short withdrawing into the council-chamber, where he had conference with some of the council, he was called in to dinner about the midst whereof, the emperor standing up, drank a deep carouse to the queen's health, and sent to the embassador a great bowl of Rhenish wine to pledge him. But at several times being called for to treat about affairs, and not yielding aught beyond his commission, the emperor not wont to be gainsaid, one day especially broke into passion, and with a stern countenance told him, he did not reckon the queen to be his fellow; for there are, quoth he, her betters. The embassador not holding it his part, whatever danger might ensue, to hear any derogate from the majesty of his prince, with like courage and countenance told him that the queen was equal to any in christendom, who thought himself greatest; and wanted not means to offend her enemies whomsoever. Yea, quoth he, what sayest thou of the French and Spanish kings? I hold her, quoth the embassador, equal to either. Then what to the German emperor? Her father, quoth he, had the emperor in his pay. This answer misliked the duke so far, as that he told him, were he not an embassador, he would throw him out of doors. You may, said the embassador, do your will, for I am now fast in your country; but the queen, I doubt not, will know how to be revenged of any injury offered to her embassador. Whereat the emperor in great sudden bid him get home; and he with no more reverence than such usage required, saluted the emperor, and went his way.

Notwithstanding this, the Muscovite, soon as his mood left him, spake to them that stood by many praises of the embassador, wishing he had such a servant, and presently after sent his chief secretary to tell him, that whatever had passed in words, yet for his great respect to the queen, he would shortly after dispatch him with honour and full contentment, and in the mean while he much enlarged his entertainment. He also desired, that the points of our religion might be set down, and caused them to be read to his nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had sought in marriage the lady Mary Hastings, which took not effect, the lady and her friends excusing it, he now again renewed the motion to take to wife some one of the queen's kinswomen, either by sending an embassage, or going himself with his treasure into England. Now happy was that nobleman, whom Sir Jerom Bowes in public favoured; unhappy they who had opposed him: for the emperor had beaten Shalkan the chancellor very grievously for that cause, and threatened not to leave one of his race alive. But the emperor dying soon after of a surfeit, Shalkan, to whom then almost the whole government was committed, caused the embassador to remain close prisoner in his house nine weeks. Being sent for at length to have his dispatch, and slightly enough conducted to the council-chamber, he was told by Shalkan, that this emperor would condescend to no other agreements than were between his father and the queen before his coming: and so disarming both him and his company, brought them to the emperor with many affronts in their passage, for which there was no help but patience. The emperor, saying but over what the chancellor had said before, offered him a letter for the queen: which the embassador, knowing it contained nothing to the purpose of his embassy, refused, till he saw his danger grow too great; nor was he suffered to reply, or have his interpreter. Shalkan sent him word, that now the English emperor was dead; and hastened his departure, but with so many disgraces put upon him, as made him fear some mischief in his journey to the sea: having only one mean gentleman sent with him to be his convoy; he commanded the English merchants in the queen's name to accompany him, but such was his danger, that they durst not. So arming himself and his followers in the best wise he could, against any outrage, he at length recovered the shore of St. Nicholas. Where he now resolved to send them back by his conduct some of the affronts which he had received. Ready therefore to take ship, he causes three or four of his valiantest and discreetest men to take the emperor's letter, and disgraceful present, and to deliver it, or leave it at the lodging of his convoy, which they safely did; though followed with a great tumult of such as would have forced them to take it back.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-four. At the coronation of Pheodor the emperor, Jerom Horsey being then agent in Russia, and called for to court with one John de Wale, a merchant of the Netherlands and a subject of Spain, some of the nobles would have preferred the Fleming before the English. But to that our agent would

in no case agree, saying he would rather have his legs cut off by the knees, than bring his present in course after a subject of Spain. The emperor and prince Boris perceiving the controversy, gave order to admit Horsey first: who was dismissed with large promises, and seventy messes with three carts of several meath sent after him.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-eight. Dr. Giles Fletcher went embassador from the queen to Pheodor then emperor; whose relations being judicious and exact are best read entirely by themselves. [1] This emperor, upon report of the great learning of John Dee the mathematician, invited him to Mosco, with offer of two thousand pounds a year, and from prince Boris one thousand marks; to have his provision from the emperor's table, to be honourably received, and accounted as one of the chief men in the land. All which Dee accepted not.

One thousand six hundred and four. Sir Thomas Smith was sent embassador from King James to Boris then emperor; and staid some days at a place five miles from Mosco, till he was honourably received into the city; met on horseback by many thousands of gentlemen and nobles on both sides the way; where the embassador alighting from his coach, and mounted on his horse, rode with his trumpets sounding before him; till a gentleman of the emperor's stable brought him a gennet gorgeously trapped with gold, pearl, and stone, especially with a great chain of plated gold about his neck, and horses richly adorned for his followers. Then came three great noblemen with an interpreter offering a speech; but the embassador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief compliment found means to put it by. Thus alighting all, they saluted, and gave hands mutually. Those three, after a tedious preamble of the emperor's title thrice repeated, brought a several compliment of three words a piece, as namely, the first, To know how the king did; the next, How the embassador; the third, That there was a fair house provided him. Then on they went on either hand of the embassador, and about six thousand gallants behind them; still met within the city by more of greater quality to the very gate of his lodging: where fifty gunners were his daily guard both at home and abroad. The prestaves, or gentlemen assigned to have the care of his entertainment, were earnest to have had the embassador's speech and message given them in writing, that the interpreter, as they pretended, might the better translate it; but he admonished them of their foolish demand. On the day of his audience, other gennets were sent him and his attendants to ride on, and two white palfreys to draw a rich chariot, which was parcel of the present; the rest whereof was carried by his followers through a lane of the emperor's guard; many messengers posting up and down the while, till they came through the great castle, to the uttermost court gate. There met by a great duke, they were brought up stairs through a stone gallery, where stood on each hand many in fair coats of Persian stuff, velvet, and damask. The embassador by two other counsellors being led into the presence, after his obeisance done, was to stay and hear again the long title repeated; then the particular presents; and so delivered as much of his embassage as was then requisite. After which the emperor, arising from his throne, demanded of the king's health; so did the young prince. The embassador then delivered his letters into the emperor's own hand, though the chancellor offered to have taken them. He bore the majesty of a mighty emperor; his crown and sceptre of pure gold, a collar of pearls about his neck, his garment of crimson velvet embroidered with precious stone and gold. On his right side stood a fair globe of beaten gold on a pyramis with a cross upon it; to which, before he spake, turning a little he crossed himself. Not much less in splendour on another throne sate the prince. By the emperor stood two noblemen in cloth of silver, high caps of black fur, and chains of gold hanging to their feet; on their shoulders two poleaxes of gold; and two of silver by the prince; the ground was all covered with arras or tapestry. Dismissed, and brought in again to dinner, they saw the emperor and his son seated in state, ready to dine; each with a skull of pearl on their bare heads, their vestments changed. In the midst of this hall seemed to stand a pillar heaped round to a great height with massy plate curiously wrought with beasts, fishes, and fowl. The emperor's table was served with two hundred noblemen in coats of gold; the prince's table with young dukes of Casan, Astracan, Siberia, Tartaria, and Circassia. The emperor sent from his table to the embassador thirty dishes of meat, to each a loaf of extraordinary fine bread. Then followed a number more of strange and rare dishes piled up by half dozens, with boiled, roast, and baked, most part of them besauced with garlic and onions. In midst of dinner calling the embassador up to him he drank the king's health, who receiving it from his hand, returned to his place, and in the same cup, being of fair chrystal, pledged it with all his company. After dinner they were called up to drink of excellent and strong meath from the emperor's hand; of which when many did but sip, he urged it not; saying he was best pleased with what was most for their health. Yet after that, the same day he sent a great and glorious duke, one of them that held the golden poleaxe, with his retinue, and sundry sorts of meath, to drink merrily with the embassador, which some of the English did, until the duke and his followers, lightheaded, but well rewarded with thirty yards of cloth of gold, and two standing cups, departed. At second audience the embassador had like reception as before: and being dismissed, had dinner sent after him with three hundred several dishes of fish, it being Lent, of such strangeness, greatness, and goodness, as scarce would be credible to report. The embassador departing was brought a mile out of the city with like honour as he was first met; where lighting from the emperor's sled, he took him to his coach, made fast upon a sled; the rest to their sleds, an easy and pleasant passage

1 Hack. 508.

Names of the Authors from whence these Relations have been taken; being all either Eyewitnesses, or immediate Relaters from such as were.

The journal of Sir Hugh Willoughby.
Discourse of Richard Chancelor.
Another of Clement Adams, taken from the mouth of Chancelor.
Notes of Richard Johnson, servant to Chancelor.
The Protonotaries Register.
Two Letters of Mr. Hen. Lane.
Several voyages of Jenkinson.
Southam and Sparks.
The journal of Randolf the embassador.
Another of Sir Jerom Bowes.
The coronation of Pheodor, written by Jerom Horsey.
Gourdon of Hull's voyage to Pechora.
The voyage of William Pursglove to Pechora.
Of Josias Logan.
Hessel Gerardus, out of Purchas, part 3. l. 3.
Russian relations in Purch. 797. ibid. 806. ibid.
The embassage of Sir Thomas Smith.
Papers of Mr. Hackluit.
Jansonius.

A DECLARATION

OF

LETTERS PATENTS,

FOR THE ELECTION OF THIS PRESENT KING OF POLAND,

JOHN THE THIRD,

ELECTED ON THE 22nd OF MAY LAST PAST, A. D 1674

CONTAINING THE REASONS OF THIS ELECTION, THE GREAT VIRTUES AND MERITS OF THE SAID SERENE ELECT, HIS EMINENT SERVICES IN WAR, ESPECIALLY IN HIS LAST GREAT VICTORY AGAINST THE TURKS AND TARTARS, WHEREOF MANY PARTICULARS ARE HERE RELATED, NOT PUBLISHED BEFORE.

NOW FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN COPY.

In the name of the most Holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

We Andrew Trezebicki, bishop of Cracovia, duke of Severia, John Gembicki of Uladislau and Pomerania, &c.; bishops to the number of ten.

Stanislaus Warszycki, Castellan of Cracovia; Alexander Michael Lubomirski of Cracovia, &c.; palatines to the number of twenty-three.

Christopherus Grzymaltouski of Posnania, Alexander Gratus de Tarnow of Sandimer; castellans to the number of twenty-four.

Hiraleus Polubinski, high marshal of the great dukedom of Lithuania, Christopherus Pac, high chancellor of the great dukedom of Lithuania, senators and great officers, to the number of seventy-five.

WE declare by these our present letters unto all and single persons whom it may concern: our commonwealth, being again left widowed by the unseasonable death of that famous Michael late king of Poland, who, having scarce reigned full five years, on the tenth day of November, of the year last past, at Leopolis, changed his fading crown for one immortal; in the sense of so mournful a funeral and fresh calamity, yet with undaunted courage, mindful of herself in the midst of dangers, forebore not to seek remedies, that the world may understand she grows in the midst of her losses; it pleased her to begin her counsels of preserving her country, and delivering it from the utmost chances of an interreign, from the divine Deity, (as it were by the only motion of whose finger, it is easy that kingdoms be transferred from nation to nation, and kings from the lowest states to thrones;) and therefore the business was begun according to our country laws, and ancestors' institutions. After the convocation of all the states of the kingdom ended, in the month of February, at Warsaw, by the common consent of all those states, on the day decreed for the election the twentieth of April: at the report of this famous act, as though a trumpet had been sounded, and a trophy of virtue erected, the wishes and desires of foreign princes came forth of their own accord into the field of the Polonian liberty, in a famous strife of merits and goodwill towards the commonwealth, every one bringing their ornaments, advantages, and gifts to the commonwealth: but the commonwealth becoming more diligent by the prodigal ambition used in the last interreign, and factions, and disagreeings of minds, nor careless of the future, considered with herself whether firm or doubtful things were promised, and whether she should seem from the present state to transfer both the old and new honours of Poland into the possession of strangers, or the military glory, and their late unheard of victory over the Turks, and blood spilt in the war, upon the purple of some unwarlike prince; as if any one could so soon put on the love of the country, and that Poland was not so much an enemy to her own nation and fame, as to favour strangers more than her own; and valour being found in her, should suffer a guest of new power to wax proud in her: therefore she thenceforth turned her thoughts upon some one in her own nation, and at length abolished (as she began in the former election), that reproach cast upon her, under pretence of a secret maxim, "That none can be elected king of Poland,

but such as are born out of Poland;" neither did she seek long among her citizens whom she should prefer above the rest; (for this was no uncertain or suspended election, there was no place for delay;) for although in the equality of our nobles many might be elected, yet the virtue of a hero appeared above his equals: therefore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine instinct, turned upon the high marshal of the kingdom, captain of the army, John Sobietski. The admirable virtue of the man, the high power of marshal in the court, with his supreme command in arms, senatorial honour, with his civil modesty, the extraordinary splendour of his birth and fortune, with open courtesy, piety towards God, love to his fellow-citizens in words and deeds; constancy, faithfulness, and clemency towards his very enemies, and what noble things soever can be said of a hero, did lay such golden chains on the minds and tongues of all, that the senate and people of Poland and of the great dukedom of Lithuania, with suffrages and agreeing voices named and chose him their king; not with his seeking or precipitate counsel, but with mature deliberations continued and extended till the third day.

Certainly it conduced much for the honour of the most serene elect, the confirmation of a free election, and the eternal praise of the people electing, that the great business of an age was not transacted in one day, or in the shadow of the night, or by one casual heat: for it was not right that a hero of the age should in a moment of time (and as it were by the cast of a die) be made a king, whenas antiquity by an ancient proverb has delivered, "that Hercules was not begot in one night;" and it hath taught, that election should shine openly under a clear sky, in the open light.

The most serene elect took it modestly, that his nomination should be deferred till the third day, plainly shewing to endeavour, lest his sudden facility of assent being suspected, might detract from their judgment, and the world might be enforced to believe by a more certain argument, that he that was so chosen was elected without his own ambition, or the envy of corrupted liberty; or was it by the appointed counsel of God, that this debate continued three whole days, from Saturday till Monday, as if the Cotimian victory (begun on the Saturday, and at length on the third day after accomplished, after the taking of the Cotimian castle) had been a lucky presage of his royal reward; or, as if with an auspicious omen, the third day of election had alluded to the regal name of JOHN the Third.

The famous glory of war paved his way to the crown, and confirmed the favour of suffrages to his most serene elect. He the first of all the Polonians shewed that the Scythian swiftness (troublesome heretofore to all the monarchies in the world) might be repressed by a standing fight, and the terrible main battalion of the Turk might be broken and routed at one stroke. That we may pass by in silence the ancient rudiments of warfare, which he stoutly and gloriously managed under the conduct and authority of another, against the Swedes, Moscovites, Borussians, Transylvanians, and Cossacks: though about sixty cities taken by him from the Cossacks be less noised in the mouth of fame; yet these often and prosperous battles were a prelude to greatest victories in the memory of man. Myriads of Tartars had overrun within this six years with their plundering troops the coast of Podolia, when a small force and some shattered legions were not sufficient against the hostile assault, yet our general knowing not how to yield, shut himself up (by a new stratagem of war) in Podhajecy, a strait castle, and fortified in haste, whereby he might exclude the cruel destruction, which was hastening into the bowels of the kingdom; by which means the Barbarian, deluded and routed, took conditions of peace; as if he had made his inroad for this only purpose, that he might bring to the most serene elect matter of glory, victory.

For these four last years the famous victories of Sobietski have signalized every year of his warlike command on the Cossacks and Tartarians both joined together; the most strong province of Braclavia, as far as it lies between Hypanis and Tyral, with their cities and warlike people, were won from the Cossack enemy.

And those things are beyond belief, which two years ago the most serene elect, after the taking of Camenick (being undaunted by the siege of Laopolis) performed to a miracle by the hardness and fortitude of the Polonian army, scarce consisting of three thousand men, in the continual course of five days and nights, sustaining life without any food, except wild herbs; setting upon the Tartarians, he made famous the names of Narulum, Niemicrovia, Konarnum, Kalussia, obscure towns before, by a great overthrow of the Barbarians. He slew three sultans of the Crim Tartars, descended of the royal Gietian family, and so trampled on that great force of the Scythians, that in these later years they could not regain their courage, nor recollect their forces. But the felicity of this last autumn exceeded all his victories; whenas the fortifications at Chocimum, famous of old, were possessed and fortified by above forty thousand Turks, in which three and forty years ago the Polonians had sustained and repressed the forces of the Ottoman family, drawn together out of Asia, Africa, and Europe, fell to the ground within a few hours, by the only (under God) imperatorious valour and prudence of Sobietski; for he counted it his chief part to go about the watches, order the stations, and personally to inspect the preparations of warlike ordnance, to encourage the soldiers with voice, hands, and countenance, wearied with hunger, badness of weather, and three days standing in arms; and he (which is most to be admired) on foot at the head of the foot forces, made through, and forced his way to the battery, hazarding his life devoted to God and his country; and thereupon made a cruel slaughter within the camp and fortifications of the enemy; while the desperation of the Turks whetted their valour, and he performed the part of a most provident and valiant captain: at which time three bashaws were slain, the fourth scarce passed with difficulty the swift river of Tyras; eight thousand janizaries, twenty thousand

chosen spachies, besides the more common soldiers, were cut off; the whole camp with all their ammunition and great ordnance, besides the Assyrian and Phrygian wealth of luxurious Asia, were taken and pillaged; the famous castle of Cotimie, and the bridge over Tyras, strong fortresses, equal to castles on each side the river, were additions to the victory. Why therefore should not such renowned heroic valour be crowned with the legal reward of a diadem? All christendom have gone before us in example, which, being arrived to the recovery of Jerusalem under the conduct of Godfrey of Bulloin, on their own accord gave him that kingdom, for that he first scaled the walls of that city. Our most serene elect is not inferiour, for he first ascended two main fortresses of the enemy.

The moment of time adorns this victory unheard of in many ages, the most serene king Michael dying the day before, as it were signifying thereby that he gave way to so great valour, as if it were by his command and favour, that this conqueror might so much the more gloriously succeed from the helmet to the crown, from the commander's staff to the sceptre, from his lying in the field to the regal throne.

The commonwealth recalled the grateful and never to be forgotten memory of his renowned father, the most illustrious and excellent James Sobietski, castellan of Cracovia, a man to be written of with sedulous care; who by his golden eloquence in the public councils, and by his hand in the scene of war, had so often amplified the state of the commonwealth, and defended it with the arms of his family. Neither can we believe it happened without Divine Providence, that in the same place wherein forty years ago his renowned father, embassador of the Polonian commonwealth, had made peace and covenants with Cimanus the Turkish general, his great son should revenge with his sword the peace broke, Heaven itself upbraiding the perfidious enemy. The rest of his grandsires and great grandsires, and innumerable names of famous senators and great officers, have as it were brought forth light to the serene elect by the emulous greatness and glory of his mother's descent, especially Stanislaus Zelkievius, high chancellor of the kingdom, and general of the army, at whose grave in the neighbouring fields, in which by the Turkish rage in the year sixteen hundred and twenty he died, his victorious nephew took full revenge by so remarkable an overthrow of the enemy: the immortal valour and fatal fall of his most noble uncle Stanislaus Danilovitius in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-five, palatine of Russia, doubled the glory of his ancestors; whom desirous of honour, and not enduring the sluggish peace wherein Poland then slept secure, valour and youthful heat accited at his own expense and private forces into the Tauric fields; that by his footing, and the ancient warlike Polonian discipline, he might lead and point the way to these merits of Sobietski, and being slain by Cantimiz the Tartarian Cham, in revenge of his son by him slain, he might by his noble blood give lustre to this regal purple. Neither hath the people of Poland forgot the most illustrious Marcus Sobietski, elder brother of our most serene elect, who, when the Polonian army at Batto was routed by the Barbarians, although occasion was offered him of escape, yet chose rather to die in the overthrow of such valiant men, a sacrifice for his country, than to buy his life with a dishonourable retreat; perhaps the divine judgment so disposing, whose order is, that persons pass away and fail, and causes and events happen again the same; that by the repeated fate of the Huniades, the elder brother, of great hopes, removed by a lamented slaughter, might leave to his younger brother surviving the readier passage to the throne. That therefore which we pray may be happy, auspicious, and fortunate to our orthodox commonwealth, and to all christendom, with free and unanimous votes, none opposing, all consenting and applauding, by the right of our free election, notwithstanding the absence of those which have been called and not appeared; We being led by no private respect, but having only before our eyes the glory of God, the increase of the ancient catholic church, the safety of the commonwealth, and the dignity of the Polish nation and name, have thought fit to elect, create, and name, JOHN in Zolkiew and Zloczew Sobietski, supreme marshal general of the kingdom, general of the armies, governor of Neva, Bara, Strya, Loporovient, and Kalussien, most eminently adorned with so high endowments, merits, and splendour, to be King of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Kyovia, Volhinia, Padlachia, Podolia, Livonia, Smolensko, Severia, and Czeruicchovia, as we have elected, created, declared, and named him: I the aforesaid bishop of Cracovia (the archiepiscopal see being vacant) exercising the office and authority of primate, and by consent of all the states, thrice demanded, opposed by none, by all and every one approved, conclude the election; promising faithfully, that we will always perform to the same most serene and potent elect prince, lord John the Third, our king, the same faith, subjection, obedience, and loyalty, according to our rights and liberties, as we have performed to his blessed ancestor, as also that we will crown the same most serene elect in the next assembly at Cracovia, to that end ordained, as our true king and lord, with the regal diadem, with which the kings of Poland were wont to be crowned; and after the manner which the Roman Catholic church beforetime hath observed in anointing and inaugurating kings, we will anoint and inaugurate him: yet so as he shall hold fast and observe first of all the rights, immunities both ecclesiastical and secular, granted and given unto us by his ancestor of blessed memory; as also these laws, which we ourselves in the time of this present and former interreign, according to the right of our liberty, and better preservation of the commonwealth, have established. And if, moreover, the most serene elect will bind himself by an oath, to perform the conditions concluded with those persons sent by his majesty before the exhibition of this present decree of election, and will provide in best manner for the performance of them by his authentic letters; which decree of election we, by divine aid desirous to put in execution, do send by

common consent, to deliver it into the hand of the most serene elect, the most illustrious and reverend lord bishop of Cracovia, together with some senators and chief officers, and the illustrious and magnificent Benedictus Sapieha, treasurer of the court of the great dukedom of Lithuania, marshal of the equestrian order; committing to them the same decree of intimating an oath, upon the aforesaid premises, and receiving his subscription; and at length to give and deliver the same decree into the hands of the said elect, and to act and perform all other things which this affair requires; in assurance whereof the seals of the lords senators, and those of the equestrian order deputed to sign, are here affixed.

Given by the hands of the most illustrious and reverend father in Christ, the lord Andrew Olszonski, bishop of Culma and Pomisania, high chancellor of the kingdom, in the general ordinary assembly of the kingdom, and great dukedom of Lithuania, for the election of the new king Warsaw, the twenty-second day of May, in the year of our Lord sixteen hundred and seventy-four

In the presence of Franciscus Praskmouski, provost of Guesna, abbot of Sieciethovia, chief secretary of the kingdom; Joannes Malachowski, abbot of Mogila, referendary of the kingdom, &c.; with other great officers of the kingdom and clergy, to the number of fourscore and two. And the rest, many great officers, captains, secretaries, courtiers, and inhabitants of the kingdom, and great dukedom of Lithuania, gathered together at Warsaw to the present assembly of the election of the kingdom and great dukedom of Lithuania.

Assistants at the solemn oath taken of his sacred majesty on the fifth day of the month of June, in the palace at Warsaw, after the letters patents delivered upon the covenants, and agreements, or capitulations, the most reverend and excellent lord Francisco Bonvisi, archbishop of Thessalonica, apostolic nuncio; count Christopherus a Scaffgotsch, Cæcareus Tussanus de Forbin, de Jason, bishop of Marseilles in France, Joannes free-baron Hoverbec, from the marquis of Brandenburg, embassadors, and other envoys and ministers of state.

LETTERS OF STATE

TO MOST OF

THE SOVEREIGN PRINCES AND REPUBLICS OF EUROPE,

DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORS OLIVER AND RICHARD CROMWELL.

LETTERS WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF THE PARLIAMENT.

The Senate and People of ENGLAND, *to the most noble Senate of the City of* HAMBOROUGH.

FOR how long a series of past years, and for what important reasons, the friendship entered into by our ancestors with your most noble city has continued to this day, we both willingly acknowledge, together with yourselves; nor is it a thing displeasing to us, frequently also to call to our remembrance. But as to what we understand by your letters dated the twenty-fifth of June, that some of our people deal not with that fidelity and probity, as they were wont to do in their trading and commerce among ye; we presently referred it to the consideration of certain persons well-skilled in those matters, to the end they might make a more strict inquiry into the frauds of the clothiers, and other artificers of the woollen manufacture. And we farther promise, to take such effectual care, as to make you sensible of our unalterable intentions, to preserve sincerity and justice among ourselves, as also never to neglect any good offices of our kindness, that may redound to the welfare of your commonwealth. On the other hand, there is something likewise which we not only required, but which equity itself, and all the laws of God and man, demand of yourselves; that you will not only conserve inviolable to the merchants of our nation their privileges, but by your authority and power defend and protect their lives and estates, as it becomes your city to do. Which as we most earnestly desired in our former letters; so upon the repeated complaints of our merchants, that are daily made before us, we now more earnestly solicit and request it: they complaining, that their safety, and all that they have in the world, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledge themselves to have reaped some benefit for a short time of our former letters sent you, and to have had some respite from the injuries of a sort of profligate people; yet since the coming of the same Coc--m to your city, (of whom we complained before,) who pretends to be honoured with a sort of embassy from ——, the son of the lately deceased king, they have been assaulted with all manner of ill language, threats, and naked swords of ruffians and homicides, and have wanted your accustomed protection and defence; insomuch, that when two or three of the merchants, together with the president of the society, were hurried away by surprise aboard a certain privateer, and that the rest implored your aid, yet they could not obtain any assistance from you, till the merchants themselves were forced to embody their own strength, and rescue from the hands of pirates the persons seized on in that river, of which your city is the mistress, not without extreme hazard of their lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brought them home again, and as it were by force of arms recovered them from an ignominious captivity, and carried the pirates themselves into custody; we are informed, that Coc--m was so audacious, as to demand the release of the pirates, and that the merchants might be delivered prisoners into his hands. We therefore again, and again, beseech and adjure you, if it be your intention, that contracts and leagues, and the very ancient commerce between both nations should be preserved, (the thing which you desire,) that our people may be able to assure themselves of some certain and firm support and reliance upon your word, your prudence, and authority; that you would lend them a favourable audience concerning these matters, and that you would inflict deserved punishment as well upon Coc--m, and the rest of his accomplices in that wicked act, as upon those who lately assaulted the preacher, hitherto unpunished, or command them to depart your territories;

nor that you would believe, that expelled and exiled Tarquins are to be preferred before the friendship, and the wealth, and power of our republic. For if you do not carefully provide to the contrary, but that the enemies of our republic shall presume to think lawful the committing of any violences against us in your city, how unsafe, how ignominious the residence of our people there will be, do you consider with yourselves! These things we recommend to your prudence and equity, yourselves to the protection of Heaven.

Westminster, Aug. 10, 1649.

To the Senate of HAMBOROUGH.

YOUR conspicuous favour in the doubtful condition of our affairs is now the reason, that after victory and prosperous success, we can no longer question your good-will and friendly inclination towards us. As for our parts, the war being almost now determined, and our enemies every where vanquished, we have deemed nothing more just, or more conducing to the firm establishment of the republic, than that they who by our means (the Almighty being always our captain and conductor) have either recovered their liberty, or obtained their lives and fortunes, after the pernicious ravages of a civil war, of our free gift and grace, should testify and pay in exchange to their magistrates allegiance and duty in a solemn manner, if need required: more especially when so many turbulent and exasperated persons, more than once received into protection, will make no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidiously, and raising new disturbances. To that purpose we took care, to enjoin a certain form of an oath, by which all who held any office in the commonwealth, or, being fortified with the protection of the law, enjoyed both safety, ease, and all other conveniencies of life, should bind themselves to obedience in words prescribed. This we also thought proper to be sent to all colonies abroad, or wherever else our people resided for the convenience of trade; to the end that the fidelity of those, over whom we are set, might be proved and known to us, as it is but reasonable and necessary. Which makes us wonder so much the more at what our merchants write from your city, that they are not permitted to execute our commands by some or other of your order and degree. Certainly what the most potent United Provinces of the Low Countries, most jealous of their power and their interests, never thought any way belonging to their inspection, namely, whether the English foreigners swore fidelity and allegiance to their magistrates at home, either in these or those words, how that should come to be so suspected and troublesome to your city, we must plainly acknowledge, that we do not understand. But this proceeding from the private inclinations or fears of some, whom certain vagabond Scots, expelled their country, are said to have enforced by menaces, on purpose to deter our merchants from swearing fidelity to us, we impute not to your city. Most earnestly therefore we intreat and conjure ye (for it is not now the interest of trade, but the honour of the republic itself that lies at stake) not to suffer any one among ye, who can have no reason to concern himself in this affair, to interpose his authority, whatever it be, with that supremacy which we challenge over our own subjects, not by the judgment and opinion of foreigners, but by the laws of our country; for who would not take it amiss, if we should forbid your Hamburghers, residing here, to swear fidelity to you, that are their magistrates at home? Farewel.

Jan. 4, 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP *the Fourth, King of* SPAIN: *the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *Greeting.*

WE send to your majesty Anthony Ascham, a person of integrity, learned, and descended of an ancient family, to treat of matters very advantageous, as we hope, as well to the Spanish, as to the English nation. Wherefore in friendly manner we desire, that you would be pleased to grant, and order him a safe and honourable passage to your royal city, and the same in his return from thence, readily prepared to repay the kindness when occasion offers. Or if your majesty be otherwise inclined, that it may be signified to him with the soonest, what your pleasure is in this particular, and that he may be at liberty to depart without molestation.

Feb. 4, 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP *the Fourth, King of* SPAIN: *the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *Greeting.*

WHAT is the condition of our affairs, and by what heinous injuries provoked and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our liberty by force of arms; what constituted form of government we now make use of, can neither be concealed from your majesty, nor any other person, who has but cast an impartial eye upon our writings published on these occasions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our fidelity, our equity, and patience, manifest to all men, and justly meriting their approbation; as also to defend our authority, honour, and grandeur, against the infamous tongues of exiles and fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign nations, after having subdued and vanquished the enemies of our country, through the miraculous assistance of Heaven, we openly and cordially profess ourselves readily prepared to have peace and friendship, more desirable than all enlargement of empire, with our neighbour nations. For these reasons we have sent into Spain, to your majesty, Anthony Ascham, of approved dexterity and probity, to treat with your majesty concerning friendship, and the accustomed commerce between both nations; or else, if it be your pleasure, to open a way for the ratifying of new articles and alliances. Our request therefore is, that you will grant him free liberty of access to your majesty, and give such order, that care

may be taken of his safety and honour, while he resides a public minister with your majesty; to the end he may freely propose what he has in charge from us, for the benefit, as we hope, of both nations; and certify to us with the soonest, what are your majesty's sentiments concerning these matters.

Westminster, Feb. 4, 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal: *the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting.*

After we had suffered many, and those the utmost, mischiefs of a faithless peace, and intestine war, our being reduced to those exigencies, that if we had any regard to the safety of the republic, there was a necessity of altering for the chiefest part the form of government; is a thing which we make no question is well known to your majesty, by what we have both publicly written and declared in justification of our proceedings. To which, as it is but reason, if credit might be rather given than to the most malicious calumnies of loose and wicked men; perhaps we should find those persons more amicably inclined, who now abroad have the worst sentiments of our actions. For as to what we justify ourselves to have justly and strenuously performed after the example of our ancestors, in pursuance of our rights, and for recovery of the native liberty of Englishmen, certainly it is not the work of human force or wit to eradicate the perverse and obstinate opinions of people wickedly inclined concerning what we have done. But after all, in reference to what is common to us with all foreign nations, and more for the general interest on both sides, we are willing to let the world know, that there is nothing which we more ardently desire, than that the friendship and commerce, which our people have been accustomed to maintain with all our neighbours, should be enlarged and settled in the most ample and solemn manner. And whereas our people have always driven a very great trade, and gainful to both nations, in your kingdom; we shall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foresee that all our industry will be in vain, if, as it is reported, the pirates and revolters of our nation shall be suffered to have refuge in your ports, and after they have taken and plundered the laden vessels of the English, shall be permitted to sell their goods by public outcries at Lisbon. To the end therefore that a more speedy remedy may be applied to this growing mischief, and that we may be more clearly satisfied concerning the peace which we desire, we have sent to your majesty the most noble Charles Vane, under the character of our agent, with instructions and a commission, a plenary testimonial of the trust we have reposed, and the employment we have conferred upon him. Him therefore we most earnestly desire your majesty graciously to hear, to give him credit, and to take such order, that he may be safe in his person and his honour, within the bounds of your dominions. These things, as they will be most acceptable to us, so we promise, whenever occasion offers, that the same offices of kindness to your majesty shall be mutually observed on all our parts.

Westminster, Feb. 4, 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal: *the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting.*

Almost daily and most grievous complaints are brought before us, that certain of our seamen and officers, who revolted from us the last year, and treacherously and wickedly carried away the ships with the command of which they were entrusted, and who, having made their escape from the port of Ireland, where, being blocked up for almost a whole summer together, they very narrowly avoided the punishment due to their crimes, have now betaken themselves to the coast of Portugal, and the mouth of the river Tagus: that there they practise furious piracy, taking and plundering all the English vessels they meet with sailing to and fro upon the account of trade; and that all the adjoining seas are become almost impassable, by reason of their notorious and infamous robberies. To which increasing mischief unless a speedy remedy be applied, who does not see, but that there will be a final end of that vast trade so gainful to both nations, which our people were wont to drive with the Portuguese? Wherefore we again and again request your majesty, that you would command those pirates and revolters to depart the territories of Portugal: and that, if any pretended embassadors present themselves from *******, that you will not vouchsafe to give them audience; but that you will rather acknowledge us, upon whom the supreme power of England, by the conspicuous favour and assistance of the Almighty, is devolved; and that the ports and rivers of Portugal may not be barred and defended against your friends and confederates fleet, no less serviceable to your emolument than the trade of the English.

To the most Serene Prince Leopold, *Archduke of* Austria, *Governor of the* Spanish *Low Countries, under King* Philip.

So soon as word was brought us, not without a most grievous complaint, that Jane Puckering, an heiress of an illustrious and opulent family, while yet by reason of her age she was under guardians, not far from the house wherein she then lived at Greenwich, was violently forced from the hands and embraces of her attendants; and of a sudden in a vessel to that purpose ready prepared, carried off into Flanders by the treachery of one Walsh, who has endeavoured all the ways imaginable, in contempt of law both human and divine, to constrain a wealthy virgin to marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of present death: We deeming it proper to apply some speedy remedy to so enormous and unheard of piece of villany, gave orders to some persons to treat with the governors of Newport and Ostend (for the unfortunate captive was said to be

landed in one of those two places) about rescuing the freeborn lady out of the hands of the ravisher. Who, both out of their singular humanity and love of virtue, lent their assisting aid to the young virgin in servitude, and by downright robbery rifled from her habitation: so that to avoid the violence of her imperious masters, she was as it were deposited in a nunnery, and committed to the charge of the governess of the society. Wherefore the same Walsh, to get her again into his clutches, has commenced a suit against her in the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of Ypre, pretending a matrimonial contract between him and her. Now in regard that both the ravisher and the ravished person are natives of our country, as by the witnesses upon their oaths abundantly appears; as also for that the splendid inheritance, after which most certainly the criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our territories; so that we conceive, that the whole cognizance and determination of this cause belongs solely to ourselves; therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himself the husband, here let him commence his suit, and demand the delivery of the person, whom he claims for his wife. In the mean time, this it is that we most earnestly request from your highness, which is no more than what we have already requested by our agent residing at Brussels, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways misused virgin, born of honest parents, [illegible]rated out of her native country, to return, as far as lies in your power, with freedom and safety home again. This not only we, upon all opportunities offered, as readily prepared to return the same favour and kindness to your highness, but also humanity itself, and that same hatred of infamy, which ought to accompany all persons of virtue and courage in defending the honour of the female sex, seem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

Westminster, March 28, 1650.

To the most Serene Prince, JOHN *the Fourth, King of* PORTUGAL.

UNDERSTANDING that your majesty had both honourably received our agent, and immediately given him a favourable audience, we thought it became us to assure your majesty without delay, by speedy letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us, and that there is nothing which we have decreed more sacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not first provoked, the peace, the friendship, and commerce, now for some time settled between us and the greatest number of other foreign nations, and among the rest with the Portuguese. Nor did we send the English fleet to the mouth of the river Tagus with any other intention or design than in pursuit of enemies so often put to flight, and for recovery of our vessels, which being carried away from their owners by force and treachery, the same rabble of fugitives conducted to your coasts, and even to Lisbon itself, as to the most certain fairs for the sale of their plunder. But we are apt to believe, that by this time almost all the Portuguese are abundantly convinced, from the flagitious manners of those people, of their audaciousness, their fury, and their madness. Which is the reason we are in hopes, that we shall more easily obtain from your majesty, first, that you will, as far as in you lies, be assistant to the most illustrious Edward Popham, whom we have made admiral of our new fleet, for the subduing those detested freebooters; and that you will no longer suffer them, together with their captain, not guests, but pirates, not merchants, but the pests of commerce, and violaters of the law of nations, to harbour in the ports and under the shelter of the fortresses of your kingdom; but that wherever the confines of Portugal extend themselves, you will command them to be expelled as well by land as by sea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at least that with your leave it may be lawful for us, with our proper forces to assail our own revolters and sea robbers; and if it be the pleasure of Heaven, to reduce them into our power. This, as we have earnestly desired in our former letters, so now again with the greatest ardency and importunity we request of your majesty. By this, whether equity, or act of kindness, you will not only enlarge the fame of your justice over all well-governed and civil nations, but also in a greater measure bind both us and the people of England, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the Portuguese, to yourself and to your subjects. Farewel.

Westminster, April 27, 1650.

To the HAMBURGHERS.

MORE than once we have written concerning the controversies of the merchants, and some other things which more nearly concern the dignity of our republic, yet no answer has been returned. But understanding that affairs of that nature can hardly be determined by letters only, and that in the mean time certain seditious persons have been sent to your city by *******, authorized with no other commission than that of malice and audaciousness, who make it their business utterly to extirpate the ancient trade of our people in your city, especially of those whose fidelity to their country is most conspicuous; therefore we have commanded the worthy and most eminent Richard Bradshaw, to reside as our agent among ye; to the end he may be able more at large to treat and negotiate with your lordships such matters and affairs, as are interwoven with the benefit and advantages of both republics. Him therefore we request ye with the soonest to admit to a favourable audience; and that in all things that credit may be given to him, that honour paid him, as is usual in all countries, and among all nations paid to those that bear his character.

Westminster, April 2, 1650.

To the HAMBURGHERS.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends;

THAT your sedulities in the reception of our agent were so cordial and so egregious, we both gladly un-

derstand, and earnestly exhort ye that you would persevere in your goodwill and affection towards us. And this we do with so much the greater vehemence, as being informed, that the same exiles of ours, concerning whom we have so frequently written, now carry themselves more insolently in your city than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatening language in a most despightful manner against our resident. Therefore once more by these our letters we would have the safety of his person, and the honour due to his quality, recommended to your care. On the other side, if you inflict severe and timely punishment upon those fugitives and ruffians, as well the old ones as the new-comers, it will be most acceptable to us, and becoming your authority and prudence.

Westminster, May 31, 1650.

To Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.

To our infinite sorrow we are given to understand, that Anthony Ascham, by us lately sent our agent to your majesty, and under that character most civilly and publicly received by your governors, upon his first coming to your royal city, naked of all defence and guard, was most bloodily murdered in a certain inn, together with John Baptista de Ripa his interpreter, butchered at the same time. Wherefore we most earnestly request your majesty, that deserved punishment may be speedily inflicted upon those parricides, already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to custody; who have not only presumed to wound ourselves through his sides, but have also dared to stab, as it were, to the very heart, your faith of word and royal honour. So that we make no question, but what we so ardently desire would nevertheless be done effectually, by a prince of his own accord so just and pious, though nobody required it. As to what remains, we make it our further suit, that the breathless carcass may be delivered to his friends and attendants to be brought back and interred in his own country, and that such care may be taken for the security of those that remain alive, as is but requisite; till having obtained an answer to these letters, if it may be done, they shall return to us the witnesses of your piety and justice.

Westminster, June 28*th*, 1650.

To Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.

How heinously, and with what detestation, your majesty resented the villanous murder of our agent, Anthony Ascham, and what has hitherto been done in the prosecution and punishment of his assassinates, we have been given to understand, as well by your majesty's own letters, as from your ambassador don Alphonso de Cardenos. Nevertheless so often as we consider the horridness of that bloody fact, which utterly subverts the very foundations of correspondence and commerce, and of the privilege of embassadors, most sacred among all nations, so villanously violated without severity of punishment; we cannot but with utmost importunity repeat our most urgent suit to your majesty, that these parricides may with all the speed imaginable be brought to justice, and that you would not suffer their merited pains to be suspended any longer by any delay or pretence of religion. For though most certainly we highly value the friendship of a potent prince; yet it behoves us to use our utmost endeavours, that the authors of such an enormous parricide should receive the deserved reward of their impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful mind acknowledge that civility, of which by your command our people were not unsensible, as also your surpassing affection for us, which lately your ambassador at large unfolded to us: nor will it be displeasing to us, to return the same good offices to your majesty, and the Spanish nation, whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheless, if justice be not satisfied without delay, which we still most earnestly request, we see not upon what foundations a sincere and lasting friendship can subsist. For the preservation of which, however, we shall omit no just and laudable occasion; to which purpose we are likewise apt to believe, that the presence of your embassador does not a little conduce.

To the Spanish *Embassador.*

Most Excellent Lord,

The council of state, so soon as their weighty affairs would permit them, having carried into parliament the four writings, which it pleased your excellency to impart to the council upon the nineteenth of December last, have received in command from the parliament, to return this answer to the first head of those writings, touching the villanous assassinates of their late agent, Anthony Ascham.

The parliament have so long time, so often, and so justly demanded their being brought to deserved punishment, that there needs nothing further to be said on a thing of so great importance, wherein (as your excellency well observed) his royal majesty's authority itself is so deeply concerned, that, unless justice be done upon such notorious offenders, all the foundations of human society, all the ways of preserving friendship among nations, of necessity must be overturned and abolished. Nor can we apprehend by any argument drawn from religion, that the blood of the innocent, shed by a propensely malicious murder, is not to be avenged. The parliament therefore once more most urgently presses, and expects from his royal majesty, according to their first demands, that satisfaction be given them effectually and sincerely in this matter.

To the most Excellent Lord Anthony John Lewis de la Cerda, *Duke of* Medina Celi, *Governor of* Andalusia: *the Council of State constituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.*

We have received advice from those most accomplished persons, whom we lately sent with our fleet into Portugal, in pursuit of traitors, and for the recovery of our vessels, that they were most civilly received by your excellency, as often as they happened to touch

upon the coasts of Gallæcia, which is under your government, and assisted with all things necessary to those that perform long voyages. This civility of yours, as it was always most acceptable to us, so it is now more especially at this time, while we are sensible of the illwill of others in some places towards us without any just cause given on our side: therefore we make it our request to your illustrious lordship, that you will persevere in the same good-will and affection to us, and that you would continue your favour and assistance to our people, according to your wonted civility, as often as our ships put in to your harbours: and be assured, that there is nothing which we desire of your lordship in the way of kindness, which we shall not be ready to repay both to you and yours, whenever the like occasion shall be offered us.

Sealed with the seal of the council,
J. Bradshaw, President.

Westminster, Nov. 7th, 1650.

To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of Dantzick.

Magnificent and most Noble Lords,
our dearest Friends;

Many letters are brought us from our merchants trading upon the coast of Borussia, wherein they complain of a grievous tribute imposed upon them in the grand council of the Polanders, enforcing them to pay the tenth part of all their goods for the relief of the king of Scots, our enemy. Which in regard it is plainly contrary to the law of nations, that guests and strangers should be dealt withal in such a manner; and most unjust, that they should be compelled to pay public stipends in a foreign commonwealth to him from whom they are, by God's assistance, delivered at home; we make no question, but that out of respect to that liberty, which as we understand you yourselves enjoy, you will not suffer so heavy a burden to be laid on merchants in your city, wherein they have maintained a continual amity and commerce, to the extraordinary advantage of the place for many years together. If therefore you think it convenient, to undertake the protection of our merchants trading among ye, which we assuredly expect, as well from your prudence and equity, as from the dignity and grandeur of your city; we shall take that care, that you shall be sensible from time to time of our grateful acceptance of your kindness, as often as the Dantzickers shall have any dealings within our territories, or their ships, as frequently it happens, put into our ports.

Westminster, Febr. 6, 1650.

To the Portugal *Agent.*

Most Illustrious Lord,

We received your letters dated from Hampton the fifteenth of this month, wherein you signify, that you are sent by the king of Portugal to the parliament of the commonwealth of England; but say not under what character, whether of embassador, or agent, or envoy, which we would willingly understand by your credential letters from the king, a copy of which you may send us with all the speed you can. We would also further know, whether you come with a plenary commission, to give us satisfaction for the injuries, and to make reparation for the damages, which your king has done this republic, protecting our enemy all the last summer in his harbours, and prohibiting the English fleet, then ready to assail rebels and fugitives, which our admiral had pursued so far; but never restraining the enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word, that you have ample and full commission to give us satisfaction concerning all these matters, and send us withal a copy of your recommendatory letters, we shall then take care, that you may with all speed repair to us upon the Public Faith: at which time, when we have read the king's letters, you shall have liberty freely to declare what further commands you have brought along with you.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the most Serene Prince* D. Ferdinand, *Grand Duke of* Tuscany, *&c.*

We have received your highness's letters, dated April twenty-two, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, and delivered to us by your resident, Signor Almeric Salvetti, wherein we readily perceive how greatly your highness favours the English name, and the value you have for this nation; which not only our merchants, that for many years have traded in your ports, but also certain of our young nobility, either travelling through your cities, or residing there for the improvement of their studies, both testify and confirm. Which as they are things most grateful and acceptable to us, we also on our parts make this request to your highness, that your serenity will persevere in your accustomed good-will and affection towards our merchants, and other citizens of our republic, travelling through the Tuscan territories. On the other side, we promise and undertake, as to what concerns the parliament, that nothing shall be wanting, which may any way conduce to the confirmation and establishment of that commerce and mutual friendship, that now has been of long continuance between both nations, and which it is our earnest wish and desire should be preserved to perpetuity, by all offices of humanity, civility, and mutual observance.

Sealed with the seal of the parliament, and subscribed by William Lenthall, speaker of the parliament of the commonwealth of England.

Westminster, Jan. 20, 1651.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of* Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends;

The parliament of the commonwealth of England. out of their earnest desire to continue and preserve the

ancient friendship and mutual commerce between the English nation and your city, not long since sent thither Richard Bradshaw, esq., with the character of our resident; and among other instructions tending to the same purpose, gave him an express charge to demand justice against certain persons within your jurisdiction, who endeavoured to murder the preacher belonging to the English society, and who likewise laid impious hands upon the deputy president, and some of the principal merchants of the same company, and hurried them away aboard a privateer. And although the aforesaid resident, upon his first reception and audience, made known to your lordships in a particular manner the commands which he received from us; upon which it was expected, that you would have made those criminals ere this a severe example of your justice; yet when we understood our expectations were not answered, considering with ourselves what danger both our people and their estates were in, if sufficient provision were not made for their security and protection against the malice of their enemies, we again sent orders to our aforesaid resident, to represent to your lordships our judgment upon the whole matter; as also to exhort and persuade ye, in the name of this republic, to be careful of preserving the friendship and alliance contracted between this commonwealth and your city, as also the traffic and commerce no less advantageous for the interest of both: and to that end, that you would not fail to protect our merchants, together with their privileges, from all violation, and more particularly against the insolences of one Garmes, who has carried himself contumeliously toward this republic, and publicly cited to the Chamber of Spire certain merchants of the English company residing in your city, to the great contempt of this commonwealth, and trouble of our merchants; for which we expect such reparation, as shall be consentaneous to equity and justice.

To treat of these heads, and whatever else more largely belongs to the common friendship of both republics, we have ordered our resident aforesaid to attend your lordships, requesting that ample credit may be given to him in such matters, as he shall propose relating to these affairs.

Westminster, *March* 12, 1651. Sealed with the parliament seal, and subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the most Serene* Christiana, *Queen of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, &c., *Greeting.*

Most Serene Queen;

We have received and read your majesty's letters to the parliament of England, dated from Stockholm, the twenty-sixth of September last, and delivered by Peter Spering Silvercroon; and there is nothing which we more vehemently and cordially desire, than that the ancient peace, traffic, and commerce of long continuance between the English and Swedes may prove diuturnal, and every day increase. Nor did we question, but that your majesty's embassador was come amply instructed to make those proposals chiefly, which should be most for the interest and honour of both nations, and which we were no less readily prepared to have heard, and to have done effectually that which should have been thought most secure and beneficial on both sides. But it pleased the Supreme Moderator and Governor of all things, that before he had desired to be heard as to those matters, which he had in charge from your majesty to propound to the parliament, he departed this life, (whose loss we took with that heaviness and sorrow, as it became persons whom it no less behoved to acquiesce in the will of the Almighty,) whence it comes to pass, that we are prevented hitherto from knowing your majesty's pleasure, and that there is a stop at present put to this negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no less than by these our letters, which we have given to our messenger on purpose sent with these unhappy tidings, to signify to your majesty, how acceptable your letters, how grateful your public minister were to the parliament of the commonwealth of England; as also how earnestly we expect your friendship, and how highly we shall value the amity of so great a princess; assuring your majesty, that we have those thoughts of increasing the commerce between this republic and your majesty's kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the highest importance, which for that reason will be most acceptable to the parliament of the commonwealth of England. And so we recommend your majesty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

Westminster, *March* —, 1651. Sealed with the parliament seal, and subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, *to the most Serene and Potent Prince*, Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain, *Greeting.*

The merchants of this commonwealth, who trade in your majesty's territories, make loud complaints of extraordinary violence and injuries offered them, and of new tributes imposed upon them by the governors and other officers of your ports and places where they traffic, and particularly in the Canary islands, and this against the articles of the league solemnly ratified by both nations on the account of trade; the truth of which complaints they have confirmed by oath. And they make it out before us, that unless they can enjoy their privileges, and that their losses be repaired; lastly that except they may have some certain safeguard and protection for themselves and their estates against those violences and injuries, they can no longer traffic in those places. Which complaints of theirs being duly weighed by us, and believing the unjust proceedings of those ministers either not at all to have reached your knowledge, or else to have been untruly represented to your majesty, we deemed it convenient to send the complaints themselves, together with these our letters, to your majesty. Nor do we question, but that your majesty, as well out of your love of justice, as for the sake of that commerce no less gainful to your subjects than our people, will command your governors to de-

sist from those unjust oppressions of our merchants, and so order it, that they may obtain speedy justice, and due satisfaction for those injuries done them by don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman, and others; and that your majesty will take care, that the merchants aforesaid may reap the fruit of those articles; and be so far under your protection, that both their persons and their estates may be secure and free from all manner of injury and vexation. And this they believe they shall for the greatest part obtain if your majesty will be pleased to restore them that expedient, taken from them, of a judge-conservator, who may be able to defend them from a new consulship more uneasy to them; lest if no shelter from injustice be allowed them, there should follow a necessity of breaking off that commerce, which has hitherto brought great advantages to both nations, while the articles of the league are violated in such a manner.

Westm. Aug. —, 1651.

To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE, *and the most Illustrious Senate.*

Most Serene Prince, most Illustrious Senate,
our dearest Friends;

CERTAIN of our merchants, by name John Dickins, and Job Throckmorton, with others, have made their complaints to us, that upon the twenty-eighth of November, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, having seized upon a hundred butts of caviare in the vessel called the Swallow, riding in the Downs, Isaac Taylor master, which were their own proper goods, and laden aboard the same ship in the Muscovite Bay of Archangel, and this by the authority of our court of admiralty; in which court, the suit being there depending, they obtained a decree for the delivery of the said butts of caviare into their possession, they having first given security to abide by the sentence of that court: and that the said court, to the end the said suit might be brought to a conclusion, having written letters, according to custom, to the magistrates and judges of Venice; wherein they requested liberty to cite John Piatti to appear by his proctor in the English court of admiralty, where the suit depended, and prove his right: nevertheless, that the said Piatti and one David Rutts a Hollander, while this cause depends here in our court, put the said John Dickins, and those other merchants, to a vast deal of trouble about the said caviare, and solicit the seizure of their goods and estates as forfeited for debt. All which things, and whatever else has hitherto been done in our foresaid court is more at large set forth in those letters of request aforementioned; which after we had viewed, we thought proper to be transmitted to the most serene republic of Venice, to the end they might be assistant to our merchants in this cause. Upon the whole therefore, it is our earnest request to your highness, and the most illustrious senate, that not only those letters may obtain their due force and weight; but also, that the goods and estates of the merchants, which the foresaid Piatti and David Rutts have endeavoured to make liable to forfeiture, may be discharged; and that the said defendants may be referred hither to our court, to try what right they have in their claim to this caviare. Wherein your highness and the most serene republic will do as well what is most just in itself, as what is truly becoming the spotless amity between both republics: and lastly, what will gratefully be recompensed by the goodwill and kind offices of this republic, whenever occasions offer.

Sealed with the seal of the council, and subscribed President of the council.

Whitehall, Feb. —, 1652.

To the Spanish Embassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE council of state, according to a command from the parliament, dated the second of March, having taken into serious deliberation your excellency's paper of the fifteenth of February, delivered to the commissioners of this council, wherein it seemed good to your excellency to propose, that a reply might be given to two certain heads therein specified as previous, returns the following answer to your excellency.

The parliament, when they gave an answer to those things which were proposed by your excellency at your first audience, as also in those letters which they wrote to the most serene king of Spain, gave real and ample demonstrations, how grateful and how acceptable that friendship and that mutual alliance, which was offered by his royal majesty, and by yourself in his name, would be to them; and how fully they were resolved, as far as in them lay, to make the same returns of friendship and good offices.

After that, it seemed good to your excellency, at your first audience in council upon the nineteenth of December old style, to propound to this council, as a certain ground or method for an auspicious commencement of a stricter amity, that some of their body might be nominated, who might hear what your excellency had to propose; and who having well weighed the benefit, that might redound from thence, should speedily report the same to the council. To which request of yours that satisfaction might be given, the council appointed certain of their number to attend your excellency, which was done accordingly. But instead of those things, which were expected to have been propounded, the conference produced no more than the above mentioned paper: to which the answer of the council is this.

When the parliament shall have declared their minds, and your excellency shall have made the progress as above expected, we shall be ready to confer with your excellency, and to treat of such matters as you shall propose in the name of the king your master, as well in reference to the friendship already concluded, as the entering into another more strict and binding; or as to any thing else, which shall be offered by ourselves in the name of this republic: and when we descend to particulars, we shall return such answers as are most proper, and the nature of the thing proposed shall require.

Whitehall, March 21, 1652.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *to the most Serene Prince* FREDERICK *the Third, King of* DENMARK, *&c. Greeting.*

Most Serene and Potent King,

WE have received your majesty's letters, dated from Copenhagen the twenty-first of December last, and delivered to the parliament of the commonwealth of England by the noble Henry Willemsem Rosenwyng de Lynsacker, and most gladly perused them, with that affection of mind, which the matters therein propounded justly merit, and request your majesty to be fully persuaded of this, that the same inclinations, the same desires of continuing and preserving the ancient friendship, commerce, and alliance, for so many years maintained between England and Denmark, which are in your majesty, are also in us. Not being ignorant, that though it has pleased Divine Providence, beholding this nation with such a benign and favourable aspect, to change for the better the received form of the former government among us; nevertheless, that the same interests on both sides, the same common advantages, the same mutual alliance and free traffic, which produced the former leagues and confederacies between both nations, still endure and obtain their former force and virtue, and oblige both to make it their common study by rendering those leagues the most beneficial that may be to each other, to establish also a nearer and sounder friendship for the time to come. And if your majesty shall be pleased to pursue those counsels, which are manifested in your royal letters, the parliament will be ready to embrace the same with all alacrity and fidelity, and to contribute all those things to the utmost of their power, which they shall think may conduce to that end. And they persuade themselves, that your majesty for this reason will take those counsels in reference to this republic, which may facilitate the good success of those things propounded by your majesty to ourselves so desirous of your amity. In the mean time, the parliament wishes all happiness and prosperity to your majesty and people.

Westminster,
April —, 1652.

Under the seal of the parliament, and subscribed in its name, and by the authority of it, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *to the most Illustrious and Magnificent, the Proconsuls and Senators of the* HANSE TOWNS, *Greeting.*

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends;

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has both received and perused your letters of the sixteenth of January last, delivered by your public minister Leo ab Aysema, and by their authority have given him an audience; at what time he declared the cordial and friendly inclinations of your cities toward this republic, and desired that the ancient friendship might still remain on both sides. The parliament therefore, for their parts, declare and assure your lordships, that they deem nothing more grateful to themselves, than that the same friendship and alliance, which has hitherto been maintained between this nation and those cities, should be renewed, and firmly ratified; and that they will be ready, upon all occasions fitly offered, what they promise in words solemnly to perform in real deeds; and expect that their ancient friends and confederates should deal by them with the same truth and integrity. But as to those things, which your resident has more particularly in charge in regard they were by us referred entire to the council of state, and his proposals were to be there considered, they transacted with him there, and gave him such answers, as seemed most consentaneous to equity and reason, of which your resident is able to give you an account; whose prudence and conspicuous probity proclaim him worthy the public character by you conferred upon him.

Westminster,
April —, 1652.

Under the seal of the parliament, in the name, and by the authority of it, subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *to the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of* HAMBOROUGH, *Greeting.*

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends;

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has received and perused your letters, dated from Hamborough the fifteenth of January last, and delivered by the noble Leo ab Aysema, yours and the rest of the Hanseatic cities resident, and by their own authority gave him audience; and as to what other particular commands he had from your city, they have referred them to the council of state, and gave them orders to receive his proposals, and to treat with him as soon as might be, concerning all such things as seemed to be just and equal: which was also done accordingly. And as the parliament has made it manifest, that they will have a due regard to what shall be proposed by your lordships, and have testified their singular goodwill toward your city, by sending their resident thither, and commanding his abode there; so on the other side they expect, and deservedly require from your lordships, that the same equity be returned to them, in things which are to the benefit of this republic, either already proposed, or hereafter to be propounded by our said resident in their name to your city, anciently our friend and confederate.

Westminster,
April —, 1652.

Under the seal of the parliament, in the name, and by the authority of it, subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, *to the most Serene Prince* FERDINAND *the Second, Grand Duke of* TUSCANY, *Greeting.*

THE council of state being informed by letters from Charles Longland, who takes care of the affairs of the English in your highness's court of Leghorn, that lately fourteen men of war belonging to the United Provinces came into that harbour, and openly threatened to sink or burn the English ships that were riding in your port; but that your Serenity, whose protection and succour the English merchants implored, gave command to the governor of Leghorn, that he should assist and defend the English vessels: they deemed it their duty to certify to your highness how acceptable that kindness and protection, which you so favourably afforded the English nation, was to this republic; and do promise your highness, that they will always keep in remembrance the merit of so deserving a favour, and will be ready upon all occasions to make the same returns of friendship and good offices to your people, and to do all things else, which may conduce to the preservation and continuance of the usual amity and commerce between both nations. And whereas the Dutch men of war, even in the time of treaty offered by themselves, were so highly perfidious as to fall upon our fleet in our own roads, (in which foul attempt, God, as most just arbiter, showed himself offended and opposite to their design,) but also in the ports of foreigners endeavoured to take or sink our merchant vessels; we thought it also necessary to send this declaration also of the parliament of the commonwealth of England to your highness, the publishing of which was occasioned by the controversies at present arisen between this republic and the United Provinces. By which your highness may easily perceive how unjust and contrary to all the laws of God and of nations those people have acted against this republic; and how cordially the parliament laboured, for the sake of public tranquillity, to have retained their pristine friendship and alliance.

Whitehall,
July 29, 1652.

In the name, and by the authority of the Council, subscribed, President.

To the SPANISH *Embassador.*

Most Excellent Lord,

THE council of state, upon mature deliberation of that paper which they received from your excellency, 27 May/6 June, 1652, as also upon that which your excellency at your audience the 6/16 of this month delivered to the council, return this answer to both those papers. that the parliament, &c. was always very desirous of preserving the firm friendship and good peace settled at present between this republic and his royal majesty of Spain, from the time that first your excellency signified the tendency of his majesty's inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the same to the benefit and advantage of both nations. And this the council of state in the name, and by command of the parliament, in their papers ofttimes made known to your excellency; and particularly, according to your excellency's desire, made choice of commissioners to attend and receive from your excellency such proposals as might conduce to the same purpose. At which meeting, instead of making such proposals, it seemed good to your excellency only to propound some general matters, as it were previous to a future conference, concerning which it seemed to the council that the parliament had in former papers fully made known their sentiments. Nevertheless for more ample and accumulative satisfaction, and to remove all scruples from your excellency concerning those matters which they at that time proposed, the council in that paper, dated 31 March/10 April, declared themselves ready to come to a conference with your excellency, concerning those things which you had in charge from his royal majesty, as well in reference to the pristine amity, as to any farther negotiation; as also touching such matters as should be exhibited by us, in the name of this republic; and when we came to such particulars as were to the purpose, and the nature of the thing required, then to give convenient answers. To which it seemed good to your excellency to make no reply, nor to proceed any farther in that affair for almost two months. About that time the council received from your excellency your first paper, dated 27 May/6 June; wherein you only made this proposal, that the articles of peace and league between the late King Charles and your master, dated the 6/16 of November, 1630, might be reviewed, and that the several heads of it might be either enlarged or left out, according to the present condition of times and things, and the late alteration of government. Which being no more than what we ourselves briefly and clearly signified in our foresaid paper of the 31 March/10 April, the council expected, that some particular articles would have been propounded out of that league, with those amplifications and alterations of which you made mention; since otherwise it is impossible for us to return any other answer concerning this matter, than what we have already given. And whereas your excellency in your last paper seems to charge us with delay, the council therefore took a second review of the foresaid paper of the 27 May/6 June; and of what was therein propounded, and are still of opinion, that they have fully satisfied your excellency in that former paper: to which they can only farther add, that so soon as your excellency shall be pleased, either out of the leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame such conditions as shall be accommodated to the present state of things and times, upon which you desire to have the foundations of friendship laid on your side, they will immediately return you such answers as by them shall be thought just and reasonable, and which shall be sufficient testimonials, that the parliament still perseveres in the same desires of preserving an untainted and firm amity with the king your master, and that on their parts they will omit no honest endeavours, and worthy of themselves, to advance it to the highest perfection.

Furthermore, the council deems it to be a part of

their duty, that your excellency should be put in mind of that paper of ours, dated January 30, 1651, to which in regard your excellency has returned no answer as yet, we press and expect that satisfaction be given to the parliament, as to what is therein mentioned.

The Answer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Embassadors Extraordinary from the King of DENMARK *and* NORWAY, *delivered to the Commissioners of the Council, to the Answer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.*

To the end that satisfaction may be given to the foresaid lords embassadors in reference to the answer of the council to the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth article, the council consents, that this following clause shall be added at the end of their answers: that is to say, besides such colonies, islands, ports, and places, under the dominion of either party, to which it is by law provided that nobody shall resort upon the account of trade or commerce, unless upon special leave first obtained of that party to which that colony, island, port, or places belong.

The receiving of any person into any ship, that shall be driven in by stress of weather into the rivers, ports, or bays, belonging to either party, shall not render that vessel liable to any trouble or search, by the answer of the council to the eleventh article, as the foresaid lords embassadors in their reply seem to have understood, unless it be where such a receiving shall be against the laws, statutes, or custom of that place where the vessel put in, wherein it seems to the council, that there is nothing of severity ordained, but what equally conduces to the security of both republics.

As to the proving the property of such ships and goods as shall be cast ashore by shipwreck, the council deems it necessary that an oath be administered in those courts which are already, or shall hereafter be constituted, where the claimers may be severally heard and every body's right be determined and adjudged; which cannot be so clearly and strictly done by written certificates, whence many scruples and doubts may arise, and many frauds and deceits creep into that sort of proof, which it concerns both parties to prevent. The council also deems it just, that a certain time be prefixed, before which time, whoever does not prove himself the lawful owner of the said goods, shall be excluded, to avoid suits. But as to the manner of putting perishable goods to sale, that are cast ashore by shipwreck, the council thinks it meet to propose the way of selling by inch of candle, as being the most probable means to procure the true value of the goods for the best advantage of the proprietors. Nevertheless, if the foresaid lords embassadors shall propose any other method already found out, which may more properly conduce to this end, the council will be no hindrance, but that what is just may be put in practice. Neither is it to be understood, that the consideration of this matter shall put any stop to the treaty.

As to the punishment of those, who shall violate the propounded treaty, the council has made that addition, which is mentioned in their answer to the fourteenth article, for the greater force and efficacy of that article, and thereby to render the league itself more firm and lasting.

As to the last clause of the fourteenth article, we think it not proper to give our assent to those leagues and alliances, of which mention is made in the aforesaid answers, and which are only generally propounded, before it be more clearly apparent to us what they are. But when your excellencies shall be pleased to explain those matters more clearly to the council, we may be able to give a more express answer to those particulars.

A Reply of the Council of State to the Answer of the foresaid Lords Embassadors, which was returned to the six Articles propounded by the Council aforesaid, in the Name of the Republic of ENGLAND.

THE council, having viewed the commissions of the foresaid lords embassadors, giving them power to transact with the parliament or their commissioners, concerning all things expedient to be transacted in order to the reviving the old leagues, or adding new ones, believed indeed the foresaid lords to have been furnished with that authority, as to be able to return answers, and negotiate all things, as well such as should be propounded by this republic, as on the behalf of the king of Denmark and Norway, and so did not expect the replies, which it has pleased the foresaid lords embassadors to give to the first, second, third, and fifth demand of the council, whereby of necessity a stop will be put to this treaty, in regard it is but just in itself, and so resolved on in council, to comprehend the whole league, and to treat at the same time as well concerning those things which regard this republic, as those other matters, which concern the king of Denmark and Norway. Wherefore it is the earnest desire of the council, that your excellencies would be pleased to return an answer to our first, second, third, and fifth demand.

As to the fourth article concerning the customs of Gluckstadt, in regard they are now abolished, as your excellencies have mentioned in your answer, the council presses that their abrogation may be ratified by this treaty, lest they should be reimposed hereafter.

As to the sixth article concerning piracy, the council inserted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the establishing of trade in common, which is much disturbed by pirates and searobbers. And whereas the answer of the lords embassadors, as to this article, relates only to enemies, but makes no mention of pirates, the council therefore desires a more distinct reply to it.

And whereas the foresaid lords embassadors in their reply to the answer of the council have passed over both their tenth article, and the answer of the council to it; the council have thought it necessary to add this following article, to their following demands.

That the people and inhabitants of the republic of England trading into any kingdoms, regions, or territories of the king of Denmark and Norway, shall not

for the future pay any more customs, tribute, taxes, duties, or stipends, or in any other manner, than the people of the United Provinces, or any other foreign nation, that pays the least, coming in or going out of harbour; and shall enjoy the same, and as equally ample freedom, privileges, and immunities, both coming and going, and so long as they shall reside in the country, as also in fishing, trading, or in any other manner which any other people of a foreign nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foresaid kingdoms, and throughout the whole dominions of the said king of Denmark and Norway: which privileges also the subjects of the king of Denmark and Norway shall equally enjoy throughout all the territories and dominions of the republic of England.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, *to the most Serene Prince*, FERDINAND *the Second, Grand Duke of* TUSCANY, *Greeting.*

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend,

THE council of State understanding, as well by your highness's agent here residing, as by Charles Longland, chief factor for the English at Leghorn, with what affection and fidelity your highness undertook the protection of the English vessels putting into the port of Leghorn for shelter, against the Dutch men of war threatening them with nothing but ransack and destruction, by their letters of the twenty-ninth of July (which they hope are by this time come to your highness's hands) have made known to your highness how grateful and how acceptable it was to them; and at the same time sent to your serenity a declaration of the parliament of the commonwealth of England, concerning the present differences between this Republic and the United Provinces. And whereas the council has again been informed by the same Charles Longland, what further commands your highness gave for the security and defence of the English vessels, notwithstanding the opposite endeavours of the Dutch, they deemed this opportunity not to be passed over, to let your highness understand once more, how highly they esteem your justice and singular constancy in defending their vessels, and how acceptable they took so great a piece of service. Which being no mean testimony of your solid friendship and affection to this republic, your highness may assure yourself, that the same offices of kindness and goodwill towards your highness shall never be wanting in us; such as may be able to demonstrate how firmly we are resolved to cultivate both long and constantly, to the utmost of our power, that friendship which is between your serenity and this republic. In the mean time, we have expressly commanded all our ships, upon their entrance into your ports, not to fail of paying the accustomed salutes by firing their guns, and to give all other due honours to your highness.

Whitehall, *Sept.* — 1652. Sealed with the Council-Seal, and subscribed, President.

To the SPANISH *Embassador*, ALPHONSO DE CARDENAS.

Most Excellent Lord,

YOUR excellency's letters of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of November 1652, delivered by your secretary, together with two petitions enclosed, concerning the ships, the Sampson and San Salvadore, were read in council. To which the council returns this answer, That the English man of war meeting with the aforesaid ships not in the Downs, as your excellency writes, but in the open sea, brought them into port as enemies' ships, and therefore lawful prize; and the court of admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all causes of this nature, have undertaken to determine the right in dispute; where all parties concerned on both sides shall be fully and freely heard, and you may be assured that right shall take place. We have also sent your excellency's request to the judges of that court, to the end we may more certainly understand what progress they have made in their proceeding to judgment. Of which, so soon as we are rightly informed, we shall take care that such orders shall be given in this matter, as shall correspond with justice, and become the friendship that is between this republic and your king. Nor are we less confident, that his royal majesty will by no means permit the goods of the enemies of this commonwealth to be concealed, and escape due confiscation under the shelter of being owned by his subjects.

Whitehall, *Nov.* 11, 1652. Sealed with the Council-Seal, and subscribed, William Masham, President.

To the SPANISH *Embassador.*

Most Excellent Lord,

BUT lately the council has been informed by captain Badiley, admiral of the fleet of this republic in the Straits, that after he himself, together with three other men of war, had for two days together engaged eleven of the Dutch, put into Porto Longone, as well to repair the damages he had received in the fight, as also to supply himself with warlike ammunition; where the governor of the place performed all the good offices of a most just and courteous person, as well towards his own, as the rest of the men of war under his conduct. Now in regard that that same place is under the dominion of the most serene king of Spain, the council cannot but look upon the singular civility of that garrison to be the copious fruit of that stricter mutual amity so auspiciously commenced; and therefore deem it to be a part of their duty, to return their thanks to his majesty for a kindness so opportunely received, and desire your excellency to signify this to your most serene king, and to assure him, that the parliament of the commonwealth of England will be always ready to make the same returns of friendship and civility upon all occasions offered.

Westminster, *Nov.* 11, 1652. Sealed with the Council-Seal, and subscribed, William Masham, President.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *to the most Serene Prince* FERDINAND *the Second, Grand Duke of* TUSCANY, *Greeting.*

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has received your letters dated from Florence, August 17, concerning the restitution of a certain ship laden with rice, which ship is claimed by captain Cardi of Leghorn. And though the judges of our admiralty have already pronounced sentence in that cause against the aforesaid Cardi, and that there be an appeal depending before the delegates; yet upon your highness's request, the parliament, to testify how much they value the goodwill and alliance of a prince so much their friend, have given order to those who are entrusted with this affair, that the said ship, together with the rice, or at least the full price of it, be restored to the aforesaid captain Cardi; the fruit of which command his proctor here has effectually already reaped. And as your highness by favourably affording your patronage and protection to the ships of the English in your port of Leghorn, has in a more especial manner tied the parliament to your serenity; so will they, on the other side, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their offices of sincere friendship and goodwill towards your highness may be solidly effectual and permanent; withal recommending your highness to the divine benignity, and protection of the Almighty.

Westminster, Nov. 1652. — Sealed with the Seal of the Commonwealth, and subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *to the most Serene and Potent Prince, King of* DENMARK, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have received information from their admiral of that fleet so lately sent to Copenhagen, your majesty's port, to convoy our merchants homeward bound, that the foresaid ships are not permitted to return along with him, as being detained by your majesty's command; and upon his producing your royal letters, declaring your justifications of the matter of fact, the parliament denies, that the reasons laid down in those letters for the detaining of those ships are any way satisfactory to them. Therefore that some speedy remedy may be applied in a matter of so great moment, and so highly conducing to the prosperity of both nations, for preventing a greater perhaps ensuing mischief, the parliament have sent their resident at Hambrough, Richard Bradshaw, esquire, a person of great worth and known fidelity, with express commands to treat with your majesty, as their agent also in Denmark, concerning this affair: and therefore we entreat your majesty, to give him a favourable audience and ample credit in whatever he shall propose to your majesty, on our behalf, in reference to this matter; in the mean time recommending your majesty to the protection of Divine Providence.

Westminster, *Nov.* 6, 1652. — Under the Seal of the Parliament, and in their Name, and by their Authority, subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *to the most Serene Prince, the Duke of* VENICE, *Greeting.*

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has received your highness's letters, dated June 1, 1652, and delivered by Lorenzo Pallutio, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours, and the cordial inclination of the senate towards this republic, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their singular affection and goodwill towards the most Serene Republic of Venice; which they shall be always ready to make manifest both really and sincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom also all the ways and means, that shall be propounded to them for the preserving or increasing mutual friendship and alliance, shall be ever most acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray, that all things prosperous, all things favourable, may befall your highness and the most serene Republic.

Westminster, *Dec.* 1652. — Sealed with the Parliament Seal, and subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Republic of ENGLAND, *to the most Serene Prince,* FERDINAND *the Second, Grand Duke of* TUSCANY, *Greeting.*

ALTHOUGH the parliament of the republic of England some time since redoubled their commands to all the chief captains and masters of ships arriving in the ports belonging to your highness, to carry themselves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming observance and duty to a most serene prince, whose friendship this republic so earnestly endeavours to preserve, as having been obliged by so many great kindnesses; an accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the insolence, as they hear, of captain Appleton, in the port of Leghorn, who offered violence to the sentinel then doing his duty upon the mole, against the faith and duty which he owes this republic, and in contempt of the reverence and honour which is justly owing to your highness: the relation of which action, as it was really committed, the parliament has understood by your letters of the seventh and ninth of December, dated from Florence; as also more at large by the most worthy Almeric Salvetti, your resident here. And they have so sincerely laid to heart your highness's honour, which is the main concern of this complaint, that they have referred it to the Council of State, to take care that letters be sent to capt. Appleton, to come away without stop or stay by land, in order to his giving an account of this unwonted and extraordinary act,

(a copy of which letters is sent herewith enclosed,) who so soon as he shall arrive, and be accused of the fact, we promise, that such a course shall be taken with him, as may sufficiently testify that we no less heinously brook the violation of your right than the infringement of our own authority. Moreover, upon mature debate concerning the recovered ship, called the Phœnix of Leghorn, which affair is also related and pressed by your highness and your resident here, to have been done by captain Appleton, contrary to promise given, whereby he was obliged not to fall upon even the Hollanders themselves within sight of the lantern; and that your highness, trusting to that faith, promised security to the Hollanders upon your word; and therefore that we ought to take care for the satisfaction of those, who suffer damage under the protection of your promise; the parliament begs of your excellency to be assured, that this fact, as it was committed without their advice or command, so it is most remote from their will and intention, that your highness should undergo any detriment or diminution of your honour by it. Rather they will make it their business, that some expedient may be found out for your satisfaction, according to the nature of the fact, upon examination of the whole matter. Which that they may so much the more fully understand, they deem it necessary, that captain Appleton himself should be heard, who was bound by the same faith, and is thought by your excellency at least to have consented to the violation of it; especially since he is so suddenly to return home. And so soon as the parliament has heard him, and have more at large conferred with your resident concerning this matter of no small moment, they will pronounce that sentence that shall be just, and consentaneous to that extreme goodwill, which they bear to your highness, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferred upon them. Of which that your highness might not make the least question in the mean time, we were willing to certify your highness by this express on purpose sent, that we shall omit no opportunity, to testify how greatly we value your friendship.

Westminster, Dec. 14, 1652. Sealed with the Parliament Seal, and subscribed, Speaker, &c.

The Council of State of the Republic of England, to the most Serene Prince, FREDERICK, *Heir of* NORWAY, *Duke of* SLESWICK, HOLSATIA, STORMARIA, DITMARSH, *Count in* OLDENBURGH *and* DELMENHORST, *Greeting.*

THOUGH it has pleased the most wise God, and most merciful Moderator of all things, besides the burden which he laid upon us in common with our ancestors, to wage most just wars in defence of our liberty against tyrannical usurpation, signally also to succour us with those auspices and that divine assistance, beyond what he afforded to our predecessors, that we have been able not only to extinguish a civil war, but to extirpate the causes of it for the future, as also to repel the unexpected violences of foreign enemies; nevertheless, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the same favour and benignity of the Supreme Deity towards us, we are not so puffed up with the success of our affairs, but that rather instructed in the singular justice and providence of God, and having had long experience of ourselves, we abominate the thoughts of war, if possible to be avoided, and most eagerly embrace peace with all men. Therefore, as hitherto we never were the first that violated or desired the violation of that friendship, or those ancient privileges of leagues, that have been ratified between us and any princes or people whatever; so your highness, in consideration of your ancient amity with the English, left us by our ancestors, may, with a most certain assurance, promise both yourself and your people all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Lastly, as we highly value, which is no more than what is just and reasonable, the testimonies of your affection and good offices offered us, so we shall make it our business, that you may not at any time be sensible of the want of ours, either to yourself or yours. And so we most heartily recommend your highness to the omnipotent protection of the Almighty God.

Whitehall, *July* —, 1653. Sealed with the Council Seal, and subscribed, President.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE parliament of the commonwealth of ENGLAND have received an extraordinary congratulation from your excellency, most kindly and courteously delivered to us by word of mouth by Herman Mylius, your counsellor and doctor of laws: who wished all things lucky and prosperous, in your name, to the parliament and English interest, and desired that the friendship of this republic might remain inviolable within your territories. He also desired letters of safe conduct, to the end your subjects may the more securely trade and sail from place to place; together with our orders to our public ministers abroad, to be aiding and assisting to your excellency and your interests with their good offices and counsels. To which requests of his we willingly consented, and granted both our friendship, the letters desired, and our orders to our public ministers under the seal of the parliament. And though it be some months ago since your public minister first came to us, however that delay neither arose from any unwillingness on our part to assent to the request made in your excellency's name, or that your deputy was at any time wanting in his sedulity, (whose solicitations were daily and earnest with all the diligence and importunity that became him, to the end he might be dispatched,) but only it happened so, that at that time the greatest and most weighty affairs of the republic were under debate and serious negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your illustrious lordship, lest any body, through a false construction of this delay, should think those favours unwillingly or hardly obtained, which were most gladly granted by the par-

liament of the commonwealth of England. In whose name these are commanded to be signed.

Henry Scobel, clerk of the parliament.

To the most Illustrious and Noble Senators, SCULTETS, LANDAM, *and Senators of the Evangelic Cantons of* SWITZERLAND, ZURICK, BERN, GLARIS, BALE, SCHAFFHUSEN, APPENZEL, *also the Confederates of the same Religion in the country of the* GRISONS, *of* GENEVA, ST. GALL, MALHAUSEN, *and* BIENNE, *our dearest friends;*

YOUR letters, most illustrious lords and dearest confederates, dated December twenty-four, full of civility, goodwill, and singular affection towards us and our republic, and what ought always to be greater and more sacred to us, breathing fraternal and truly christian charity, we have received. And in the first place, we return thanks to Almighty God, who has raised and established both you and so many noble cities, not so much intrenched and fortified with those enclosures of mountains, as with your innate fortitude, piety, most prudent and just administration of government, and the faith of mutual confederacies, to be a firm and inaccessible shelter for all the truly orthodox. Now then that you who over all Europe were the first of mortals, who after deluges of barbarous tyrants from the north, Heaven prospering your valour, recovered your liberty, and being obtained, for so many years have preserved it untainted, with no less prudence and moderation; that you should have such noble sentiments of our liberty recovered; that you, such sincere worshippers of the gospel, should be so constantly persuaded of our love and affection for the orthodox faith, is that which is most acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to peace, with a pious and affectionate intent, as we are fully assured, certainly such an admonition ought to be of great weight with us, as well in respect of the thing itself which you persuade, and which of all things is chiefly to be desired, as also for the great authority, which is to be allowed your lordships above others in this particular, who in the midst of loud tumultuous wars on every side enjoy the sweets of peace both at home and abroad, and have approved yourselves the best example to all others of embracing and improving peace; and lastly, for that you persuade us to the very thing, which we ourselves of our own accords, and that more than once, consulting as well our own, as the interest of the whole evangelical communion, have begged by embassadors, and other public ministers, namely, friendship and a most strict league with the United Provinces. But how they treated our embassadors sent to them to negotiate, not a bare peace, but a brotherly amity and most strict league; what provocations to war they afterwards gave us; how they fell upon us in our own roads, in the midst of their embassador's negotiations for peace and allegiance, little dreaming any such violence; you will abundantly understand by our declaration set forth upon this subject, and sent you together with these our letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's assistance, though prosperous hitherto, so to carry ourselves, that we may neither attribute any thing to our own strength or forces, but all things to God alone, nor be insolently puffed up with our success; and we still retain the same ready inclinations to embrace all occasions of making a just and honest peace. In the mean time yourselves, illustrious and most excellent lords, in whom this noble and pious sedulity, out of mere evangelical affection, exerts itself to reconcile and pacify contending brethren, as ye are worthy of all applause among men, so doubtless will ye obtain the celestial reward of peace-makers with God; to whose supreme benignity and favour, we heartily recommend in our prayers both you and yours, no less ready to make returns of all good offices both of friends and brethren, if in any thing we may be serviceable to your lordships.

Westminster, *Octob.* 1653. Sealed with the Parliament Seal, and subscribed, Speaker, &c.

To the SPANISH *Embassador.*

Most Illustrious Lord,

UPON grievous complaints brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the society of merchants of Foy in England, that a certain ship of theirs, called the Ann of Foy, an English ship by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to the port of Foy about Michaelmas last, was unjustly and without any cause set upon and taken by a certain privateer of Ostend, Erasmus Bruer commander, and the seamen unworthily and barbarously used: the council of state wrote to the marquis of Leda concerning it, (a copy of which letter we also send enclosed to your excellency,) and expected from him, that without delay orders would have been given for the doing of justice in this matter. Nevertheless after all this, the foresaid Noel, together with the said company, make further heavy complaint, that although our letters were delivered to the marquis, and that those merchants from that time forward betook themselves to Bruges to the court there held for maritime causes, and there asserted and proved their right, and the verity of their cause, yet that justice was denied them; and that they were so hardly dealt with, that, though the cause had been ripe for trial above three months, nevertheless they could obtain no sentence from that court, but that their ship and goods are still detained, notwithstanding the great expenses they have been at in prosecuting their claim. Now your excellency well knows it to be contrary to the law of nations, of traffic, and that friendship which is at present settled between the English and Flemings, that any Ostender should take any English vessel, if bound for England with English goods; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarously done to the English seamen by that commander, deserves a rigorous punishment. The council therefore recommends the whole matter to your excellency, and makes it their request, that you would write into Flanders concerning it, and take such speedy care, that this business may no longer be delayed, but

that justice may be done in such a manner that the foresaid ship, together with the damages, costs, and interest, which the English have sustained and been out of purse by reason of that illegal seizure, may be restored and made good to them by the authority of the court, or in some other way; and that care be taken, that hereafter no such violence be committed, but that the amity between our people and the Flemings may be preserved without any infringement.

Signed in the name, and by the command of the council of state, appointed by authority of parliament.

To the Marquis of LEDA.

GREAT complaints are brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the company of Foy merchants, concerning a ship of theirs, called the Ann of Foy, which being an English vessel by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to her own port about Michaelmas last, was taken unawares by a freebooter of Ostend, Erasmus Bruer commander. It is also further related, that the Ostenders, when the ship was in their power, used the seamen too inhumanly, by setting lighted match to their fingers, and plunging the master of the ship in the sea till they almost drowned him, on purpose to extort a false confession from him, that the ship and goods belonged to the French. Which though the master and the rest of the ship's crew resolutely denied, nevertheless the Ostenders carried away the ship and goods to their own port. These things, upon strict inquiry and examination of witnesses, have been made manifest in the admiralty court in England, as will appear by the copies of the affidavits herewith sent your lordship. Now in regard that that same ship, called the Ann of Foy, and all her lading of merchandise and goods, belong truly and properly to English, so that there is no apparent reason why the Ostender should seize by force either the one or the other, much less carry away the master of the ship, and use the seamen so unmercifully: and whereas according to the law of nations, and in respect of the friendship between the Flemings and the English, the ship and goods ought to be restored: we make it our earnest request to your excellency, that the English may have speedy justice done, and that satisfaction may be given for their losses, to the end the traffic and friendship, which is between the English and Flemings, may be long and inviolably preserved.

To the SPANISH *Embassador.*

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, understanding that several of the people of this city daily resort to the house of your excellency, and other embassadors and public ministers from foreign nations here residing, merely to hear mass, gave order to the council of state, to let your excellency understand, that whereas such resort is prohibited by the laws of the nation, and of very evil example in this our republic, and extremely scandalous; that they deem it their duty to take care that no such thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all such assemblies for the future. Concerning which, it is our desire, that your excellency should have a fair advertisement, to the end that henceforth your excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the people of this republic to hear mass in your house. And as the parliament will diligently provide that your excellency's rights and privileges shall be preserved inviolable, so they persuade themselves, that your excellency during your abode here, would by no means, that the laws of this republic should be violated by yourself or your attendants.

A Summary of the particular real Damages sustained by the ENGLISH *Company, in many places of the* EAST-INDIES, *from the* DUTCH *Company in Holland.*

1. THE damages comprehended in the sixteen articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298,555 royals ½, of which is of our money 74,638*l.* 15*s.* 00*d.*

2. We demand satisfaction to be given for the incomes of the island of Pularon, from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two, to this time, of two hundred thousand royals ½, besides the future expense, till the right of jurisdiction over that island be restored in the same condition, as when it was wrested out of our hands, as was by league agreed to, amounting of our money to . . . . . . 50,000*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

3. We demand satisfaction for all the merchandise, provision, and furniture taken away by the agents of the Dutch company in the Indies, or to them delivered, or to any of their ships bound thither, or returning home; which sum amounts to 80,635 royals, of our money . . . . . . 20,158*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

4. We demand satisfaction for the customs of Dutch merchandise laden on board their ships in Persia, or landed there from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-four, as was granted us by the King of Persia, which we cannot value at less than fourscore thousand royals . . . . 20,000*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

5. We demand satisfaction for four houses maliciously and unjustly burnt at Jocatra, together with the warehouses, magazines, and furniture, occasioned by the Dutch governor there, of all which we have information from the place itself, after we had exhibited our first complaints: the total of which damage we value at . . . . 50,000*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

We demand satisfaction for thirty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine pound of pepper, taken out of the ship Endymion in sixteen hundred and forty-nine, the total of which damage amounts to . . . . 6,000*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

220,796*l.* 15*s.* 00*d.*

A Summary of some particular Damages sustained also from the DUTCH EAST-INDIA *Company.*

1. FOR damages sustained by those who besieged Bantam, whence it came to pass, that for six years together we were excluded from that trade, and consequently from an opportunity of laying out in pepper six hundred thousand royals, with which we might have laden our homeward-bound ships; for want of which lading they rotted upon the coast of India. In the mean time our stock in India was wasted and consumed in mariners' wages, provision, and other furniture; so that they could not value their loss at less than twenty hundred and four thousand royals . 600,000*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

2. More for damages by reason of our due part lost of the fruits in the Molucca islands, Banda and Amboyna, from the time that by the slaughter of our men we were thence expelled, till the time that we shall be satisfied for our loss and expenses; which space of time, from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two, to this present year sixteen hundred and fifty, for the yearly revenue of 250,000 lib. amounts in twenty-eight years to . . . . 700,000*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

3. We demand satisfaction for one hundred and two thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine royals, taken from us by the Mogul's people, whom the Dutch protected in such a manner, that we never could repair our losses out of the money or goods of that people, which lay in their junks, which we endeavoured to do, and was in our power, had not the Dutch unjustly defended them. Which lost money we could have trebled in Europe, and value at . . . . . 77,200*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

4. For the customs of Persia, the half part of which was by the king of Persia granted to the English, anno sixteen hundred and twenty-four. Which to the year sixteen hundred and twenty-nine, is valued at eight thousand royals; to which add the four thousand lib. which they are bound to pay since sixteen hundred and twenty-nine, which is now one and twenty years, and it makes up the sum of . . . 84,000*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

From the first account . . 220,796*l.* 15*s.* 00*d.*

Sum total . . . 1,681,996*l.* 15*s.* 00*d.*

The interest from that time will far exceed the principal.

LETTERS

WRITTEN

IN THE NAME OF OLIVER THE PROTECTOR.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

BY your letters dated January twenty, sixteen hundred and fifty-four, I have been given to understand, that the noble Frederic Matthias Wolisog and Christopher Griphiander were sent with certain commands from your illustrious lordship into England; who when they came to us, not only in your name congratulated our having taken upon us the government of the English republic, but also desired, that you and your territories might be comprehended in the peace which we are about to make with the Low Countries, and that we would confirm by our present authority the letters of safe conduct lately granted your lordship by the parliament. Therefore in the first place we return your lordship our hearty thanks for your friendly congratulation, as it becomes us; and these will let you know that we have readily granted your two requests. Nor shall you find us wanting upon any opportunity, which may at any time make manifest our affection to your lordship. And this we are apt to believe you will understand more at large from your agents, whose fidelity and diligence in this affair of yours, in our court, has been eminently conspicuous. As to what remains, we most heartily wish the blessings of prosperity and peace, both upon you and your affairs.

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

WE received your letters, dated May the second, from Oldenburgh, most welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of singular civility and goodwill towards us, as because they were delivered by the hand of the most illustrious count Anthony, your beloved son; which we look upon as so

much the greater honour, as not having trusted to report, but with our own eyes, and by our own observation, discerned his virtues becoming such an illustrious extraction, his noble manners and inclinations, and lastly, his extraordinary affection toward ourselves. Nor is it to be questioned but he displays to his own people the same fair hopes at home, that he will approve himself the son of a most worthy and most excellent father, whose signal virtue and prudence has all along so managed affairs, that the whole territory of Oldenburgh for many years has enjoyed a profound peace, and all the blessings of tranquillity, in the midst of the raging confusions of war thundering on every side. What reason therefore why we should not value such a friendship, that can so wisely and providentially shun the enmity of all men? Lastly, most illustrious lord, it is for your magnificent* present that we return you thanks; but it is of right, and your merits claim, that we are cordially,

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,

Westminster, *June* 29, 1654. OLIVER, &c.

Superscribed, To the most Illustrious Lord, ANTHONY GUNTHER, count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, lord in Jehvern and Kniphausen.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* IRELAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince*, CHARLES GUSTAVUS *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *Great Prince of* FINLAND, *Duke of* ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STETTIN *in* POMERANIA, CASSUBIA, *and* VANDALIA; *Prince of* RUGIA, *Lord of* INGRIA, WISMARIA, *as also Count* PALATINE *of the* RHINE, *and Duke of* BAVARIA, CLEVES, *and* MONTS, *&c., Greeting*.

Most Serene King,

THOUGH it be already divulged over all the world, that the kingdom of the Swedes is translated to your majesty with the extraordinary applause and desires of the people, and the free suffrages of all the orders of the realm; yet that your majesty should rather choose, that we should understand the welcome news by your most friendly letters, than by the common voice of fame, we thought no small argument both of your goodwill towards us, and of the honour done us among the first. Voluntarily therefore and of right we congratulate this accession of dignity to your egregious merits, and the most worthy guerdon of so much virtue. And that it may be lucky and prosperous to your majesty, to the nation of the Swedes, and the true christian interest, which is also what you chiefly wish, with joint supplication we implore of God. And whereas your majesty assures us, that the preserving entire the league and alliance lately concluded between this republic and the kingdom of Sweden shall be so far your care, that the present amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but, if possible, every day increase and grow to a higher perfection, to call it into question, would be a piece of impiety, after the word of so great a prince once interposed, whose surpassing fortitude has not only purchased your majesty an hereditary kingdom in a foreign land, but also could so far prevail, that the most august queen, the daughter of Gustavus, and a heroess so matchless in all degrees of praise and masculine renown, that many ages backward have not produced her equal, surrendered the most just possession of her empire to your majesty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore it is our main desire, your majesty should be every way assured, that your so singular affection toward us, and so eminent a signification of your mind, can be no other than most dear and welcome to us; and that no combat can offer itself to us more glorious, than such a one wherein we may, if possible, prove victorious in outdoing your majesty's civility by our kind offices, that never shall be wanting.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

Westminster, *July* 4, 1654.

To the most Illustrious Lord, LEWIS MENDEZ *de* HARDO.

WHAT we have understood by your letters, most illustrious lord, that there is an embassador already nominated and appointed by the most serene king of Spain, on purpose to come and congratulate our having undertaken the government of the republic, is not only deservedly acceptable of itself, but rendered much more welcome and pleasing to us by your singular affection, and the speed of your civility, as being desirous we should understand it first of all from yourself. For, to be so beloved and approved by your lordship, who by your virtue and prudence have obtained so great authority with your prince, as to preside, his equal in mind, over all the most important affairs of that kingdom, ought to be so much the more pleasing to us, as well understanding that the judgment of a surpassing person cannot but be much to our honour and ornament. Now as to our cordial inclinations toward the king of Spain, and ready propensity to hold friendship with that kingdom, and increase it to a stricter perfection, we hope we have already satisfied the present embassador, and shall more amply satisfy the other so soon as he arrives. As to what remains, most illustrious lord, we heartily wish the dignity and favour, wherein you now flourish with your prince, perpetual to your lordship; and whatever affairs you carry on for the public good, may prosperously and happily succeed.

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,

Whitehall, Sept. 1654. OLIVER, &c.

* The horses which threw him out of the coach-box.

To the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

BEING so well assured of your majesty's goodwill towards me by your last letters, in answer to which I wrote back with the same affection, methinks I should do no more than what our mutual amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful tidings to reciprocal joy, so when contrary accidents fall out, that I should lay open the sense and grief of my mind to your majesty, as my dearest friend. For my part, this is my opinion of myself, that I am now advanced to this degree in the commonwealth, to the end I should consult in the first place and as much as in me lies, for the common peace of the protestants. Which is the reason, that of necessity it behoves me more grievously to lay to heart what we are sorry to hear concerning the bloody conflicts and mutual slaughters of the Bremeners and Swedes. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our friends, they should so despitefully combat one against another, and with so much danger to the interests of the protestants; and that the peace of Munster, which it was thought would have proved an asylum and safeguard to all the protestants, should be the occasion of such an unfortunate war, that now the arms of the Swedes are turned upon those, whom but a little before, among the rest, they most stoutly defended for religion's sake; and that this should be done more especially at this time, when the papists are said to persecute the reformed all over Germany, and to return to their intermitted for some time oppressions, and their pristine violences. Hearing therefore, that a truce for some days was made at Breme, I could not forbear signifying to your majesty, upon this opportunity offered, how cordially I desire, and how earnestly I implore the God of peace, that this truce may prove successfully happy for the good of both parties, and that it may conclude in a most firm peace, by a commodious accommodation on both sides. To which purpose, if your majesty judges that my assistance may any ways conduce, I most willingly offer and promise it, as in a thing, without question, most acceptable to the most holy God. In the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beseech the Almighty to direct and govern all your counsels for the common welfare of the christian interest, which I make no doubt but that your majesty chiefly desires.

Whitehall, Your majesty's most affectionate,
Octob. 26, 1654. OLIVER, &c.

To the Magnificent and most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the City of BREME.

BY your letters delivered to us by your resident Henry Oldenburgh, that there is a difference kindled between your city and a most potent neighbour, and to what straits you are thereby reduced, with so much the more trouble and grief we understand, by how much the more we love and embrace the city of Breme, so eminent above others for their profession of the orthodox faith. Neither is there any thing which we account more sacred in our wishes, than that the whole protestant name would knit and grow together in brotherly unity and concord. In the mean time, most certain it is, that the common enemy of the reformed rejoices at these our dissensions, and more haughtily every where exerts his fury. But in regard the controversy, which at present exercises your contending arms, is not within the power of our decision, we implore the Almighty God, that the truce begun may obtain a happy issue. Assuredly, as to what you desired, we have written to the king of the Swedes, exhorting him to peace and agreement, as being most chiefly grateful to Heaven, and have offered our assistance in so pious a work. On the other side, we likewise exhort yourselves to bear an equal mind, and by no means to refuse any honest conditions of reconciliation. And so we recommend your city to Divine Protection and Providence.

Your lordship's most affectionate,
Whitehall, OLIVER, protector of the common-
Oct. 26, 1654. wealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Republic of* ENGLAND, *to the most Illustrious Prince of* TARENTUM.

YOUR love of religion apparently made known in your letters to us delivered, and your excelling piety and singular affection to the reformed churches, more especially considering the nobility and splendour of your character, and in a kingdom too, wherein there are so many and such abounding hopes proposed to all of eminent quality that revolt from the orthodox faith, so many miseries to be undergone by the resolute and constant, gave us an occasion of great joy and consolation of mind. Nor was it less grateful to us, that we had gained your good opinion, upon the same account of religion, which ought to render your highness most chiefly beloved and dear to ourselves. We call God to witness, that whatever hopes or expectations the churches according to your relation had of us, we may be able one day to give them satisfaction, if need require, or at least to demonstrate to all men, how much it is our desire never to fail them. Nor should we think any fruit of our labours, or of this dignity or supreme employment which we hold in our republic, greater than that we might be in a condition to be serviceable to the enlargement, or the welfare, or which is more sacred, to the peace of the reformed church. In the mean time, we exhort and beseech your lordship, to remain stedfast to the last minute in the orthodox religion, with the same resolution and constancy, as you profess it received from your ancestors with piety and zeal. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy yourself, or your religious parents, nor in consideration of what you have deserved of us, though we wish all things for your own sake, that we can wish more noble or advantageous to your lordship, than that you would take such methods, and apply yourself to such studies, that the churches, especially

of your native country, under the discipline of which your birth and genius have rendered you illustriously happy, may be sensible of so much the more assured security in your protection, by how much you excel others in lustre and ability.

Whitehall, April —, 1654.

OLIVER, *the Protector, &c., To the most Serene Prince,* IMMANUEL *Duke of* SAVOY, *Prince of Piemont, Greeting.*

Most Serene Prince,

LETTERS have been sent us from Geneva, as also from the Dauphinate, and many other places bordering upon your territories, wherein we are given to understand, that such of your royal highness's subjects, as profess the reformed religion, are commanded by your edict, and by your authority, within three days after the promulgation of your edict, to depart their native seats and habitations, upon pain of capital punishment, and forfeiture of all their fortunes and estates, unless they will give security to relinquish their religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman catholic faith. And that when they applied themselves to your royal highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a revocation of the said edict, and that being received into pristine favour, they might be restored to the liberty granted them by your predecessors, a part of your army fell upon them, most cruelly slew several, put others in chains, and compelled the rest to fly into desert places, and to the mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced to such distress, that it is greatly to be feared, they will in a short time all miserably perish through cold and hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not choose but be touched with extreme grief and compassion for the sufferings and calamities of this afflicted people. Now in regard we must acknowledge ourselves linked together not only by the same tie of humanity, but by joint communion of the same religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profession of the same religion, if we should only be affected with a bare sorrow for the misery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute all our endeavours, to relieve and succour them in their unexpected adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a great measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your royal highness, that you would call back to your thoughts the moderation of your most serene predecessors, and the liberty by them granted and confirmed from time to time to their subjects the Vaudois. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all question was most grateful to God, who has been pleased to reserve the jurisdiction and power over the conscience to himself alone, so there is no doubt, but that they had a due consideration of their subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in war, and always obedient in peace. And as your royal serenity in other things most laudably follows the footsteps of your immortal ancestors, so we again and again beseech your royal highness, not to swerve from the path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchsafe to abrogate both this edict, and whatsoever else may be decreed to the disturbance of your subjects upon the account of the reformed religion; that you would ratify to them their conceded privileges and pristine liberty, and command their losses to be repaired, and that an end be put to their oppressions. Which if your royal highness shall be pleased to see performed, you will do a thing most acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miserable in dire calamity, and most highly oblige all your neighbours, that profess the reformed religion, but more especially ourselves, who shall be bound to look upon your clemency and benignity toward your subjects as the fruit of our earnest solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good offices, and lay the solid foundations not only of establishing, but increasing, alliance and friendship between this republic and your dominions. Nor do we less promise this to ourselves from your justice and moderation; to which we beseech Almighty God to incline your mind and thoughts. And so we cordially implore just Heaven to bestow upon your highness and your people the blessings of peace and truth, and prosperous success in all your affairs.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Republic of* ENGLAND, *to the most Serene Prince of* TRANSILVANIA, *Greeting.*

Most Serene Prince,

BY your letters of the sixteenth of November, sixteen hundred and fifty-four, you have made us sensible of your singular goodwill and affection towards us; and your envoy, who delivered those letters to us, more amply declared your desire of contracting alliance and friendship with us. Certainly for our parts we do not a little rejoice at this opportunity offered us, to declare and make manifest our affection to your highness, and how great a value we justly set upon your person. But after fame had reported to us your egregious merits and labours undertaken in behalf of the christian republic, when you were pleased that all these things, and what you have farther in your thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting the christian interest, should be in friendly manner imparted to us by letters from yourself, this afforded us a more plentiful occasion of joy and satisfaction, to hear that God, in those remoter regions, had raised up to himself so potent and renowned a minister of his glory and providence: and that this great minister of heaven, so famed for his courage and success, should be desirous to associate with us in the common defence of the protestant religion, at this time wickedly assailed by words and deeds. Nor is it to be questioned but that God, who has infused into us both, though separated by such a spacious interval of many climates, the same desires and thoughts of defending the orthodox religion, will be our instructor and author of the ways and means whereby we may be assistant and useful to ourselves

and the rest of the reformed cities; provided we watch all opportunities, that God shall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of them. In the mean time we cannot without an extreme and penetrating sorrow forbear putting your highness in mind, how unmercifully the duke of Savoy has persecuted his own subjects, professing the orthodox faith, in certain valleys, at the feet of the Alps: whom he has not only constrained by a most severe edict, as many as refuse to embrace the catholic religion, to forsake their native habitations, goods, and estates, but has fallen upon them with his army, put several most cruelly to the sword, others more barbarously tormented to death, and driven the greatest number to the mountains, there to be consumed with cold and hunger, exposing their houses to the fury, and their goods to the plunder, of his executioners. These things, as they have already been related to your highness, so we readily assure ourselves, that so much cruelty cannot but be grievously displeasing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your aid and succour to those miserable wretches, if there be any that survive so many slaughters and calamities. For our parts, we have written to the duke of Savoy, beseeching him to remove his incensed anger from his subjects; as also to the king of France, that he would vouchsafe to do the same; and lastly, to the princes of the reformed religion, to the end they might understand our sentiments concerning so fell and savage a piece of cruelty. Which, though first begun upon those poor and helpless people, however threatens all that profess the same religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves in general, and consulting the common safety; which is the course that we shall always follow, as God shall be pleased to direct us. Of which your highness may be assured, as also of our sincerity and affection to your serenity, whereby we are engaged to wish all prosperous success to your affairs, and a happy issue of all your enterprises and endeavours, in asserting the liberty of the gospel, and the worshippers of it.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

OLIVER, *Protector, to the most Serene Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, *King of the* SWEDES, *Greeting.*

WE make no question, but that the fame of that most rigid edict has reached your dominions, whereby the duke of Savoy has totally ruined his protestant subjects inhabiting the Alpine valleys, and commanded them to be exterminated from their native seats and habitations, unless they will give security to renounce their religion received from their forefathers, in exchange for the Roman catholic superstition, and that within twenty days at farthest: so that many being killed, the rest stripped to their skins, and exposed to most certain destruction, are now forced to wander over desert mountains, and through perpetual winter, together with their wives and children, half dead with cold and hunger: and that your majesty has laid it to heart, with a pious sorrow and compassionate consideration, we as little doubt. For that the protestant name and cause, although they differ among themselves in some things of little consequence, is nevertheless the same in general, and united in one common interest; the hatred of our adversaries, alike incensed against protestants, very easily demonstrates. Now there is nobody can be ignorant, that the kings of the Swedes have always joined with the reformed, carrying their victorious arms into Germany in defence of the protestants without distinction. Therefore we make it our chief request, and that in a more especial manner to your majesty, that you would solicit the duke of Savoy by letters, and, by interposing your intermediating authority, endeavour to avert the horrid cruelty of this edict, if possible, from people no less innocent than religious. For we think it superfluous to admonish your majesty whither these rigorous beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the protestants in general. But if he rather choose to listen to his anger, than to our joint entreaties and intercessions; if there be any tie, any charity or communion of religion to be believed and worshipped, upon consultations duly first communicated to your majesty, and the chief of the protestant princes, some other course is to be speedily taken, that such a numerous multitude of our innocent brethren may not miserably perish for want of succour and assistance. Which, in regard we make no question but that it is your majesty's opinion and determination, there can be nothing in our opinion more prudently resolved, than to join our reputation, authority, counsels, forces, and whatever else is needful, with all the speed that may be, in pursuance of so pious a design. In the mean time, we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty.

OLIVER, *Protector, &c. to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

WE make no question, but that you have already been informed of the duke of Savoy's edict, set forth against his subjects inhabiting the valleys at the feet of the Alps, ancient professors of the orthodox faith; by which edict, they are commanded to abandon their native habitations, stripped of all their fortunes, unless within twenty days they embrace the Roman faith; and with what cruelty the authority of this edict has raged against a needy and harmless people, many being slain by the soldiers, the rest plundered and driven from their houses, together with their wives and children, to combat cold and hunger among desert mountains, and perpetual snow. These things with what commotion of mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the calamities of brethren pierced your breasts, we readily conjectured from the depth of our own sorrow, which certainly is most heavy and afflictive. For being engaged together by the same tie of religion, no wonder we should be so deeply moved with the same affections upon the dreadful and undeserved sufferings of our brethren. Besides, that your conspicuous piety and charity toward the orthodox, wherever overborn and oppressed, has been frequently

experienced in the most urging straits and calamities of the churches. For my own part, unless my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I should desire more willingly to be overcome, than in goodwill and charity toward brethren of the same religion, afflicted and wronged in their quiet enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the peace and safety of the churches before my particular interests. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our power, we have written to the duke of Savoy, even almost to supplication, beseeching him, that he would admit into his breast more placid thoughts and kinder effects of his favour toward his most innocent subjects and suppliants; that he would restore the miserable to their habitations and estates, and grant them their pristine freedom in the exercise of their religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefest princes and magistrates of the protestants, whom we thought most nearly concerned in these matters, that they would lend us their assistance to entreat and pacify the duke of Savoy in their behalf. And we make no doubt now but you have done the same, and perhaps much more. For this so dangerous a precedent, and lately renewed severity of utmost cruelty toward the reformed, if the authors of it meet with prosperous success, to what apparent dangers it reduces our religion, we need not admonish your prudence. On the other side, if the duke shall once but permit himself to be atoned and won by our united applications, not only our afflicted brethren, but we ourselves shall reap the noble and abounding harvest and reward of this laborious undertaking. But if he still persist in the same obstinate resolutions of reducing to utmost extremity those people, (among whom our religion was either disseminated by the first doctors of the gospel, and preserved from the defilement of superstition, or else restored to its pristine sincerity long before other nations obtained that felicity,) and determines their utter extirpation and destruction; we are ready to take such other course and counsels with yourselves, in common with the rest of our reformed friends and confederates, as may be most necessary for the preservation of just and good men, upon the brink of inevitable ruin; and to make the duke himself sensible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy oppressions and calamities of our orthodox brethren. Farewel.

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

WE make no question, but the late calamity of the Piedmontois, professing our religion, reached your ears before the unwelcome news of it arrived with us: who being a people under the protection and jurisdiction of the duke of Savoy, and by a severe edict of their prince commanded to depart their native habitations, unless within three days they gave security to embrace the Roman religion, soon after were assailed by armed violence, that turned their dwellings into slaughterhouses, while others, without number, were terrified into banishment, where now naked and afflicted, without house or home, or any covering from the weather, and ready to perish through hunger and cold, they miserably wander thorough desert mountains, and depths of snow, together with their wives and children. And far less reason have we to doubt, but that so soon as they came to your knowledge, you laid these things to heart, with a compassion no less sensible of their multiplied miseries than ourselves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next neighbours to the sufferers. Besides, that we have abundant proof of your singular love and affection for the orthodox faith, of your constancy in retaining it, and your fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the most strict communion of religion, that you, together with ourselves, are all brethren alike, or rather one body with those unfortunate people, of which no member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the rest; we thought it convenient to write to your lordships concerning this matter, and let you understand, how much we believe it to be the general interest of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common aid and succour to relieve our exterminated and indigent brethren; and not only to take care for removing their miseries and afflictions, but also to provide, that the mischief spread no farther, nor encroach upon ourselves in general, encouraged by example and success. We have written letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have most earnestly besought him, out of his wonted clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his most faithful subjects, and to restore them, almost ruined as they are, to their goods and habitations. And we are in hopes, that by these our entreaties, or rather by the united intercessions of us all, the most serene prince at length will be atoned, and grant what we have requested with so much importunity. But if his mind be obstinately bent to other determinations, we are ready to communicate our consultations with yours, by what most prevalent means to relieve and re-establish most innocent men, and our most dearly beloved brethren in Christ, tormented and overlaid with so many wrongs and oppressions; and preserve them from inevitable and undeserved ruin. Of whose welfare and safety, as I am assured, that you, according to your wonted piety, are most cordially tender; so for our own parts, we cannot but in our opinion prefer their preservation before our most important interests, even the safeguard of our own life. Farewel.

Westminster, O. P.
May 19*th*, 1655.

Superscribed, To the most Illustrious and Potent Lords, the Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons and Confederate Cities of Switzerland, Greeting.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King;

BY your majesty's letters, which you wrote in answer to ours of the twenty-fifth of May, we readily understand, that we failed not in our judgment, that the

inhuman slaughter, and barbarous massacres of those men, who profess the reformed religion of Savoy, perpetrated by some of your regiments, were the effects neither of your orders nor commands. And it afforded us a singular occasion of joy, to hear that your majesty had so timely signified to your colonies and officers, whose violent precipitancy engaged them in those inhuman butcheries, without the encouragement of lawful allowance, how displeasing they were to your majesty; that you had admonished the duke himself to forbear such acts of cruelty; and that you had interposed with so much fidelity and humanity all the high veneration paid you in that court, your near alliance and authority, for restoring to their ancient abodes those unfortunate exiles. And it was our hopes, that that prince would in some measure have condescended to the good pleasure and intercessions of your majesty. But finding not any thing obtained, either by your own, nor the entreaties and importunities of other princes in the cause of the distressed, we deemed it not foreign from our duty, to send this noble person, under the character of our extraordinary envoy, to the duke of Savoy, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply sensible we are of such exasperated cruelties, inflicted upon the professors of the same religion with ourselves, and all this too out of a hatred of the same worship. And we have reason to hope a success of this negotiation so much the more prosperous, if your majesty would vouchsafe to employ your authority and assistance once again with so much the more urgent importunity; and as you have undertaken for those indigent people, that they will be faithful and obedient to their prince, so you would be graciously pleased to take care of their welfare and safety, that no farther oppressions of this nature, no more such dismal calamities, may be the portion of the innocent and peaceful. This being truly royal and just in itself, and highly agreeable to your benignity and clemency, which every where protects in soft security so many of your subjects professing the same religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your majesty. Which act of yours, as it will more closely bind to your subjection all the protestants throughout your spacious dominions, whose affection and fidelity to your predecessors and yourself in most important distresses have been often conspicuously made known: so will it fully convince all foreign princes, that the advice or intention of your majesty were no way contributory to this prodigious violence, whatever inflamed your ministers and officers to promote it. More especially, if your majesty shall inflict deserved punishment upon those captains and ministers, who of their own authority, and to gratify their own wills, adventured the perpetrating such dreadful acts of inhumanity. In the mean while, since your majesty has assured us of your justly merited aversion to these most inhuman and cruel proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a secure sanctuary and shelter within your kingdom to all those miserable exiles, that shall fly to your majesty for protection; and that you will not give permission to any of your subjects, to assist the duke of Savoy to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your majesty, how highly we esteem and value your friendship: in testimony of which, we farther affirm, there shall never be wanting upon all occasions the real assurances and effects of our protestation.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
Whitehall, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
July 29, 1655.

To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal,

HAVING deemed it necessary to send this noble person to the king with letters, a copy of which is here enclosed, we gave him also farther in charge, to salute your excellency in our name, as having intrusted to his fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your eminency. In reference to which affairs, I entreat your eminency to give him entire credit, as being a person in whom I have reposed a more than ordinary confidence.

Your eminency's most affectionate,
Whitehall, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England.
July 29, 1655.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *To the most Serene Prince*, FREDERIC III., *King of* DENMARK, NORWAY, &c.

WITH what a severe and unmerciful edict Immanuel duke of Savoy has expelled from their native seats his subjects inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, men otherwise harmless, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the purity of religion; and after a dreadful slaughter of some numbers, how he has exposed the rest to the hardships of those desert mountains, stripped to their skins, and barred from all relief, we believe your majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but your majesty is touched with a real commiseration of their sufferings, as becomes so puissant a defender and prince of the reformed faith: for indeed the institutions of christian religion require, that whatever mischiefs and miseries any part of us undergo, it should behove us all to be deeply sensible of the same: nor does any man better than your majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your piety and prudence, what dangers the success and example of this fact portend to ourselves in particular, and to the whole protestant name in general. We have written the more willingly to yourself, to the end we might assure your majesty, that the same sorrow, which we hope you have conceived for the calamity of our most innocent brethren, the same opinion, the same judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and sincerely our own. We have therefore sent our letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have most importunately besought him, to spare those miserable people, that implore his mercy, and that he would no longer suffer that dreadful edict to be in force: which if your majesty and the rest of the reformed princes would

vouchsafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is some hope, that the anger of the most serene duke may be assuaged, and that his indignation will relent upon the intercession and importunities of his neighbour princes. Or if he persist in his determinations, we protest ourselves ready, together with your majesty, and the rest of our confederates of the reformed religion, to take such speedy methods, as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the distresses of so many miserable creatures, and provide for their liberty and safety. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty with all prosperity.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of* GENEVA.

WE had before made known to your lordships our excessive sorrow for the heavy and unheard of calamities of the protestants, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, whom the duke of Savoy persecutes with so much cruelty; but that we made it our business, that you should at the same time understand, that we are not only affected with the multitude of their sufferings, but are using the utmost of our endeavours to relieve and comfort them in their distresses. To that purpose we have taken care for a gathering of alms to be made throughout this whole republic; which upon good grounds we expect will be such, as will demonstrate the affection of this nation toward their brethren, labouring under the burden of such horrid inhumanities; and that as the communion of religion is the same between both people, so the sense of their calamities is no less the same. In the mean time, while the collections of the money go forward, which in regard they will require some time to accomplish, and for that the wants and necessities of those deplorable people will admit of no delay, we thought it requisite to remit before-hand two thousand pounds of the value of England with all possible speed, to be distributed among such as shall be judged to be most in present need of comfort and succour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the miseries and wrongs of those most innocent people have affected yourselves, and that you will not think amiss of any labour or pains where you can be assisting to their relief, we made no scruple to commit the paying and distributing this sum of money to your care; and to give you this farther trouble, that according to your wonted piety and prudence, you would take care, that the said money may be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end that though the sum be small, yet there may be something to refresh and revive the most poor and needy, till we can afford them a more plentiful supply. And thus, not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble imposed upon ye, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the hearts of all his people professing the orthodox religion, to resolve upon the common defence of themselves, and the mutual assistance of each other against their imbittered and most implacable enemies: in the prosecution of which, we should rejoice that our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the church. Farewel.

Fifteen hundred pounds of the foresaid two thousand will be remitted by Gerard Hench from Paris, and the other five hundred pounds will be taken care of by letters from the lord Stoup.

June 8, 1655.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of* VENICE.

Most Serene Prince,

As it has been always a great occasion of rejoicing to us, whenever any prosperous success attended your arms, but more especially against the common enemy of the Christian name; so neither are we sorry for the late advantage gained by your fleet, though, as we understand, it happened not a little to the detriment of our people: for certain of our merchants, William and Daniel Williams, and Edward Beale, have set forth in a petition presented to us, that a ship of theirs, called the Great Prince, was lately sent by them with goods and merchandise to Constantinople, where the said ship was detained by the ministers of the Port, to carry soldiers and provisions to Crete; and that the said ship being constrained to sail along with the same fleet of the Turks, which was set upon and vanquished by the galleys of the Venetians, was taken, carried away to Venice, and there adjudged lawful prize by the judges of the admiralty. Now therefore in regard the said ship was pressed by the Turks, and forced into their service without the knowledge or consent of the owners directly or indirectly obtained, and that it was impossible for her, being shipped with soldiers, to withdraw from the engagement, we most earnestly request your serenity, that you will remit that sentence of your admiralty, as a present to our friendship, and take such care, that the ship may be restored to the owners, no way deserving the displeasure of your republic by any act of theirs. In the obtaining of which request, more especially upon our intercession, while we find the merchants themselves so well assured of your clemency, it behoves us not to question it. And so we beseech the Almighty God to continue his prosperous blessings upon your noble designs, and the Venetian republic.

Your serenity's and the Venetian republic's most affectionate,

Westminster, Decemb. —, 1655.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene King,

CERTAIN of our merchants, by name Samuel Mico, William Cockain, George Poyner, and several others, in a petition to us have set forth, That in the year 1650,

they laded a ship of theirs, called the Unicorn, with goods of a very considerable value; and that the said ship being thus laden with silk, oil, and other merchandise, amounting to above thirty-four thousand of our pounds, was taken by the admiral and vice-admiral of your majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean sea. Now it appears to us, that our people who were then in the ship, by reason there was at that time a peace between the French and us, that never had been violated in the least, were not willing to make any defence against your majesty's royal ships, and therefore, overruled besides by the fair promises of the captains Paul and Terrery, who faithfully engaged to dismiss our people, they paid their obedience to the maritime laws, and produced their bills of lading. Moreover, we find that the merchants aforesaid sent their agent into France, to demand restitution of the said ship and goods; and then it was, that after above three years slipped away, when the suit was brought so far, that sentence of restitution or condemnation was to have been given, that his eminency cardinal Mazarine acknowledged to their factor Hugh Morel, the wrong that had been done the merchants, and undertook that satisfaction should be given, so soon as the league between the two nations, which was then under negotiation, should be ratified and confirmed. Nay, since that, his excellency M. de Bourdeaux, your majesty's embassador, assured us in express words, by the command of your majesty and your council, That care should be taken of that ship and goods in a particular exception, apart from those controversies, for the decision of which a general provision was made by the league: of which promise, the embassador, now opportunely arrived here to solicit some business of his own, is a testimony no way to be questioned. Which being true, and the right of the merchants in redemanding their ship and goods so undeniably apparent, we most earnestly request your majesty, that they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is justly their due, but that your majesty will admit the grant of this favour, as the first fruits of our revived amity, and the lately renewed league between us. The refusal of which as we have no reason to doubt, so we beseech Almighty God to bless with all prosperity both your majesty and your kingdom.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

Westminster,
Dec. —, 1655.

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

IN what condition your affairs are, which is not the best, we are abundantly informed, as well by your public acts transmitted to us by our agent at Geneva, as also by your letters from Zuric, bearing date the twenty-seventh of December. Whereby, although we are sorry to find your peace, and such a lasting league of confederacy, broken; nevertheless since it appears to have happened through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverseness of your adversaries are contriving new occasions for ye to make known your long ago experienced fortitude and resolution in defence of the Evangelic faith. For as for those of the canton of Schwitz, who account it a capital crime for any person to embrace our religion, what they are might and main designing, and whose instigations have incensed them to resolutions of hostility against the orthodox religion, nobody can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that most detestable slaughter of our brethren in Piedmont. Wherefore, most beloved friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's assistance still continue, magnanimous and resolute; suffer not your privileges, your confederacies, the liberty of your consciences, your religion itself to be trampled under foot by the worshippers of idols; and so prepare yourselves, that you may not seem to be the defenders only of your own freedom and safety, but be ready likewise to aid and succour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring brethren, more especially those most deplorable Piedmontois; as being certainly convinced of this, that a passage was lately intended to have been opened over their slaughtered bodies to your sides. As for our part be assured, that we are no less anxious and solicitous for your welfare and prosperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our republic; or as if the axes of the Schwitz Canton had been sharpened for our necks, or that their swords had been drawn against our breasts, as indeed they were against the bosoms of all the reformed. Therefore so soon as we were informed of the condition of your affairs, and the obstinate animosities of your enemies, advising with some sincere and honest persons, together with some ministers of the church most eminent for their piety, about sending to your assistance such succour as the present posture of our affairs would permit, we came to those results which our envoy Pell will impart to your consideration. In the mean time we cease not to implore the blessing of the Almighty upon all your counsels, and the protection of your most just cause, as well in war as in peace.

Your lordships and worships most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Westminster,
Jan. —, 1655.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *by the Grace of God King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *Great Prince of* FINLAND, *&c.*

Most Serene King,

SEEING it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a communication of concerns among friends, whether in prosperity or adversity; it cannot but be most grateful to us, that your majesty should vouchsafe to impart unto us by your letters the most pleasing and delightful part of your friendship, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of singular civility, and truly royal, as not to live only to a man's self, so neither to rejoice alone, unless he be sensible that his friends and confederates partake of his gladness. Certainly then, we have reason to rejoice for the birth of the young prince born to such an excellent king, and

sent into the world to be the heir of his father's glory and virtue; and this at such a lucky season, that we have no less cause to congratulate the royal parent with the memorable omen that befell the famous Philip of Macedon, who at the same time received the tidings of Alexander's birth, and the conquest of the Illyrians. For we make no question, but the wresting of the kingdom of Poland from papal subjection, as it were a horn dismembered from the head of the beast, and the peace, so much desired by all good men, concluded with the duke of Brandenburgh, will be most highly conducing to the tranquillity and advantage of the church. Heaven grant a conclusion correspondent to such signal beginnings; and may the son be like the father in virtue, piety, and renown, obtained by great achievements. Which is that we wish may luckily come to pass, and which we beg of the Almighty, so propitious hitherto to your affairs.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

Westminster, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
Feb. —, 1655.

To the King of DENMARK.

Most Serene and Potent Prince,

JOHN FREEMAN and Philip Travess, citizens of this republic, by a petition presented to us, in their own and the name of several other merchants of London, have made a complaint, That whereas about the month of March, in the year 1653, they freighted a certain ship of Sunderburg, called the Saviour, Nicholas Weinskinks master, with woollen cloth, and other commodities to the value of above three thousand pound, with orders to the master, that he should sail directly up the Baltic for Dantzic, paying the usual tribute at Elsenore, to which purpose in particular they gave him money: nevertheless that the said master, perfidiously and contrary to the orders of the said merchants, slipping by Elsenore without paying the usual duty, thought to have proceeded in his voyage, but that the ship for this reason was immediately seized and detained with all her lading. After due consideration of which complaints, we wrote in favour of the merchants to your majesty's embassador residing at London, who promised, as they say, that as soon as he returned to your majesty, he would take care that the merchants should be taken into consideration. But he being sent to negotiate your majesty's affairs in other countries, the merchants attended upon him in vain, both before and after his departure; so that they were forced to send their agent to prosecute their right and claim at Copenhagen, and demand restitution of the ship and goods; but all the benefit they reaped by it was only to add more expenses to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away; the goods being condemned to confiscation, and still detained: whereas by the law of Denmark, as they set forth in their petition, the master is to be punished for his offence, and the ship to be condemned but not the goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon them, in regard the duty which is to be paid at Elsenore, as they tell us, is but very small. Wherefore seeing our merchants seem to have given no cause of proscription, and for that the master confessed before his death, that this damage befell them only through his neglect; and the father of the master deceased, by his petition to your majesty, as we are given to understand, by laying all the blame on his son, has acquitted the merchants; we could not but believe the detaining of the said ship and goods to be most unjust; and therefore we are confident, that so soon as your majesty shall be rightly informed of the whole matter, you will not only disapprove of these oppressions of your ministers, but give command that they be called to an account, that the goods be restored to the owners or their factors, and reparation made them for the losses they have sustained. All which we most earnestly request of your majesty, as being no more than what is so just and consentaneous to reason, that a more equitable demand, or more legal satisfaction cannot well be made, considering the justice of our merchants' cause, and which your own subjects would think but fair and honest upon the like occasions.

To the most Serene Prince, JOHN *the Fourth, King of* PORTUGAL, *&c.*

Most Serene King,

THE peace and friendship which your majesty desired, by your noble and splendid embassy sent to us some time since, after certain negotiations begun by the parliament in whom the supreme power was vested at that time, as it was always most affectionately wished for by us, with the assistance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the administration of the government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy conclusion, and as we hope, as a sacred act, have ratified it to perpetuity. And therefore we send back to your majesty your extraordinary embassador, the lord John Roderigo de Sita Meneses, count of Pennaguiada, a person both approved by your majesty's judgment, and by us experienced to excel in civility, ingenuity, prudence, and fidelity, besides the merited applause which he has justly gained by accomplishing the ends of his embassy, which is the peace which he carries along with him to his country. But as to what we perceive by your letters dated from Lisbon the second of April, that is to say, how highly your majesty esteems our amity, how cordially you favour our advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the government of the republic upon us, which you are pleased to manifest by singular testimonies of kindness and affection, we shall make it our business, that all the world may understand, by our readiness at all times to serve your majesty, that there could be nothing more acceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we less earnest in our prayers to God for your majesty's safety, the welfare of your kingdom, and the prosperous success of your affairs.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the High and Mighty States of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

CERTAIN merchants, our countrymen, Thomas Bassel, Richard Beare, and others their copartners, have made their complaints before us, that a certain ship of theirs, the Edmund and John, in her voyage from the coast of Brazil to Lisbon, was set upon by a privateer of Flushing, called the Red Lion, commanded by Lambert Bartelson, but upon this condition, which the writing signed by Lambert himself testifies, that the ship and whatsoever goods belonged to the English should be restored at Flushing: where when the vessel arrived, the ship indeed with what peculiarly belonged to the seamen was restored, but the English merchants' goods were detained and put forthwith to sale: for the merchants who had received the damage, when they had sued for their goods in the court of Flushing, after great expenses for five years together, lost their suit by the pronouncing of a most unjust sentence against them by those judges, of which some, being interested in the privateer, were both judges and adversaries, and no less criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your equity and uncorrupted faith, to which at last they fly for succour: and which they believed they should find the more inclinable to do them justice, if assisted by our recommendation. And men are surely to be pardoned, if, afraid of all things in so great a struggle for their estates, they rather call to mind what they have reason to fear from your authority and high power, than what they have to hope well of their cause, especially before sincere and upright judges: though for our parts we make no question, but that induced by your religion, your justice, your integrity, rather than by our entreaties, you will give that judgment which is just and equal, and truly becoming yourselves. God preserve both you and your republic to his own glory, and the defence and succour of his church.

Westminster, *April* 1, 1656. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* IRELAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *Great Prince of* FINLAND, *Duke of* ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STETTIN, POMERANIA, CASSUBIA, *and* VANDALIA, *Prince of* RUGIA, *Lord of* INGRIA *and* WISMARIA, *Count* PALATINE *of the* RHINE, *Duke of* BAVARIA, JULIERS, CLEVES, *and* MONTS.

Most Serene Prince,

PETER JULIUS COICT having accomplished the affairs of his embassy with us, and so acquitted himself, that he is not by us to be dismissed without the ornament of his deserved praises, is now returning to your majesty. For he was most acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own sake, which ought with us to be of high consideration, as for his own deserts in the diligent acquittal of his trust. The recommendation therefore which we received from you in his behalf, we freely testify to have been made good by him, and deservedly given by yourself; as he on the other side is able with the same fidelity and integrity, to relate and most truly to declare our singular affection and observance toward your majesty. It remains for us to beseech the most merciful and all powerful God, to bless your majesty with all felicity, and perpetual course of victory over all the enemies of his church.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

Westminster, *April* 17, 1656. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene Prince,

JOHN DETHIC, mayor of the city of London for this year, and William Wakefield, merchant, have made their addresses to us by way of petition, complaining, that about the middle of October, sixteen hundred and forty-nine, they freighted a certain ship called the Jonas of London, Jonas Lightfoot master, with goods that were to be sent to Ostend; which vessel was taken in the mouth of the river Thames, by one White of Barking, a pirate, robbing upon the seas by virtue of a commission from the son of King Charles deceased, and carried to Dunkirk, then under the jurisdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your majesty's edict in the year sixteen hundred and forty-seven, renewed in sixteen hundred and forty-nine, and by some other decrees in favour of the parliament of England, as they find it recorded, it was enacted, that no vessel or goods taken from the English, in the time of that war, should be carried into any of your majesty's ports to be there put to sale; they presently sent their factor Hugh Morel to Dunkirk, to demand restitution of the said ship and goods from M. Lestrade then governor of the town; more especially finding them in the place for the most part untouched, and neither exchanged or sold. To which the governor made answer, that the king had bestowed that government upon him of his free gift or service done the king in his wars, and therefore he would take care to make the best of the reward of his labour. So that having little to hope from an answer so unkind and unjust, after a great expense of time and money, the factor returned home. So that all the remaining hopes, which the petitioners have, seem wholly to depend upon your majesty's justice and clemency, to which they thought they might have the more easy access by means of our letters; and therefore that neither your clemency nor your justice may be wanting to people despoiled against all law and reason, and contrary to your repeated prohibitions, we make it our request. Wherein, if your majesty vouchsafe to gratify us, since there is nothing required but what is most just and equitable, we shall deem it as

obtained rather from your innate integrity, than any entreaty of ours.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Westminster, May —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

JOHN BROWN, Nicholas Williams, and others, citizens of London, have set forth in their petitions to us, that when they had every one brought in their proportions, and freighted a certain ship called the Good Hope of London, bound for the East Indies, they gave orders to their factor, to take up at Amsterdam two thousand four hundred Dutch pounds, to ensure the said ship; that afterwards this ship, in her voyage to the coast of India, was taken by a ship belonging to the East India Company; upon which they who had engaged to ensure the said vessel refused to pay the money, and have for this six years by various delays eluded our merchants, who with extraordinary diligence, and at vast expenses, endeavoured the recovery of their just right. Which in regard it is an unjust grievance, that lies so heavy upon the petitioners, for that some of those who obliged themselves are dead or become insolvent; therefore that no farther losses may accrue to their former damages, we make it our earnest request to your lordships, that you will vouchsafe your integrity to be the harbour and refuge for people tossed so many years, and almost shipwrecked in your courts of justice, and that speedy judgment may be given according to the rules of equity and honesty in their cause, which they believe to be most just. In the mean time we wish you all prosperity to the glory of God, and the welfare of his church.

Your high and mighty lordships most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Westminster, May —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

THE same persons in whose behalf we wrote to your lordships in September the last year, Thomas and William Lower, the lawful heirs of Nicholas Lower deceased, make grievous complaints before us, that they are oppressed either by the favour or wealth of their adversaries, notwithstanding the justice of their cause; and when that would not suffice, although our letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain possession of the inheritance left them by their father's will. From the court of Holland, where the suit was first commenced, they were sent to your court, and from thence hurried away into Zealand, (to which three places they carried our letters,) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your supreme judicature; for where the supreme power is, there they expect supreme justice. If that hope fail them, eluded and frustrated, after being so long tossed from post to pillar for the recovery of their right, where at length to find a resting place they know not. For as for our letters, if they find no benefit of these the fourth time written, they can never promise themselves any advantage for the future from slighted papers. However, it would be most acceptable to us, if yet at length, after so many contempts, the injured heirs might meet with some relief by a speedy and just judgment, if not out of respect to any reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own equity and justice. Of the last of which we make no question, and confidently presume you will allow the other to our friendship.

Your high and mighty lordships most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Westminster, May —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince* JOHN, *King of* PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King,

WHEREAS there is a considerable sum of money owing from certain Portugal merchants of the Brasile company to several English merchants, upon the account of freightage and demorage, in the years sixteen-hundred and forty-nine and sixteen-hundred and fifty, which money is detained by the said company by your majesty's command, the merchants before mentioned expected, that the said money should have been paid long since according to the articles of the last league, but now they are afraid of being debarred all hopes and means of recovering their debts; understanding your majesty has ordered, that what money is owing to them by the Brasile company shall be carried into your treasury, and that no more than one half of the duty of freightage shall be expended toward the payment of their debts; by which means the merchants will receive no more than the bare interest of their money, while at the same time they utterly lose their principal. Which we considering to be very severe and heavy upon them, and being overcome by their most reasonable supplications, have granted them these our letters to your majesty; chiefly requesting this at your hands, to take care that the aforesaid Brasile company may give speedy satisfaction to the merchants of this republic, and pay them not only the principal money which is owing to them, but the five years interest; as being both just in itself, and conformable to the league so lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in most friendly manner we request from your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, July —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

Most Serene King,

As it is but just that we should highly value the friendship of your majesty, a prince so potent and so renowned for great achievements; so is it but equally reasonable that your extraordinary embassador, the most illustrious lord Christiern Bond, by whose sedulity and care a strict alliance is most sacredly and solemnly ratified between us, should be most acceptable to us, and no less deeply fixed in our esteem. Him therefore, having now most worthily accomplished his embassy, we thought it became us to send back to your majesty, though not without the high applause which the rest of his singular virtues merit; to the end, that he, who was before conspicuous in your esteem and respect, may now be sensible of his having reaped still more abundant fruits of his sedulity and prudence from our recommendation. As for those things which yet remain to be transacted, we have determined in a short time to send an embassy to your majesty for the settling of those affairs. In the mean time, Almighty God preserve in safety so great a pillar of his church, and of Swedland's welfare.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster, July —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene King, our most dear Friend and Confederate;

CERTAIN merchants of London, Richard Baker and others, have made their complaint in a petition to us, that a certain hired ship of theirs, called the Endeavour, William Jop master, laden at Teneriff with three hundred pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for London, in her voyage between Palma and that island, upon the twenty-first of November, in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-five, was taken by four French vessels, seeming ships of burden, but fitted and manned like privateers, under the command of Giles de la Roche their admiral; and carried with all their freight, and the greatest part of the seamen, to the East Indies, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put ashore upon the coast of Guiney,) which the said Giles affirmed he did with that intent, that none of them might escape from so remote and barbarous a country to do him any harm by their testimony. For he confessed he had neither any commission to take the English vessels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm peace at that time between the French and our republic: but in regard he had designed to revictual in Portugal, from whence he was driven by contrary winds, he was constrained to supply his necessities with what he found in that vessel; and believed the owners of his ships would satisfy the merchants for their loss. Now the loss of our merchants amounts to sixteen thousand English pounds, as will easily be made appear by witnesses upon oath. But if it shall be lawful, upon such trivial excuses as these, for pirates to violate the most religious acts of princes, and make a sport of merchants for their particular benefits, certainly the sanctity of leagues must fall to the ground, all faith and authority of princes will grow out of date, and be trampled under foot. Wherefore we not only request your majesty, but believe it mainly to concern your honour, that they, who have ventured upon so slight a pretence to violate the league and most sacred oath of their sovereign, should suffer the punishment due to such perfidiousness and daring insolence; and that in the mean time the owners of those ships, though to their loss, should be bound to satisfy our merchants for the vast detriment, which they have so wrongfully sustained. So may the Almighty long preserve your majesty, and support the interest of France against the common enemy of us both.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *To his Eminency Cardinal* MAZARINE

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING an occasion to send letters to the king, we thought it likewise an offered opportunity to write to your eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the subject of our writing from the sole and only person, whose singular prudence governs the most important interests of the French nation, and the most weighty affairs of the kingdom with equal fidelity, counsel, and vigilance. Not without reason we complain, in short, to find that league by yourself, as it were a crime to doubt, most sacredly concluded, almost the very same day contemned and violated by one Giles a Frenchman, a petty admiral of four ships, and his associates, equally concerned, as your eminency will readily find by our letters to the king, and the demands themselves of our merchants. Nor is it unknown to your excellency, how much it concerns not only inferior magistrates, but even royal majesty itself, that those first violators of solemn alliances should be severely punished. But they, perhaps, by this time being arrived in the East Indies, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undisturbed possession the goods of our people as lawful prize won from an enemy, which they robbed and pillaged from the owners, contrary to all law, and the pledged faith of our late sacred league. However, this is that which we request from your eminency, that whatever goods were taken from our merchants by the admiral of those ships, as necessary for his voyage, may be restored by the owners of the same vessels, which was no more than

what the rovers themselves thought just and equal; which, as we understand, it lies within your power to do, considering the authority and sway you bear in the kingdom.

Your eminency's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

WE make no doubt but that all men will bear us this testimony, that no considerations, in contracting foreign alliances, ever swayed us beyond those of defending the truth of religion, or that we accounted any thing more sacred, than to unite the minds of all the friends and protectors of the protestants, and of all others who at least were not their enemies. Whence it come to pass, that we are touched with so much the more grief of mind, to hear that the protestant princes and cities, whom it so much behoves to live in friendship and concord together, should begin to be so jealous of each other, and so ill disposed to mutual affection; more especially, that your lordships and the king of Sweden, than whom the orthodox faith has not more magnanimous and courageous defenders, nor our republic confederates more strictly conjoined in interests, should seem to remit of your confidence in each other; or rather, that there should appear some too apparent signs of tottering friendship and growing discord between ye. What the causes are, and what progress this alienation of your affection has made, we protest ourselves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least dissension arisen among brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the protestant interests. Which if they should gather strength, how prejudicial it would prove to protestant churches, what an occasion of triumph it would afford our enemies, and more especially the Spaniards, cannot be unknown to your prudence, and most industrious experience of affairs. As for the Spaniards, it has already so enlivened their confidence, and raised their courage, that they made no scruple by their embassador residing in your territories, boldly to obtrude their counsels upon your lordships, and that in reference to the highest concerns of your republic; presuming partly with threats of renewing the war, to terrify, and partly with a false prospect of advantage to solicit your lordships, to forsake your ancient and most faithful friends, the English, French, and Danes, and enter into a strict confederacy with your old enemy, and once your domineering tyrant, now seemingly atoned; but, what is most to be feared, only at present treacherously fawning to advance his own designs. Certainly he who of an inveterate enemy lays hold of so slight an occasion of a sudden to become your counsellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his insolency stop, if once he could but see with his eyes, what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to say, division and a civil war among the protestants? We are not ignorant that your lordships, out of your deep wisdom, frequently revolve in your minds what the posture of all Europe is, and what more especially the condition of the protestants: that the cantons of Switzerland adhering to the orthodox faith are in daily expectation of new troubles to be raised by their countrymen embracing the popish ceremonies; scarcely recovered from that war, which for the sake of religion was kindled and blown up by the Spaniards, who supplied their enemies both with commanders and money: that the councils of the Spaniards are still contriving to continue the slaughter and destruction of the Piedmontois, which was cruelly put in execution the last year: that the protestants under the jurisdiction of the emperor are most grievously harassed, having much ado to keep possession of their native homes: that the king of Sweden, whom God, as we hope, has raised up to be a most stout defender of the orthodox faith, is at present waging with all the force of his kingdom a doubtful and bloody war with the most potent enemies of the reformed religion: that your own provinces are threatened with hostile confederacies of the princes your neighbours, headed by the Spaniards: and lastly, that we ourselves are busied in a war proclaimed against the king of Spain. In this posture of affairs, if any contest should happen between your lordships and the king of Sweden, how miserable would be the condition of all the reformed churches over all Europe, exposed to the cruelty and fury of unsanctified enemies! These cares not slightly seize us; and we hope your sentiments to be the same; and that out of your continued zeal for the common cause of the protestants, and to the end the present peace between brethren professing the same faith, the same hope of eternity, may be preserved inviolable, your lordships will accommodate your counsels to those considerations, which are to be preferred before all others; and that you will leave nothing neglected, that may conduce to the establishing tranquillity and union between your lordships and the king of Sweden. Wherein if we can any way be useful, as far as our authority, and the favour you bear us will sway your lordships, we freely offer our utmost assistance, prepared in like manner to be no less serviceable to the king of Sweden, to whom we design a speedy embassy, to the end we may declare our sentiments at large concerning these matters. We hope moreover, that God will bend your minds on both sides to moderate counsels, and so restrain your animosities, that no provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to fester your differences to extremity; but that on the other side both parties will remove whatever may give offence or occasion of jealousy to the other. Which if you shall vouchsafe to do, you will disappoint your enemies, prove the consolation of your friends, and in the best manner provide for the welfare of your republic. And this we beseech you to be fully convinced of,

that we shall use our utmost care to make appear, upon all occasions, our extraordinary affection and goodwill to the states of the United Provinces. And so we most earnestly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his blessings of peace, wealth, and liberty, upon your republic; but above all things to preserve it always flourishing in the love of the christian faith, and the true worship of his name.

Your high and mightinesses most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c. To the most Serene Prince,* JOHN, *King of* PORTUGAL.

Most Serene Prince,

UPON the eleventh of July last, old style, we received by Thomas Maynard the ratification of the peace negotiated at London by your extraordinary embassador; as also of the private and preliminary articles, all now confirmed by your majesty: and by our letters from Philip Meadows, our agent at Lisbon, dated the same time, we understand that our ratification also of the same peace and articles was by him, according to our orders sent him, delivered to your majesty: and thus the instruments of the forementioned ratification being mutually interchanged on both sides in the beginning of June last, there is now a firm and settled peace between both nations. And this pacification has given us no small occasion of joy and satisfaction, as believing it will prove to the common benefit of both nations, and to the no slight detriment of our common enemies, who as they found out a means to disturb the former league, so they left nothing neglected to have hindered the renewing of this. Nor do we question in the least, that they will omit any occasion of creating new matter for scandals and jealousies between us. Which we however have constantly determined, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote distance from our thoughts; rather we so earnestly desire, that this our alliance may beget a mutual confidence, greater every day than other, that we shall take them for our enemies, who shall by any artifices endeavour to molest the friendship by this peace established between ourselves and both our people. And we readily persuade ourselves, that your majesty's thoughts and intentions are the same. And whereas it has pleased your majesty, by your letters dated the twenty-fourth of June, and some days after the delivery by our agent of the interchanged instrument of confirmed peace, to mention certain clauses of the league, of which you desired some little alteration, being of small moment to this republic, as your majesty believes, but of great importance to the kingdom of Portugal; we shall be ready to enter into a particular treaty in order to those proposals made by your majesty, or whatever else may conduce, in the judgment of both parties, to the farther establishment and more strongly fastening of the league: wherein we shall have those due considerations of your majesty and your subjects, as also of our own people, that all may be satisfied; and it shall be in your own choice, whether these things shall be negotiated at Lisbon, or at London. However, the league being now confirmed, and duly sealed with the seals of both nations, to alter any part of it would be the same thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly assured your majesty by no means desires to do. We heartily wish all things lucky, all things prosperous to your majesty. *From our palace at Westminster, Aug.* —, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* JOHN, *King of* PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King,

WE have received the unwelcome news of a wicked and inhuman attempt to have murdered our agent Philip Meadows, residing with your majesty, and by us sent upon the blessed errand of peace; the heinousness of which was such, that his preservation is only to be attributed to the protection of Heaven. And we are given to understand, by your letters dated the twenty-sixth of May last, and delivered to us by Thomas Maynard, that your majesty, justly incensed at the horridness of the fact, has commanded inquiry to be made after the criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign punishment: but we do not hear that any of the ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your commands have wrought any effect in this particular. Wherefore we thought it our duty openly to declare, how deeply we resent this barbarous outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: and therefore we make it our request to your majesty, that due punishment may be inflicted upon the authors, associates, and encouragers of this abominable fact. And to the end that this may be the more speedily accomplished, we farther demand, that persons of honesty and sincerity, wellwishers to the peace of both nations, may be entrusted with the examination of this business, that so a due scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious contrivance, to the end both authors and assistants may be the more severely punished. Unless this be done, neither your majesty's justice, nor the honour of this republic, can be vindicated; neither can there be any stable assurance of peace between both nations. We wish your majesty all things fortunate and prosperous. *From our palace at Whitehall, August* —, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Illustrious Lord, the* CONDE D'ODEMIRA.

Most Illustrious Lord,

YOUR singular goodwill towards us and this republic has laid no mean obligation upon us, nor slightly tied us to acknowledgment. We readily perceived it by your letters of the twenty-fifth of June last, as also by those which we received from our agent Philip Meadows, sent into Portugal to conclude the peace in agitation, wherein he informed us of your extraordinary zeal and diligence to promote the pacification, of which we most joyfully received the last ratification; and we persuade ourselves, that your lordship will have no cause to repent either of your pains and diligence in procuring this peace, or of your goodwill to the English, or your fidelity towards the king, your sovereign; more especially considering the great hopes we have that this peace will be of high advantage to both nations, and not a little inconvenient to our enemies. The only accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this negotiation, was that unhallowed villany nefariously attempted upon the person of our agent, Philip Meadows: the concealed authors of which intended piece of inhumanity ought no less diligently to be sought after, and made examples to posterity, than the vilest of most openly detected assassinates. Nor can we doubt in the least of your king's severity and justice in the punishment of a crime so horrid, nor of your care and sedulity to see, that there be no remissness of prosecution, as being a person bearing due veneration to the laws of God, and sanctity among men, and no less zealous to maintain the peace between both nations, which never can subsist if such inhuman barbarities as these escape unpunished and unrevenged. But your abhorrence and detestation of the fact is so well known, that there is no need of insisting any more at present upon this unpleasing subject. Therefore, having thus declared our goodwill and affection to your lordship, of which we shall be always ready to give apparent demonstrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the blessings of Divine favour and protection upon you, and all yours. *From our palace at Westminster, Aug.* —, 1656.

Your lordship's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

BEING assured of your majesty's concurrence both in thoughts and counsels for the defence of the protestant faith against the enemies of it, if ever, now at this time most dangerously vexatious; though we cannot but rejoice at your prosperous successes, and the daily tidings of your victories, yet on the other side we cannot but be as deeply afflicted, to meet with one thing that disturbs and interrupts our joy; we mean the bad news intermixed with so many welcome tidings, that the ancient friendship between your majesty and the States of the United Provinces looks with a dubious aspect, and that the mischief is exasperated to that height, especially in the Baltic sea, as seems to bode an unhappy rupture. We confess ourselves ignorant of the causes; but we too easily foresee, that the events, which God avert, will be fatal to the interests of the protestants. And therefore, as well in respect to that most strict alliance between us and your majesty, as out of that affection and love to the reformed religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be swayed, we thought it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the United Provinces to peace and moderation, so now to persuade your majesty to the same. The protestants have enemies every where enow and to spare, inflamed with inexorable revenge; they never were known to have conspired more perniciously to our destruction: witness the valleys of Piedmont, still reeking with the blood and slaughter of the miserable; witness Austria, lately turmoiled with the emperor's edicts and proscriptions; witness Switzerland. But to what purpose is it, in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of so many calamities? Who so ignorant, as not to know, that the counsels of the Spaniards, and the Roman pontiff, for these two years have filled all these places with conflagrations, slaughter, and vexation of the orthodox? If to these mischiefs there should happen an access of dissension among protestant brethren, more especially between two potent states, upon whose courage, wealth, and fortitude, so far as human strength may be relied upon, the support and hopes of all the reformed churches depend; of necessity the protestant religion must be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of destruction. On the other side, if the whole protestant name would but observe perpetual peace among themselves with that same brotherly union as becomes their profession, there would be no occasion to fear, what all the artifices or puissance of our enemies could do to hurt us which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And therefore we most earnestly request and beseech your majesty, to harbour in your mind propitious thoughts of peace, and inclinations ready bent to repair the breaches of your pristine friendship with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffered the decays of mistakes or misconstruction. If there be any thing wherein our labour, our fidelity, and diligence may be useful toward this composure, we offer and devote all to your service. And may the God of heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious resolutions, which together with all felicity, and a perpetual course of victory, we cordially wish to your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

From our palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the States of* HOLLAND.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

IT has been represented to us, by William Cooper, a minister of London, and our countryman, that John le Maire of Amsterdam, his father-in-law, about three and thirty years ago devised a project, by which the revenues of your republic might be very much advanced without any burden to the people, and made an agreement with John Vandenbrook, to share between them the reward, which they should obtain for their invention; which was the settling of a little seal to be made use of in all the provinces of your territories, and for which your High and Mightinesses promised to pay the said Vandenbrook and his heirs the yearly sum of three thousand gilders, or three hundred English pounds. Now although the use and method of this little seal has been found very easy and expeditious, and that ever since great incomes have thereby accrued to your High and Mightinesses, and some of your provinces, nevertheless nothing of the said reward, though with much importunity demanded, has been paid to this day; so that the said Vandenbrook and le Maire being tired out with long delays, the right of the said grant is devolved to the foresaid William Cooper our countryman; who, desirous to reap the fruit of his father-in-law's industry, has petitioned us, that we would recommend his just demands to your High and Mightinesses, which we thought not reasonable to deny him. Wherefore, in most friendly wise, we request your High and Mightinesses favourably to hear the petition of the said William Cooper, and to take such care, that the reward and stipend, so well deserved, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the arrears of the years already passed. Which not doubting but your High and Mightinesses will vouchsafe to perform, as what is no more than just and becoming your magnificence, we shall be ready to shew the same favour to the petitions of your countrymen upon any occasions of the same nature, whenever presented to us.

Your High and Mightinesses most affectionate,

From our palace at Whitehall, September —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

AGAINST our will it is, that we so often trouble your majesty with the wrongs done by your subjects after a peace so lately renewed. But as we are fully persuaded, that your majesty disapproves their being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the complaints of our people. That the ship Anthony of Dieppe was legally taken before the league, manifestly appears by the sentence of the judges of our admiralty court. Part of the lading, that is to say, four thousand hides, Robert Brown, a merchant of London, fairly bought of those who were entrusted with the sale, as they themselves testify. The same merchant, after the peace was confirmed, carried to Dieppe about two hundred of the same hides, and there having sold them to a currier, thought to have received his money, but found it stopped and attached in the hands of his factor; and a suit being commenced against him, he could obtain no favour in that court; wherefore, we thought it proper to request your majesty, that the whole matter may be referred to your council, that so the said money may be discharged from an unjust and vexatious action. For if acts done and adjudged before the peace shall after peace renewed be called into question and controversy, we must look upon assurance of treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of these complaints, if some of these violators of leagues be not made severe and timely examples to others. Which we hope your majesty will speedily take into your care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchsafe his most holy protection.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Whitehall, Sept. —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* JOHN, *King of* PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King,

THE peace being happily concluded between this republic and the kingdom of Portugal, and what refers to trade being duly provided for and ratified, we deemed it necessary to send to your majesty Thomas Maynard, from whom you will receive these letters, to reside in your dominions, under the character and employment of a consul, and to take care of the estates and interests of our merchants. Now in regard it may frequently so fall out, that he may be enforced to desire the privilege of free admission to your majesty, as well in matters of trade, as upon other occasions for the interest of our republic, we make it our request to your majesty, that you will vouchsafe him favourable access and audience, which we shall acknowledge as a singular demonstration and testimony of your majesty's goodwill towards us. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty with all prosperity. *From our court at Westminster, Octob.* —, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the King of the SWEDES.

Most Serene and Potent King,

ALTHOUGH your majesty's wonted and spontaneous favour and goodwill toward all deserving men be such,

that all recommendations in their behalf may seem superfluous, yet we were unwilling to dismiss without our letters to your majesty this noble person, William Vavassour, knight, serving under your banners, and now returning to your majesty: which we have done so much the more willingly, being informed, that formerly following your majesty's fortunate conduct, he had lost his blood in several combats, to assert the noble cause for which you fight. Insomuch, that the succeeding kings of Swedeland, in remuneration of his military skill, and bold achievements in war, rewarded him with lands and annual pensions, as the guerdons of his prowess. Nor do we question, but that he may be of great use to your majesty in your present wars, who has been so long conspicuous for his fidelity and experience in military affairs. It is our desire therefore, that he may be recommended to your majesty according to his merits; and we also further request, that he may be paid the arrears due to him. This, as it will be most acceptable to us, so we shall be ready upon the like occasion, whenever offered, to gratify your majesty, to whom we wish all happiness and prosperity.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, &c., *To the most Serene Prince*, John, *King of* Portugal.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

Thomas Evans, a master of a ship, and our countryman, has presented to us a petition, wherein he sets forth, that in the years 1649 and 1650 he served the Brasile company with his ship the Scipio, being a vessel of four hundred tons, and of which he was master; that the said ship was taken from him, with all the lading and furniture, by your majesty's command; by which he has received great damage, besides the loss of six years gain arising out of such a stock. The commissioners by the league appointed on both sides for the deciding controversies valued the whole at seven thousand of our pounds, or twice as many milreys of Portugal money, as they made their report to us. Which loss falling so heavy upon the foresaid Thomas, and being constrained to make a voyage to Lisbon for the recovery of his estate, he humbly besought us that we would grant him our letters to your majesty in favour of his demands.—We, therefore, (although we wrote the last year in the behalf of our merchants in general to whom the Brasile company was indebted, nevertheless that we may not be wanting to any that implore our aid,) request your majesty, in regard to that friendship which is between us, that consideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your majesty would give such orders to all your ministers and officers, that no obstacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay what is owing to him from the Brasile company, or any other persons. God Almighty bless your majesty with perpetual felicity, and grant that our friendship may long endure.

From our palace at Westminster, Octob. —, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, &c., *To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of* Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful;

James and Patrick Hays, subjects of this commonwealth, have made grievous complaint before us, That they, being lawful heirs of their brother Alexander who died intestate, were so declared by a sentence of your court pronounced in their behalf against their brother's widow; and the estates of their deceased brother, together with the profits, only the widow's dowry excepted, being adjudged to them by virtue of that sentence; nevertheless, to this very day they could never reap any benefit of their pains and expenses in obtaining the said judgment, notwithstanding their own declared right, and letters formerly written by King Charles in their behalf; for that the great power and wealth of Albert van Eyzen, one of your chief magistrates, and with whom the greatest part of the goods was deposited, was an opposition too potent for them to surmount, while he strove all that in him lay that the goods might not be restored to the heirs. Thus disappointed and tired out with delays, and at length reduced to utmost poverty, they are become suppliants to us, that we would not forsake them, wronged and oppressed as they are in a confederated city. We therefore, believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to suffer any countryman of ours in vain to desire our patronage and succour in distress, make this request to your lordships, which we are apt to think we may easily obtain from your city, That the sentence pronounced in behalf of the two brothers may be ratified and duly executed, according to the intents and purposes for which it was given; and that you will not suffer any longer delay of justice, by an appeal to the chamber of Spire, upon any pretence whatever: for we have required the opinions of our lawyers, which we have sent to your lordships fairly written and signed. But if entreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of necessity (and which is no more than according to the customary law of nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the severity of retaliation must take its course; which we hope your prudence will take care to prevent. *From our palace at Westminster, Octob.* 16, 1656.

Your lordship's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

WE are apt to believe, that your majesty received our letters dated the 14th of May, of the last year, wherein we wrote that John Dethic, mayor of London that year, and William Waterford, merchant, had by their petition set forth, That a certain vessel called the Jonas, freighted with goods upon their account, and bound for Dunkirk, then under the jurisdiction of the French, was taken at the very mouth of the Thames, by a searover, pretending a commission from the son of the late King Charles: which being directly contrary to your edicts and the decrees of your council, that no English ship, taken by the enemies of the parliament, should be admitted into any of your ports, and there put to sale, they demanded restitution of the said ship and goods from M. Lestrade, then governor of the town, who returned them an answer no way becoming a person of his quality, or who pretended obedience to his sovereign; That the government was conferred upon him for his good service in the wars, and therefore he would make his best advantage of it, that is to say, by right or wrong; for that he seemed to drive at: as if he had received that government of your majesty's free gift, to authorize him in the robbing your confederates, and contemning your edicts set forth in their favour. For what the King of France forbids his subjects any way to have a hand in, that the king's governor has not only suffered to be committed in your ports, but he himself becomes the pirate, seizes the prey, and openly avouches the fact. With this answer therefore the merchants departed, altogether baffled and disappointed; and this we signified by our letters to your majesty the last year with little better success; for as yet we have received no reply to those letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reason was, because the governor was with the army in Flanders; but now he resides at Paris, or rather flutters unpunished about the city, and at court, enriched with the spoils of our merchants. Once more therefore we make it our request to your majesty, which it is your majesty's interest in the first place to take care of, that no person whatever may dare to justify the wrongs done to your majesty's confederates by the contempt of your royal edicts. Nor can this cause be properly referred to the commissioners appointed for deciding common controversies on both sides; since in this case not only the rights of confederates, but your authority itself, and the veneration due to the royal name, are chiefly in dispute. And it would be a wonder, that merchants should be more troubled for their losses, than your majesty provoked at encroachments upon your honour. Which while you disdain to brook, with the same labour you will demonstrate, that you neither repent of your friendly edicts in favour of our republic, nor connived at the injuries done by your subjects, nor neglected to give due respect to our demands. *From our court at Westminster, Novemb.* —, 1656.

Your majesty's most bounden by goodwill,
by friendship and solemn league,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince*, FREDERIC III., *King of* DENMARK, NORWAY, *the* VANDALS, *and* GOTHS; *Duke of* SLESWIC, HOLSATIA, STORMATIA, *and* DITHMARSH; *Count in* OLDENBURGH *and* DELMENHORST; *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

WE received your majesty's letters dated the 16th of February, from Copenhagen, by the most worthy Simon de Pitkum, your majesty's agent here residing. Which when we had perused, the demonstrations of your majesty's goodwill towards us, and the importance of the matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we designed forthwith to send to your majesty some person, who being furnished with ample instructions from us, might more at large declare to your majesty our counsels in that affair. And though we have still the same resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leisure to think of a person proper to be entrusted with those commands, which the weight of the matter requires; though in a short time we hope to be more at liberty. In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your majesty understand, that the present condition of affairs in Europe has employed the greatest part of our care and thoughts; while for some years, to our great grief, we have beheld the protestant princes, and supreme magistrates of the reformed republics, (whom it rather behoves, as being engaged by the common tie of religion and safety, to combine and study all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual defence,) more and more at weakening variance among themselves, and jealous of each other's actions and designs; putting their friends in fear, their enemies in hope, that the posture of affairs bodes rather enmity and discord, than a firm agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this solicitude has fixed itself so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparks of jealousy between your majesty and the king of Sweden; at least, that there is not that conjunction of affections, which our love and goodwill in general toward the orthodox religion so importunately requires: your majesty, perhaps, suspecting that the trade of your dominions will be prejudiced by the king of Sweden; and on the other side, the king of Sweden being jealous, that by your means the war which he now wages is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those alliances which he seeks. It is not unknown to your majesty, so eminent for your profound wisdom, how great the danger is that threatens the protestant religion, should such suspicions long continue between two such potent monarchs;

more especially, which God avert, if any symptom of hostility should break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earnestly exhorted the king of Sweden, and the states of the United Provinces to peace, and moderate counsels, (and are beyond expression glad to behold peace and concord renewed between them, for that the heads of that league are transmitted to us by their lordships the states-general,) so we thought it our duty, and chiefly becoming our friendship, not to conceal from your majesty what our sentiments are concerning these matters, (more especially being affectionately invited so to do by your majesty's most friendly letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a most singular testimony of your goodwill towards us,) but to lay before your eyes how great a necessity Divine Providence has imposed upon us all that profess the protestant religion, to study peace among ourselves, and that chiefly at this time, when our most embittered enemies seem to have on every side conspired our destruction. There is no necessity of calling to remembrance the valleys of Piedmont still besmeared with the blood and slaughter of the miserable inhabitants; nor Austria, tormented at the same time with the emperor's decrees and proscriptions; nor the impetuous onsets of the popish upon the protestant Switzers. Who can be ignorant, that the artifices and machinations of the Spaniards, for some years last past, have filled all these places with the confused and blended havoc of fire and sword? To which unfortunate pile of miseries, if once the reformed brethren should come to add their own dissensions among themselves, and more especially two such potent monarchs, the chiefest part of our strength, and among whom so large a provision of the protestant security and puissance lies stored and hoarded up against times of danger, most certainly the interests of the protestants must go to ruin, and suffer a total and irrecoverable eclipse. On the other side, if peace continue firmly fixed between two such powerful neighbours, and the rest of the orthodox princes; if we would but make it our main study, to abide in brotherly concord, there would be no cause, by God's assistance, to fear neither the force nor the subtilty of our enemies; all whose endeavours and laborious toils our union alone would be able to dissipate and frustrate. Nor do we question, but that your majesty, as you are freely willing, so your willingness will be constant in contributing your utmost assistance, to procure this blessed peace. To which purpose we shall be most ready to communicate and join our counsels with your majesty; professing a real and cordial friendship, and not only determined inviolably to observe the amity so auspiciously contracted between us, but, as God shall enable us, to bind our present alliance with a more strict and fraternal bond. In the mean time, the same eternal God grant all things prosperous and successful to your majesty.

Your majesty's most closely united by friendship, alliance, and goodwill,

From our court at Whitehall, Dec. —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Illustrious Prince and Lord, the Lord* WILLIAM, *Landgrave of* HESSE, *Prince of* HEREFELDT, *Count in* CUTZENELLEBOGEN, *Decia* LIGENHAIN, WIDDA, *and* SCHAUNBURG, *&c.*

Most Serene Prince,

WE had returned an answer to your letters sent us now near a twelvemonth since, for which we beg your highness's pardon, had not many, and those the most important affairs of the republic under our care, constrained us to this unwilling silence. For what letters could be more grateful to us, than those which are written from a most religious prince, descended from religious ancestors, in order to settle the peace of religion, and the harmony of the church? which letters attribute to us the same inclinations, the same zeal to promote the peace of christendom, not only in your own but in the opinion and judgment of almost all the christian world, and which we are most highly glad to find so universally ascribed to ourselves. And how far our endeavours have been signal formerly throughout these three kingdoms, and what we have effected by our exhortations, by our sufferings, by our conduct, but chiefly by divine assistance, the greatest part of our people both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep tranquillity of their consciences. The same peace we have wished to the churches of Germany, whose dissensions have been too sharp, and of too long endurance; and by our agent Dury for many years in vain endeavouring the same reconciliation, we have cordially offered whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same determinations, and wish the same fraternal charity one among another, to those churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle peace among those sons of peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extreme grief we more than abundantly understand. For that the reformed, and those of the Augustan confession, should cement together in a communion of one church, is hardly ever to be expected: it is impossible by force to prohibit either from defending their opinions, whether in private disputes, or by public writings; for force can never consist with ecclesiastical tranquillity. This only were to be wished, that they who differ, would suffer themselves to be entreated, that they would disagree more civilly, and with more moderation; and notwithstanding their disputes, love one another; not embittered against each other as enemies, but as brethren dissenting only in trifles, though in the fundamentals of faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and persuading these things, we shall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allowed to human force or counsels: God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most serene prince, have left behind you a noble testimony of your affection to the churches, an eternal monument becoming the virtue of your ancestors, and an exemplar worthy to be followed by all princes. It only then remains for us to implore the merciful and great God

to crown your highness with all the prosperity in other things which you can wish for; but not to change your mind, than which you cannot have a better, since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to his glory.

Westminster, March —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of* COURLAND.

Most Serene Prince,

WE have been abundantly satisfied of your affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertained our embassador in his journey to the duke of Muscovy, for some days together making a stop in your territories: now we are no less confident, that your highness will give us no less obliging testimonies of your justice and equity, as well out of your own goodnature, as at our request. For we are given to understand, that one John Johnson, a Scotsman, and master of a certain ship of yours, having faithfully discharged his duty for seven years together in the service of your highness, as to your highness is well known, at length delivered the said ship, called the Whale, in the mouth of the river, according as the custom is, to one of your pilots, by him to be carried safe into harbour. But it so fell out, that the pilot, being ignorant of his duty, though frequently warned and admonished by the said Johnson, as he has proved by several witnesses, the said ship ran aground and split to pieces, not through any fault of the master, but through the want of skill, or obstinacy of the pilot. Which being so, we make it our earnest request to your highness, that neither the said shipwreck may be imputed to the forementioned Johnson the master, nor that he may upon that account be deprived of the wages due to him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having lately suffered another misfortune at sea, he hopes however to support and comfort himself in the extremity of his wants.

From our court at Westminster,
March —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the Republic of* DANTZICK.

Most Noble and Magnificent, our dearest Friends;

WE have always esteemed your city flourishing in industry, wealth, and studious care to promote all useful arts and sciences, fit to be compared with any the most noble cities of Europe. Now in regard that in this war, that has been long hovering about your confines, you have rather chosen to side with the Polanders, than with the Swedes; we are most heartily desirous, that for the sake of that religion which you embrace, and of your ancient commerce with the English, you would chiefly adhere to those counsels, which may prove most agreeable to the glory of God, and the dignity and splendour of your city. Wherefore we entreat ye, for the sake of that friendship which has been long established between yourselves and the English nation, and if our reputation have obtained any favour or esteem among ye, to set at liberty Count Conismark, conspicuous among the principal of the Swedish captains, and a person singularly famed for his conduct in war, but by the treachery of his own people surprised at sea; wherein you will do no more than what the laws of war, not yet exasperated to the height, allow; or if you think this is not so agreeable to your interests, that you will however deem him worthy a more easy and less severe confinement. Which of these two favours soever you shall determine to grant us, you will certainly perform an act becoming the reputation of your city, and highly oblige besides the most famous warriors and most eminent captains of all parties: and lastly, lay upon ourselves an obligation not the meanest; and perhaps it may be worth your interest to gratify us.

From our Court at Westminster, April —, 1656.

Your lordship's affectionate, OLIVER, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* IRELAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and Great Duke of all* RUSSIA; *sole Lord of* VOLODOMARIA, MOSCOW and NOVOGRAGE; *King of* CAZAN, ASTRACAN, *and* SIBERIA; *Lord of* VOBSCOW, *Great Duke of* SMOLENSKO, TUERSCOY, *and other Places; Lord and Great Duke of* NOVOGROD, *and the Lower Provinces of* CHERNIGOY, REZANSCO, *and others; Lord of all the* NORTHERN CLIMES; *also Lord of* EVERSCO, CARTALINSCA, *and many other Places.*

ALL men know how ancient the friendship, and how vast the trade has been for a long train of years between the English nation and the people of your empire: but that singular virtue, most August Emperor, which in your majesty far outshines the glory of your ancestors, and the high opinion which all the neighbouring princes have of it, more especially moves us to pay a more than ordinary veneration and affection to your majesty, and to desire the imparting of some things to your consideration, which may conduce to the good of christendom and your own interests. Wherefore, we have sent the most accomplished Richard Bradshaw, a person of whose fidelity, integrity, prudence, and experience in affairs, we are well assured, as having been employed by us in several other negotiations of this nature, under the character of our agent to your majesty; to the end he may more at large make known to your majesty our singular goodwill and high respect toward so puissant a monarch, and transact with your majesty concerning the matters abovementioned. Him therefore we request your majesty favourably to receive in our name, and as often as shall be requisite to grant him free access to your person, and no less gracious audience; and lastly, to give the same credit to him in all things which he shall propose or negotiate, as to ourselves, if we were personally present. And so we beseech Al-

mighty God to bless your majesty and the Russian empire with all prosperity.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our Court at Westminster, April —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

THE most honourable William Jepson, colonel of horse, and a senator in our parliament, who will have the honour to deliver these letters to your majesty, will make known to your majesty, with what disturbance and grief of mind we received the news of the fatal war broke out between your majesty and the King of Denmark, and how much it is our cordial and real endeavour, not to neglect any labour or duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that some speedy remedy may be applied to this growing mischief, and those calamities averted, which of necessity this war will bring upon the common cause of religion; more especially at this time, now that our adversaries unite their forces and pernicious counsels against the profession and professors of the orthodox faith. These and some other considerations of great importance to the benefit and public interest of both nations, have induced us to send this gentleman to your majesty, under the character of our extraordinary envoy. Whom we therefore desire your majesty kindly to receive, and to give credit to him in all things, which he shall have to impart to your majesty in our name; as being a person in whose fidelity and prudence we very much confide. We also farther request, That your majesty will be pleased fully to assure yourself of our goodwill and most undoubted zeal, as well toward your majesty, as for the prosperity of your affairs. Of which we shall be readily prepared with all imaginable willingness of mind to give unquestionable testimonies upon all occasions. *From our court at Westminster, August —,* 1657.

Your majesty's friend, and most strictly counited confederate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince, the Lord* FREDERIC WILLIAM, *Marquis of* BRANDENBURGH, *High Chamberlain of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of* MAGDEBURG, PRUSSIA, JULIERS, CLEVES, MONTS, STETTIN, POMERANIA, *of the* CASSIUBIANS *and* VANDALS, *as also of* SILESIA, CROSNA, *and* CARNOVIA, *Burgrave of* NORRINBURG, *Prince of* HALBERSTADT *and* MINDA, *Count of* MARK *and* RAVENSBERG, *Lord in* RAVENSTEIN.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

SUCH is the fame of your highness's virtue and prudence both in peace and war, and so loudly spread through all the world, that all the princes round about are ambitious of your friendship; nor does any one desire a more faithful or constant friend and associate: therefore to the end your highness may know, that we are also in the number of those that have the highest and most honourable thoughts of your person and merits, so well deserving of the commonwealth of christendom; we have sent the most worthy colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, in our name to kiss your highness's hands; and withal to wish the continuance of all prosperity to your affairs, and in words at large to express our goodwill and affection to your serenity; and therefore make it our request, That you will vouchsafe to give him credit in those matters concerning which he has instructions to treat with your highness, as if all things were attested and confirmed by our personal presence. *From our court at Whitehall, August —,* 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the city of* HAMBOROUGH.

Most Noble, most Magnificent, and Worthy,

THE most accomplished colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, being sent by us to the most serene king of Sweden, is to travel through your city; and therefore we have given him in command, not to pass by your lordships unsaluted in our name; and withal to make it our request, That you will be ready to assist him upon whatsoever occasion he shall think it requisite to crave the aid of your authority and counsel. Which the more willingly you shall do, the more you shall find you have acquired our favour.

From our court at Westminster, Aug. —, 1657.

To the most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the city of BREME.

How great our affection is toward your city, how particular our goodwill, as well upon the account of your religion, as for the celebrated splendour of your city, as formerly you have found; so when occasion offers, you shall be further sensible. At present, in regard the most accomplished colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, is to travel through Bremen with the character of our envoy extraordinary to the king of Sweden, it is our pleasure that he salute your lordships lovingly and friendly in our name; and that if any accident fall out, wherein your assistance and friendship may be serviceable to him, that he may have free admission to desire it, upon the score of our alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the less be wanting, by how much the more reason you will have to be assured of our singular love and kindness for your lordships. *From our court at Whitehall, Aug. —,* 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c. To the most Noble the Senators and Consuls of the City of* LUBECK.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful, our dearest Friends;

COLONEL William Jepson, a person of great honour, and a senator in our parliament, is to pass with the character of a public minister from your city to the king of Sweden, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we desire your lordships, that if occasion require, upon the account of the friendship and commerce between us, you will be assistant to him in his journey through your city, and the territories under your jurisdiction. As to what remains, it is our farther pleasure, that you be saluted in our name, and that you be assured of our goodwill and ready inclinations to serve your lordships. *From our court at Westminster, August* —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the City of* HAMBOROUGH.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful;

PHILIP MEADOWS, who brings these letters to your lordships, is to travel through your city with the character of our agent to the king of Denmark. Therefore we most earnestly recommend him to your lordships, that if any occasion should happen for him to desire it, you would be ready to aid him with your authority and assistance: and we desire that this our recommendation may have the same weight at present with your lordships as formerly it wont to have; nor shall we be wanting to your lordships upon the same opportunities. *From our court at Whitehall, August* —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* FREDERIC, *Heir of* NORWAY, *Duke of* SLESWIC, HOLSATIA, *and* DITMARSH, *Count in* OLDENBURGH *and* DELMENHORST.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

COLONEL William Jepson, a person truly noble in his country, and a senator in our parliament, is sent by us, as our envoy extraordinary to the most serene king of Sweden; and may it prove happy and prosperous for the common peace and interests of christendom! We have given him instructions, among other things, that in his journey, after he has kissed your serenity's hands in our name, and declared our former goodwill and constant zeal for your welfare, to request of your serenity also, that being guarded with your authority, he may travel with safety and convenience through your territories. By which kind act of civility, your highness will in a greater measure oblige us to returns of answerable kindness. *From our court at Westminster, Aug.* —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* FERDINAND, *Great Duke of* TUSCANY.

Most Serene Great Duke, our dearest Friend;

THE company of our merchants trading to the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean sea, by their petition to us, have set forth, that William Ellis, master of a ship called the Little Lewis, being at Alexandria in Egypt, was hired by the Basha of Memphis, to carry rice, sugar, and coffee, either to Constantinople or Smyrna, for the use of the Grand Seignior; but that contrary to his faith and promise given, he bore away privately from the Ottoman fleet, and brought his ship and lading to Leghorn, where now he lives in possession of his prey. Which villanous act being of dangerous example, as exposing the Christian name to scandal, and the fortunes of our merchants living under the Turks to violence and ransac; we therefore make it our request to your highness, that you will give command, that the said master be apprehended and imprisoned, and that the vessel and goods may remain under seizure, till we shall have given notice of our care for the restitution of those goods to the sultan: assuring your highness of our readiness to make suitable returns of gratitude, whenever opportunity presents itself. *From our court at Westminster, September* —, 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince, the Lord* FREDERIC-WILLIAM, *Marquis of* BRANDENBURGH, *&c.*

Most Serene Prince, our most dear Friend and Confederate;

BY our last letters to your highness, either already or shortly to be delivered by our embassador William Jepson, we have imparted the substance of our embassy to your highness; which we could not do without some mention of your great virtues, and demonstration of our own goodwill and affection. Nevertheless, that we may not seem too superficially to have gilded over your transcending deservings of the protestant interests; we thought it proper to resume the same subject, and pay our respect and veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of mind, but somewhat more at large to your highness: and truly most deservedly, when daily information reaches our ears, that your faith and conscience, by all manner of artifices tempted and assailed, by all manner of arts and devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any violence be rent from your friendship and alliance with a most magnanimous prince and your confederate: and this, when the affairs of the Swedes are now reduced to that condition, that in adhering to their alliance, it is manifest, that your highness rather consults the common cause of the reformed religion, than your own advantage. And when your highness is

almost surrounded and besieged by enemies either privately lurking, or almost at your gates; yet such is your constancy and resolution of mind, such your conduct and prowess becoming a great general, that the burthen and massy bulk of the whole affair, and the event of this important war, seems to rest and depend upon your sole determination. Wherefore your highness has no reason to question, but that you may rely upon our friendship and unfeigned affection; who should think ourselves worthy to be forsaken of all men's good word, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemished fidelity, your constancy, and the rest of your applauded virtues; or should we pay less respect to your highness upon the common score of religion. As to those matters propounded by the most accomplished John Frederic Schlever, your counsellor and agent here residing, if hitherto we could not return an answer, such as we desired to do, though with all assiduity and diligence laboured by your agent; we entreat your highness to impute it to the present condition of our affairs, and to be assured, that there is nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, than to be serviceable and assisting to your interests, so bound up with the cause of religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of mercy and power, that so signal a prowess and fortitude may never languish or be oppressed, nor be deprived the fruit and due applause of all your pious undertakings. *From our court at Westminster, September —*, 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the most Excellent Lord, M. De Bordeaux, Extraordinary Embassador from the most Serene King of FRANCE.

Most Excellent Lord,

LUCAS LUCIE, merchant of London, has made his complaint to the most serene lord protector, concerning a certain ship of his, called the Mary; which in her voyage from Ireland to Bayonne, being driven by tempest into the port of St. John de Luz, was there detained by virtue of an arrest, at the suit of one Martin de Lazan: nor could she be discharged, till the merchants had given security to stand a trial for the property of the said ship and lading. For Martin pretended to have a great sum of money owing to him by the parliament for several goods of his, which in the year 1642 were seized by authority of parliament, in a certain ship called the Sancta Clara. But it is manifest, that Martin was not the owner of the said goods, only that he prosecuted the claim of the true owner Richald and Iriat, together with his partner, whose name was Antonio Fernandez; and that upon the said Martin and Antonio's falling out among themselves, the parliament decreed, that the said goods should be stopped till the law should decide to which of the two they were to be restored. Upon this, Anthony was desirous, that the action should proceed; on the other side, neither Martin, nor any body for him, has hitherto appeared in court: all which is evidently apparent by Lucas's petition hereto annexed. So that it seems most unreasonable, that he who refused to try his pretended title with Antonio, to other men's goods, in our own courts, should compel our people, and the true owners, to go to law for their own in a foreign dominion. And that the same is apparent to your excellency's equity and prudence, the most serene lord protector makes no question; by whom I am therefore commanded in a particular manner, to recommend this fair and honest cause of Lucas Lucie to your excellency's consideration; to the end that Martin, who neglects to try his pretended right here, may not under that pretence have an opportunity in the French dominions to deprive others of their rightful claims.

Westminster, Your excellency's most affectionate.
October —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Duke and Senate of the Republic of* VENICE.

Most Serene Duke and Senate, our dearest Friends;

So numerous are the tidings brought us from your fortunate successes against the Turks, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occasion to employ our pens, than in congratulating your serenities for some signal victory. For this so recently obtained, we give ye joy, as being not only most auspicious and seasonable to your republic; but, which is more glorious, so greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Christians groaning under Turkish servitude. More particularly we recommend to your serenity and the senate Thomas Galily, formerly master of the ship called the Relief, who for these five years together has been a slave; though this be not the first time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary exultation. He having received your commands, to serve your republic with his ship, and engaging alone with several of the enemies' galleys, sunk some, and made a great havoc among the rest: but at length his ship being burnt, the brave commander, and so well deserving of the Venetian republic, was taken, and ever since for five years together has endured a miserable bondage among the barbarians. To redeem himself he had not wherewithal; for whatsoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your highness and the senate, upon the account either of his ship, his goods, or for his wages. Now in regard he may not want relief, and for that the enemy refuses to discharge him upon any other condition, than by exchange of some other person of equal value and reputation to himself; we most earnestly entreat your highness, and the most serene senate; and the afflicted old man, father of the said Thomas, full of grief and tears, which not a little moved us, by our intercession begs, that in regard so many prosperous combats have made ye masters of so many Turkish prisoners, you will exchange some one

of their number, whom the enemy will accept for so stout a seaman taken in your service, our countryman, and the only son of a most sorrowful father. Lastly, that whatsoever is due to him from the republic, upon the score of wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to see it paid to his father, or to whom he shall appoint to receive it. The effect of our first request, or rather of your equity, was this, that the whole matter was examined, and upon an exact stating of the accounts the debt was agreed; but perhaps by reason of more important business intervening, no payment ensued upon it. Now the condition of the miserable creature admits of no longer delay; and therefore some endeavour must be used, if it be worth your while to desire his welfare, that he may speedily be delivered from the noisome stench of imprisonment. Which, as you flourish no less in justice, moderation, and prudence, than in military fame and victorious success, we are confident you will see done, of your own innate humanity and freewill, without any hesitation, without any incitement of ours. Now that you may long flourish, after a most potent enemy subdued, our daily prayers implore of the Almighty. *From our court at Westminster, October* —, 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

THE most illustrious William Nuport, your extraordinary embassador for some years residing with us, is now returning to your lordships; but with this condition, that after this respite obtained from your lordships, he shall return again in a short time. For he has remained among us, in the discharge of his trust, with that fidelity, vigilance, prudence, and equity, that neither you nor we could desire greater virtue and probity in an embassador, and a person of unblemished reputation; with those inclinations and endeavours to preserve peace and friendship between us, without any fraud or dissimulation, that while he officiates the duty of your embassador, we do not find what occasion of scruple or offence can arise in either nation. And we should brook his departure with so much the more anxiety of mind, considering the present juncture of times and affairs, were we not assured, that no man can better or more faithfully declare and represent to your lordships, either the present condition of affairs, or our goodwill and affection to your government. Being therefore every way so excellent a person, and so very deserving both of yours and our republic, we request your lordships to receive him returning, such as we unwillingly dismiss him, laden with the real testimonials of our applauses. Almighty God grant all prosperity to your affairs, and perpetuate our friendship, to his glory, and the support of his orthodox church.

Your high and mightinesses most devoted.

From our Court at Westminster, Nov. —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

GEORGE DOWNING is a person of eminent quality, and, after a long trial of his fidelity, probity, and diligence, in several and various negotiations, well approved and valued by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your lordships, dignified with the character of our agent, and amply furnished with our instructions. We therefore desire your lordships, to receive him kindly, and that so often as he shall signify that he has any thing to impart in our name to your lordships, you will admit him free audience, and give the same credit to him, and entrust him with whatsoever you have to communicate to us, which you may safely do, as if ourselves were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your lordships, and your republic with all prosperity, to the glory of God and the support of his Church.

Your high and mightinesses most affectionate,

From our court at Whitehall, December —, 1657. OLIVER, &c.

To the States of HOLLAND.

THERE being an alliance between our republic and yours, and those affairs to be transacted on both sides that without an agent and interpreter, sent either by yourselves, or from us, matters of such great moment can hardly be adjusted to the advantage of both nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both republics, to send George Downing, a person of eminent quality, and long in our knowledge and esteem for his undoubted fidelity, probity, and diligence, in many and various negotiations, dignified with the character of our agent, to reside with your lordships, and chiefly to take care of those things, by which the peace between us may be preserved entire and diuturnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the States, but also thought it requisite to give notice also of the same to your lordships, supreme in the government of your province, and who make so considerable a part of the United Provinces; to the end you may give that reception to our resident which becomes him, and that whatever he transacts with your High and Mighty States, you may assure yourselves, shall be as firm and irrevocable, as if ourselves had been present in the negotiation. Now the most merciful God direct all your counsels and actions to his glory, and the peace of his church.

Westm. Decemb. —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince*, FERDINAND, *Great Duke of* TUSCANY.

Most Serene Great Duke, our much honoured Friend,

YOUR highness's letters, bearing date from Florence the 10th of November, gave us no small occasion of content and satisfaction; finding therein your goodwill towards us, so much the more conspicuous, by how much deeds than words, performances than promises, are the more certain marks of a cordial affection. For what we requested of your highness, that you would command the master of the Little Lewis, William Ellis, (who most ignominiously broke his faith with the Turks,) and the ship and goods to be seized and detained, till restitution should be made to the Turks, lest the christian name should receive any blemish by thieveries of the like nature; all those things, and that too with an extraordinary zeal, as we most gladly understood before, your highness writes that you have seen diligently performed. We therefore return our thanks for the kindness received, and make it our farther request, that when the merchants have given security to satisfy the Turks, the master may be discharged, and the ship, together with her lading, be forthwith dismissed, to the end we may not seem to have had more care perhaps of the Turks' interest, than our own countrymen. In the mean time, we take so kindly this surpassing favour done us by your highness, and most acceptable to us, that we should not refuse to be branded with ingratitude, if we should not ardently desire a speedy opportunity, with the same promptitude of mind, to gratify your highness, whereby we might be enabled to demonstrate our readiness to return the same good offices to so noble a benefactor upon all occasions.

Your highness's most affectionate,

From our court at Westminster, OLIVER, &c.
December —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most Invincible Friend and Confederate;

BY your majesty's letters, dated the 21st of February from your camp in Seland, we found many reasons to be affected with no small joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole christian republic in general. In the first place, because the King of Denmark, being become an enemy, not induced thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own inclinations or interests, but deluded by the artifices of our common adversaries, is reduced to that condition by your sudden eruption into the very heart of his kingdom, with very little bloodshed on either side, that, what was really true, he will at length be persuaded, that peace would have been more beneficial to him, than the war which he has entered into against your majesty. Then again, when he shall consider with himself, that he cannot obtain it by any more speedy means, than by making use of our assistance, long since offered him to procure a reconciliation, in regard your majesty so readily entreated by the letters only delivered by our agent, by such an easy concession of peace, most clearly made it apparent how highly you esteemed the intercession of our friendship, he will certainly apply himself to us; and then our interposition in so pious a work will chiefly require, that we should be the sole reconciler and almost author of that peace, so beneficial to the interests of the protestants; which, as we hope, will suddenly be accomplished. For when the enemies of religion shall despair of breaking your united forces by any other means than setting both your majesties at variance, then their own fears will overtake them, lest this unexpected conjunction, which we ardently desire, of your arms and minds, should turn to the destruction of them that were the kindlers of the war. In the mean time, most magnanimous king, may your prowess go on and prosper; and the same felicity which the enemies of the church have admired in the progress of your achievements, and the steady career of your victories against a prince, now your confederate, the same by God's assistance, may you enforce them to behold once more in their subversion.

From our palace at Westminster,
March 30, 1658.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince*, FERDINAND, *Great Duke of* TUSCANY.

Most Serene Prince,

THE answer which we have given to your agent here residing, we believe, will fully satisfy your highness as to our admiral, who but lately put into your ports. In the mean time, John Hosier, master of a ship called the Owner, has set forth in a petition to us, that in April, 1656, he hired out his ship by a charty-party agreement, to one Joseph Arman, an Italian, who manifestly broke all the covenants therein contained; so that he was enforced, lest he should lose his ship and lading, together with his whole principal stock, openly to set forth the fraud of his freighter, after the manner of merchants; and when he had caused it to be registered by a public notary, to sue him at Leghorn. Joseph, on the other side, that he might make good one fraud by another, combining with two other litigious traders, upon a feigned pretence, by perjury, seized upon six thousand pieces of eight, the money of one Thomas Clutterbuck. But as for his part, the said Hosier, after great expenses and loss of time, could never obtain his right and due at Leghorn: nor durst he there appear in court, being threatened as he was, and waylaid by his adversaries. We therefore request your highness, that you would vouchsafe your assistance to this poor oppressed man, and according to your wonted justice, restrain the insolence of his adversary. For in vain are laws ordained for the government of

cities by the authority of princes, if wrong and violence, when they cannot abrogate, shall be able by threats and terrour to frustrate the refuge and sanctuary of the laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your highness will speedily take care to punish a daring boldness of this nature; beseeching Almighty God to bless your highness with peace and prosperity.

From our court at Westminster,
April 7, 1658.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, and most
August Friend and Confederate;

YOUR majesty may call to mind, that at the same time, when the renewing the league between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many advantages from thence accruing to both nations, and the many annoyances thence attending the common enemy, sufficiently testify; those dreadful butcheries befel the Piedmontois, and that we recommended, with great fervency of mind and compassion, their cause, on all sides forsaken and afflicted, to your commiseration and protection. Nor do we believe that your majesty of yourself, was wanting in a duty so pious, that we may not say, beseeming common humanity, as far as your authority, and the veneration due to your person, could prevail with the duke of Savoy. Certain we are, that neither ourselves, nor many other princes and cities, were wanting in our performances, by the interposition of embassies, letters, and entreaties. After a most bloody butchery of both sexes, and all ages, at length peace was granted, or rather a certain clandestine hostility covered over with the name of peace. The conditions of peace were agreed in your town of Pignerol; severe and hard, but such as those miserable and indigent creatures, after they had suffered all that could be endured that was oppressive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but observed, as hard and unjust as they were. But by false constructions, and various evasions, the assurances of all these articles are eluded and violated; many are thrust out from their ancient abodes; many are forbid the exercise of their religion, new tributes are exacted, a new citadel is imposed upon them; from whence the soldiers frequently making excursions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new levies are privately preparing against them, and all that embrace the protestant religion are commanded to depart by a prefixed day; so that all things seem to threaten the utter extermination of those deplorable wretches, whom the former massacre spared. Which I most earnestly beseech and conjure ye, most Christian king, by that RIGHT HAND which signed the league and friendship between us, by that same goodly ornament of your title of MOST CHRISTIAN, by no means to suffer, nor to permit such liberty of rage and fury uncontrolled, we will not say, in any prince, (for certainly such barbarous severity could never enter the breast of any prince, much less so tender in years, nor into the female thoughts of his mother,) but in those sanctified cut-throats, who, professing themselves to be the servants and disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into the world to save sinners, abuse his meek and peaceful name and precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the innocent. Rescue, you that are able in your towering station, worthy to be able, rescue so many suppliants prostrate at your feet, from the hands of ruffians, who, lately drunk with blood, again thirst after it, and think it their safest way to throw the odium of their cruelty upon princes. But as for you, great prince, suffer not, while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of your kingdom, to be contaminated with this same Heaven-offending scandal, nor the peaceful gospel of Christ to be defiled with such abominable cruelty. Remember, that they submitted themselves to your grandfather Henry, most friendly to the protestants, when the victorious Lesdiguieres pursued the retreating Savoyard over the Alps. There is also an instrument of that submission registered among the public acts of your kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, that from that time forward the Piedmontois should not be delivered over into the power of any ruler, but upon the same condition upon which your invincible grandfather received them into his protection. This protection of your grandfather these suppliants now implore from you as grandchild. It is your majesty's part, to whom those people now belong, to give them that protection which they have chosen, by some exchange of habitation, if they desire it, and it may be done: or if that be a labour too difficult, at least to succour them with your patronage, your commiseration, and your admittance into sanctuary. And there are some reasons of state, to encourage your majesty not to refuse the Piedmontois a safe asylum in your kingdom: but I am unwilling that you, so great a king, should be induced to the defence and succour of the miserable by any other arguments than those of your ancestor's pledged faith, your own piety, royal benignity, and magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire glory of a most egregious act will be your own, and you will find the Father of mercy, and his Son, King Christ, whose name and doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious inhumanity, so much the more favourable and propitious to your majesty, all your days. The God of mercy and power infuse into your majesty's heart a resolution, to defend and save so many innocent Christians, and maintain your own honour.

Westminster, May —, 1658.

To the Evangelic Cities of the SWITZERS.

Illustrious and most Noble Lords, our
dearest Friends;

How heavy and intolerable the sufferings of the Piedmontois, your most afflicted neighbours, have been, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own prince, for the sake of their religion, by reason of the fellness of the cruelties, we almost trem-

ble to remember, and thought it superfluous to put you in mind of those things, which are much better known to your lordships. We have also seen copies of the letters which your embassadors, promoters and witnesses of the peace concluded at Pignerol, wrote to the duke of Savoy, and the president of his council at Turin; wherein they set forth, and make it out, that all the conditions of the said peace are broken, and were rather a snare than a security to those miserable people. Which violation continued from the conclusion of the peace till this very moment, and still growing more heavy every day than other; unless they patiently endure, unless they lay themselves down to be trampled under foot, plashed like mortar, or abjure their religion, the same calamities, the same slaughters hang over their heads, which three years since made such a dreadful havoc of them, their wives, and children; and which, if it must be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole race. What shall such miserable creatures do? in whose behalf no intercession will avail, to whom no breathing time is allowed, nor any certain place of refuge. They have to do with wild beasts, or furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former murders has wrought no compassion upon their countrymen, no sense of humanity, nor satiated their ravenous thirst after blood. Most certainly these things are not to be endured, if we desire the safety of our brethren the Piedmontois, most ancient professors of the orthodox faith, or the welfare of our religion itself. As for ourselves so far remote, we have not been wanting to assist them as far as in us lay, nor shall we cease our future aid. But you, who not only lie so near adjoining, as to behold the butcheries, and to hear the outcries and shrieks of the distressed, but are also next exposed to the fury of the same enemies; consider for the sake of the immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: consult your prudence, your piety, and your fortitude; what succour, what relief and safeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your neighbours and brethren, who must else undoubtedly and speedily perish. Certainly the same religion is the cause, why the same enemies also seek your perdition; why, at the same time the last year, they meditated your ruin, by intestine broils among yourselves. It seems to be only in your power next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this most ancient scion of the purer religion, in those remainders of the primitive believers; whose preservation, now reduced to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next turn be not your own. These admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly love, we are not quite as yet cast down: for what lies only in our power so far distant, as we have hitherto, so shall we still employ our utmost endeavours, not only to procure the safety of our brethren upon the precipice of danger, but also to relieve their wants. May the Almighty God vouchsafe to both of us, that peace and tranquillity at home, that settlement of times and affairs, that we may be able to employ all our wealth and force, all our studies and counsels in the defence of his church against the rage and fury of her enemies.

From our court at Whitehall, May —, 1658.

To his Eminency, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

THE late most grievous cruelties, and most bloody slaughters perpetrated upon the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, within the duke of Savoy's dominions, occasioned the writing of the enclosed letters to his majesty, and these other to your eminency. And as we make no doubt but that such tyranny, and inhumanities, so rigorously inflicted upon harmless and indigent people, are highly displeasing and offensive to the most serene king; so we readily persuade ourselves, that what we request from his majesty in behalf of those unfortunate creatures, your eminency will employ your endeavour and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our intercessions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquired more goodwill and affection to the French nation, among all the neighbouring professors of the reformed religion, than that liberty and those privileges, which by public acts and edicts are granted in that kingdom to the protestants. And this among others was one main reason, why this republic so ardently desired the friendship and alliance of the French people. For the settling of which we are now treating with the king's embassador, and have made those progresses, that the treaty is almost brought to a conclusion. Besides that, your eminency's singular benignity and moderation, which in the management of the most important affairs of the kingdom you have always testified to the protestants of France, encourages us to expect what we promise to ourselves from your prudence and generosity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a stricter alliance between this republic and the kingdom of France, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good offices of civility and kindness: and of this we desire your eminency to rest assured.

Your eminency's most affectionate.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Mighty King, our most August Friend and Confederate;

IT being the intention of Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to travel into France, and no less his desire, out of his profound respect and veneration to your majesty, to be admitted to kiss your royal hands; though by reason of his pleasing conversation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheless not doubting but he will in a short time return from the court of so great a prince, celebrated for the resort of so many prudent and courageous persons, more nobly prepared for great performances, and fully accomplished in whatsoever may be thought most laudable and virtuous, we did not think it fit to put a stop to his ge-

nerous resolutions. And though he be a person, who, unless we deceive ourselves, carries his own recommendations about him, wheresoever he goes; yet if he shall find himself somewhat the more favoured by your majesty for our sake, we shall think ourselves honoured and obliged by the same kindness. God Almighty long preserve your majesty in safety, and continue a lasting peace between us, to the common good of the christian world.

From our court at Whitehall,
May — , 1658.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal* MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING recommended to the most serene king Thomas viscount Falconbridge our son-in-law, desirous to see France; we could not but acquaint your eminency with it, and recommend him in like manner to yourself, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our recommendation first given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he shall reap by residing in your country, which he hopes will not be small, he cannot but be beholden for the greatest part of it to your favour and goodwill; whose single prudence and vigilancy supports and manages the grand affairs of that kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful obligation your eminency shall lay upon him, you may be assured you lay upon ourselves, and that we shall number it among your many kindnesses and civilities already shown us.

Westminster, May — , 1658.

OLIVER, *Protector, &c., To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal* MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING sent the most illustrious Thomas Bellasis, viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to congratulate the king upon his arrival in the camp at Dunkirk; I gave him order to attend and wish your eminency long life and health in our name, and to return thanks to your eminency, by whose fidelity, prudence, and vigilancy, it chiefly comes to pass, that the affairs of France are carried on with such success in several parts, but more especially in near adjoining Flanders, against our common enemy the Spaniard; from whom we hope that open and armed courage now will soon exact a rigorous account of all his frauds and treacheries. Which that it may be speedily done, we shall not be wanting, either with our forces, as far as in us lies, or with our prayers to Heaven.

From our court at Whitehall,
May —, 1658.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Friend and Confederate;

So soon as the news was brought us, that your majesty was arrived in your camp, and was sate down with so considerable an army before Dunkirk, that infamous nest of pirates, and place of refuge for searobbers, we were greatly overjoyed, in certain assurance that in a short time now, with God's assistance, the seas will be more open and less infested by those plundering rovers; and that your majesty, by your military prowess, will now take speedy vengeance of the Spanish frauds; by whom one captain was by gold corrupted to the betraying of Hesden, another treacherously surprised at Ostend. We therefore send the most noble Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to congratulate your majesty's arrival in your camp so near us, and that your majesty may understand from his own lips, with what affection we labour the prosperity of your achievements, not only with our united forces, but our cordial prayers, that God would long preserve your majesty, and perpetuate our established friendship, to the common good of the christian word

From our court at Westminster,
May —, 1658.

To the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND, *Grand Duke of* TUSCANY.

Most Serene Great Duke,

IN regard your highness in your letters has ever signified your extraordinary affection toward us, we are not a little grieved, that either it should be so obscurely imparted to your governors and ministers, or by them so ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or sign of it in your port of Leghorn, where your friendship towards us ought to be most clearly and truly understood: rather, that we should find the minds of your subjects daily more averse and hostile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our fleet was lately treated at Leghorn, how little accommodated with necessary supplies, in what a hostile manner twice constrained to depart the harbour, we are sufficiently given to understand, as well from undoubted witnesses upon the place, as from our admiral himself, to whose relation we cannot but give credit, when we have thought him worthy to command our fleet. Upon his first arrival in January, after he had caused our letters to be delivered to your highness, and all offices of civility had passed between our people and yours; when he desired the accommodation of Porto Ferraro; answer was made, it could not be granted, lest the king of Spain, that is to say our enemy, should be offended. And yet what is there which a prince in friendship more frequently allows to his confederate, than free entrance into his ports and harbours? Or what is there that we can expect from a friendship of this nature,

more ready to do us unkindness than befriend us, or aid us with the smallest assistance, for fear of provoking the displeasure of our enemies? At first indeed, prattic was allowed, though only to two or three of our seamen out of every ship, who had the favour to go ashore. But soon after, it being noised in the town, that our ships had taken a Dutch vessel laden with corn for Spain, that little prattic we had was prohibited; Longland the English consul was not permitted to go aboard the fleet; the liberty of taking in fresh water, which is ever free to all that are not open enemies, was not suffered, but under armed guards, at a severe rate; and our merchants, which reside in the town to the vast emolument of your people, were forbid to visit their countrymen, or assist them in the least. Upon his last arrival, toward the latter end of March, nobody was suffered to come ashore. The fifth day after, when our admiral had taken a small Neapolitan vessel, which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great shot were made at our feet from the town, though without any damage to us. Which was an argument, that what provoked your governors without a cause, as if the rights of your harbour had been violated, was done out at sea, at a great distance from your town, or the jurisdiction of your castle. Presently our long boats, sent to take in fresh water, were assailed in the port, and one taken and detained; which being redemanded, answer was made, that neither the skiff nor the seamen should be restored, unless the Neapolitan vessel were dismissed; though certain it is, that she was taken in the open sea, where it was lawful to seize her. So that ours, after many inconveniences suffered, were forced at length to set sail, and leave behind them the provision, for which they had paid ready money. These things, if they were not done by your highness's consent and command, as we hope they were not, we desire you would make it appear by the punishment of the governor, who so easily presumed to violate his master's alliances; but if they were done with your highness's approbation and order, we would have your highness understand, that as we always had a singular value for your friendship, so we have learnt to distinguish between injuries and acts of kindness.

Your good friend, so far as we may,

From our court at Whitehall, May —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Confederate and Friend;

BY so speedily repaying our profound respect to your majesty, with an accumulation of honour, by such an illustrious embassy to our court; you have not only made known to us, but to all the people of England, your singular benignity and generosity of mind, but also how much you favour our reputation and dignity: for which we return our most cordial thanks to your majesty, as justly you have merited from us. As for the victory which God has given, most fortunate, to our united forces against our enemies, we rejoice with your majesty for it; and that our people in that battle were not wanting to your assistance, nor the military glory of their ancestors, nor their own pristine fortitude, is most grateful to us. As for Dunkirk, which, as your majesty wrote, you were in hopes was near surrender: it is a great addition to our joy, to hear from your majesty such speedy tidings, that it is absolutely now in your victorious hands; and we hope moreover, that the loss of one city will not suffice to repay the twofold treachery of the Spaniard, but that your majesty will in a short time write us the welcome news of the surrender also of the other town. As to your promise, that you will take care of our interest, we mistrust it not in the least, upon the word of a most excellent king, and our most assured friend, confirmed withal by your embassador, the most accomplished duke of Crequi. Lastly, we beseech Almighty God to prosper your majesty and the affairs of France, both in peace and war.

Westminster, June —, 1658.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal* MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

WHILE we are returning thanks to the most serene king, who to honour and congratulate us, as also to intermix his joy with ours for the late glorious victory, has sent a splendid embassy to our court; we should be ungrateful, should we not also by our letters pay our due acknowledgments to your eminency; who, to testify your goodwill towards us, and how much you make it your study to do us all the honour which lies within your power, have sent your nephew to us, a most excellent and most accomplished young gentleman; and if you had any nearer relation, or any person whom you valued more, would have sent him more especially to us, as you declare in your letters; adding withal the reason, which, coming from so great a personage, we deem no small advantage to our praise and ornament; that is to say, to the end that they, who are most nearly related to your eminency in blood, might learn to imitate your eminency, in shewing respect and honour to our person. And we would have it not to be their meanest strife to follow your example of civility, candour, and friendship to us; since there are not more conspicuous examples of extraordinary prudence and virtue to be imitated than in your eminency; from whence they may learn with equal renown to govern kingdoms, and manage the most important affairs of the world. Which that your eminency may long and happily administer, to the prosperity of the whole realm of France, to the common good of the whole christian republic, and your own glory, we shall never be wanting in our prayers to implore.

Your excellency's most affectionate.

From our court at Whitehall, June —, 1658.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our dearest Confederate and Friend;

As often as we behold the busy counsels, and various artifices of the common enemies of religion, so often do we revolve in our minds how necessary it would be, and how much for the safety of the christian world, that the protestant princes, and most especially your majesty, should be united with our republic in a most strict and solemn confederacy. Which how ardently and zealously it has been sought by ourselves, how acceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the affairs of Swedeland, had been in that posture and condition, if the said league could have been sacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a seasonable succour to the other, we declared to your embassadors, when first they entered into treaty with us upon this subject. Nor were they wanting in their duty; but the same prudence which they were wont to shew in other things, the same wisdom and sedulity they made known in this affair. But such was the perfidiousness of our wicked and restless countrymen at home, who, being often received into our protection, ceased not however to machinate new disturbances, and to resume their formerly often frustrated and dissipated conspiracies with our enemies the Spaniards, that being altogether taken up with the preservation of ourselves from surrounding dangers, we could not bend our whole care, and our entire forces, as we wished we could have done, to defend the common cause of religion. Nevertheless what lay in our power we have already zealously performed: and whatever for the future may conduce to your majesty's interests, we shall not only shew ourselves willing, but industrious to carry on, in union with your majesty, upon all occasions. In the mean time we most gladly congratulate your majesty's victories, most prudently and courageously achieved, and in our daily prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your majesty a steady course of conquest and felicity, to the glory of his name.

From our court at Whitehall, June —, 1658.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince, the King of* PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King, our Friend and Confederate;

JOHN BUFFIELD, of London, merchant, hath set forth in a petition to us, that in the year 1649, he delivered certain goods to Anthony, John, and Manuel Ferdinando Castaneo, merchants in Tamira, to the end that after they had sold them, they might give him a just account, according to the custom of merchants: after which, in his voyage for England, he fell into the hands of pirates; and being plundered by them, received no small damage. Upon this news, Anthony and Manuel, believing he had been killed, presently looked upon the goods as their own, and still detain them in their hands, refusing to come to any account; covering this fraud of theirs with a sequestration of English goods, that soon after ensued. So that he was forced the last year, in the middle of winter, to return to Portugal and demand his goods, but all in vain. For that the said John and Anthony could by no fair means be persuaded, either to deliver the said goods or come to any account; and which is more to be admired, justified their private detention of the goods by the public attainder. Finding therefore that being a stranger, he should get nothing by contending with the inhabitants of Tamira in their own country, he betook himself for justice to your majesty: humbly demanded the judgment of the conservator, appointed to determine the causes of the English; but was sent back to the cognizance of that court, from which he had appealed. Which though in itself not unjust, yet seeing it is evident, that the merchants of Tamira make an ill use of your public edict to justify their own private cozenage, we make it our earnest request to your majesty, that according to your wonted clemency you would rather refer to the conservator, being the proper judge in these cases, the cause of this poor man afflicted by many casualties, and reduced to utmost poverty; to the end he may recover the remainder of his fortunes from the faithless partnership of those people. Which when you rightly understand the business, we make no question, but will be no less pleasing to your majesty to see done, than to ourselves. *From our court at Westminster, Aug.* 1658.

To the most Serene Prince, LEOPOLD, *Archduke of* AUSTRIA, *Governor of the Low Countries under* PHILIP *King of* SPAIN.

Most Serene Lord,

CHARLES HARBORD, knight, has set forth in his petition to us, that having sent certain goods and household-stuff out of Holland to Bruges under your jurisdiction, he is in great danger of having them arrested out of his hands by force and violence. For that those goods were sent him out of England in the year 1643, by the earl of Suffolk, for whom he stood bound in a great sum of money, to the end he might have wherewithal to satisfy himself, should he be compelled to pay the debt. Which goods are now in the possession of Richard Greenville, knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in custody, and made a violent seizure of the same, under pretence of we know not what due to him from Theophilus earl of Suffolk, by virtue of a certain decree of our court of chancery, to which those goods, as being the earl's, were justly liable; whereas by our laws, neither the earl now living, whose goods they are, is bound by that decree, neither ought the goods to be seized or detained; which the sentence of that court, now sent to your serenity, together with these letters, positively declares and proves. Which letters the said Charles

Harbord has desired of us, to the end we would make it our request to your highness, that the said goods may be forthwith discharged from the violent seizure, and no less unjust action of the said Richard Greenville, in regard it is apparently against the custom and law of nations, that any person should be allowed the liberties to sue in a foreign jurisdiction upon a plaint, wherein he can have no relief in the country where the cause of action first arose. Therefore the reason of justice itself, and your far celebrated equanimity encouraged us to recommend this cause to your highness; assuring your highness, that whenever any dispute shall happen in our courts concerning the rights and properties of your people, you shall ever find us ready and quick in our returns of favour. *Westminster*, —

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England.

LETTERS

WRITTEN

IN THE NAME OF RICHARD, PROTECTOR.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene and Potent Prince*, LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

So soon as our most serene father, Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, by the will of God so ordaining, departed this life upon the third of September, we being lawfully declared his successor in the supreme magistracy, though in the extremity of tears and sadness, could do no less than with the first opportunity by these our letters make known a matter of this concernment to your majesty; by whom, as you have been a most cordial friend to our father and this republic, we are confident the mournful and unexpected tidings will be as sorrowfully received. Our business now is, to request your majesty, that you would have such an opinion of us, as of one who has determined nothing more religiously and constantly, than to observe the friendship and confederacy contracted between your majesty and our renowned father: and with the same zeal and goodwill to confirm and establish the leagues by him concluded, and to carry on the same counsels and interests with your majesty. To which intent it is our pleasure that our ambassador, residing at your court, be empowered by the same commission as formerly; and that you will give the same credit to what he transacts in our name, as if it had been done by ourselves. In the mean time we wish your majesty all prosperity.

From our court at Whitehall, Sept. 5, 1658.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

THOUGH nothing could fall out more bitter and grievous to us, than to write the mournful news of our most serene and most renowned father's death; nevertheless, in regard we cannot be ignorant of the high esteem which he had for your eminency, and the great value which you had for him; nor have any reason to doubt, but that your eminency, upon whose care the prosperity of France depends, will no less bewail the loss of your constant friend, and most united confederate; we thought it of great moment, by these our letters, to make known this accident so deeply to be lamented, as well to your eminency as to the king; and to assure your eminency, which is but reason, that we shall most religiously observe all those things, which our father of most serene memory was bound by the league to see confirmed and ratified: and shall make it our business, that in the midst of your mourning for a friend so faithful and flourishing in all virtuous applause, there may be nothing wanting to preserve the faith of our confederacy. For the conservation of which on your part also, to the good of both nations, may God Almighty long preserve your eminency.

Westminster, Sept. 1658.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince*, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

WHEN we consider with ourselves that it will be a difficult matter for us to be imitators of our father's

virtues, unless we should observe and endeavour to hold the same confederacies which he by his prowess acquired, and out of his singular judgment thought most worthy to be embraced and observed; your majesty has no reason to doubt, that it behoves us to pay the same tribute of affection and goodwill, which our father of most serene memory always paid to your majesty. Therefore, although in this beginning of our government and dignity I may not find our affairs in that condition, as at present to answer to some particulars which your embassadors have proposed, yet it is our resolution to continue the league concluded by our father with your majesty, and to enter ourselves into a stricter engagement; and so soon as we shall rightly understand the state of affairs on both sides, we shall always be ready on our part to treat of those things, which shall be most chiefly for the united benefit of both republics. In the mean time, God long preserve your majesty to his glory, and the defence and safeguard of his orthodox church.

From our court at Westminster,
October, 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, &c. *To the most Serene and Potent Prince*, Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, &c.

Most serene and potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

We have received two letters from your majesty, the one by your envoy, the other transmitted to us from our resident Philip Meadows, whereby we not only understood your majesty's unfeigned grief for the death of our most serene father, in expressions setting forth the real thoughts of your mind, and how highly your majesty esteemed his prowess and friendship, but also what great hopes your majesty conceived of ourselves advanced in his room. And certainly, as an accumulation of paternal honour in deeming us worthy to succeed him, nothing more noble, more illustrious, could befall us than the judgment of such a prince; nothing more fortunately auspicious could happen to us, at our first entrance upon the government, than such a congratulator; nothing, lastly, that could more vehemently incite us to take possession of our father's virtues, as our lawful inheritance, than the encouragement of so great a king. As to what concerns your majesty's interests, already under consideration between us, in reference to the common cause of the protestants, we would have your majesty have those thoughts of us, that since we came to the helm of this republic, though the condition of our affairs be such at present, that they chiefly require our utmost diligence, care, and vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more sacred, and that there is not any thing more determined by us, than, as much as in us lies, never to be wanting to the league concluded by our father with your majesty. To that end, we have taken care to send a fleet into the Baltic sea, with those instructions which our agent, to that purpose empowered by us, will communicate to your majesty; whom God preserve in long safety, and prosper with success in defence of his orthodox religion.

From our court at Westminster,
October 13, 1658.

Richard, *Protector, To the most Serene and Potent Prince*, Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, &c.

Most serene and potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

We send to your majesty, nor could we send a present more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble Sir George Ascue, knight, not only famed in war, and more especially for his experience in sea-affairs, approved and tried in many desperate engagements; but also endued with singular probity, modesty, ingenuity, learning, and for the sweetness of his disposition caressed by all men; and which is the sum of all, now desirous to serve under the banners of your majesty, so renowned over all the world for your military prowess. And we would have your majesty be fully assured, that whatsoever high employment you confer upon him, wherein fidelity, fortitude, experience, may shine forth in their true lustre, you cannot entrust a person more faithful, more courageous, nor easily more skilful. Moreover, as to those things we have given him in charge to communicate to your majesty, we request that he may have quick access, and favourable audience, and that you will vouchsafe the same credit to him as to ourselves if personally present: lastly, that you will give him that honour as you shall judge becoming a person dignified with his own merits and our recommendation. Now God Almighty prosper all your affairs with happy success to his own glory, and the safeguard of his orthodox church.

From our court at Whitehall,
October, 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, &c., *To the most Serene and Potent Prince*, Charles Gustavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, &c.

Most serene and potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

Samuel Piggot of London, merchant, in a petition delivered to us, sets forth, that he lately sent from London into France, upon the account of trade, two vessels, the one called the Post, Tiddie Jacob master, the other the Water-Dog, Garbrand Peters master. That from France, being laden with salt, they sailed for Amsterdam; at Amsterdam the one took in ballast only; the other laden with herrings, in copartnership with one Peter Heinbergh, sailed away for Stettin in Pomerania, which is under your jurisdiction, there to unlade her freight; but now he hears that both those vessels are detained somewhere in the Baltic sea by your forces; notwithstanding that he took care to send

a writing with both those ships, sealed with the seal of the admiralty-court, by which it appeared that he alone was the lawful owner of both the vessels and goods, that part excepted which belonged to Heinbergh. Of all which, in regard he has made full proof before us, we make it our request to your majesty, (to prevent the ruin and utter shipwreck of the poor man's estate, by the loss of two ships at one time,) that you would command your officers to take care for the speedy discharge of the said vessels. God long preserve your majesty to his own glory, and the safeguard of his orthodox church.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the high and mighty Lords, the States of* WESTFRIEZLAND.

Most high and mighty Lords, our dearest
Friends and Confederates;

MARY GRINDER, widow, in a petition presented to us, has made a most grievous complaint, that whereas Thomas Killegrew, a commander in your service, has owed her for these eighteen years a considerable sum of money, she can by her agents neither bring him to pay the said money, nor to try his title at law to the same, if he has any. Which that he may not be compelled to do by the widow's attorney, he has petitioned your highnesses, that nobody may be suffered to sue him for any money that he owes in England. But should we signify no more than only this to your highnesses, that she is a widow, that she is in great want, the mother of many small children, which her creditor endeavours to deprive of almost all that little support they have in this world, we cannot believe we need make use of any greater arguments to your lordships, so well acquainted with those divine precepts forbidding the oppression of the widow and the fatherless, to persuade ye not to grant any such privilege, upon a bare petition, to the fraudulent subverter of the widow's right; and which for the same reason we assure ourselves you will never admit.

From our court at Westminster,
January 27, 1659.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* LEWIS, *King of* FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most
august Confederate and Friend;

WE have been given to understand, and that to our no small grief, that several protestant churches in Provence were so maliciously affronted and disturbed by a certain turbulent humourist, that the magistrates at Grenoble, who are the proper judges of such causes, thought him worthy of exemplary punishment; but that the convention of the clergy, which was held not far from those places, obtained of your majesty, that the whole matter should be removed up to Paris, there to be heard before your royal council. But they not having as yet made any determination in the business, those churches, and more especially that of Yvoire, are forbid to meet for the worship of God. Most earnestly therefore we request your majesty, that in the first place you would not prohibit those from preaching in public, whose prayers to God for your safety and the prosperity of your kingdom you are so free to suffer; then, that the sentence given against that impertinent disturber of divine service, by the proper judges of those causes at Grenoble, may be duly put in execution. God long preserve your majesty in safety and prosperity; to the end that, if you have any good opinion of our prayers, or think them prevalent with God, you may be speedily induced to suffer the same to be publicly put up to heaven by those churches, now forbid their wonted meetings.

Westminster, Feb. 18, 1659.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most eminent Lord Cardinal;

THE most illustrious lady, late wife of the deceased duke of Richmond, is now going into France, together with the young duke her son, with an intention to reside there for some time. We therefore most earnestly request your eminency, that if any thing fall out, wherein your authority, favour, and patronage may be assisting to them, as strangers, you would vouchsafe to protect their dignity, and to indulge the recommendation of it not the meanest, in such a manner, that if any addition can be made to your civility towards all people, especially of illustrious descent, we may be sensible our letters have obtained it. Withal, your excellency may assure yourself, your recommendation, whenever you require the like from us, shall be of equal force and value in our esteem and care.

Westminster, Feb. 29, 1659.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* JOHN, *King of* PORTUGAL.

Most Serene and potent Prince, our
Friend and Confederate;

ALTHOUGH there are many things which we are bound to impart by writing to a king our friend, and in strict confederacy with our republic, yet there is nothing which we ever did more willingly, than what we do at this present, by these our letters to congratulate this last victory, so glorious to the kingdom of Portugal, obtained against our common enemy the Spaniard. By which, how great an advantage will accrue not only to your own but to the peace and repose of all Europe, and that perhaps for many years, there is nobody but understands. But there is one thing more, wherein we must acknowledge your majesty's justice, the most certain pledge of victory: that satisfaction has been given by the commissioners appointed at London, according to the 24th article of the league, to our merchants, whose vessels were hired by the Brazil company. Only there is one among them still remaining Alexander Bence of London, merchant, whose

ship called the Three Brothers, John Wilks master, being hired and laden, and having performed two voyages for the said company, yet still they refuse to pay him his wages according to their covenants; when the rest that only performed single voyages are already paid. Which why it should be done, we cannot understand, unless those people think, in their judgment, that person more worthy of his hire, who did them only single service, than he who earned his wages twice. We therefore earnestly request your majesty, that satisfaction may be given, for his service truly performed, to this same single Alexander, to whom a double stipend is due; and that, by virtue of your royal authority, you would prefix the Brazil company as short a day as may be, for the payment of his just due, and repairing his losses; seeing that their delays have been the occasion, that the loss sustained by the merchant has very near exceeded the money itself which is owing for his wages. So God continue your majesty's prosperous successes against the common enemy.

From our court at Westminster,
Feb. 23, 1659.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c., To the most eminent Lord Cardinal* MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord;

BY letters to your eminency, about eight months since, dated June 13, we recommended to your eminency the cause of Peter Pet, a person of singular probity, and in all naval sciences most useful both to us and our republic. His ship called the Edward, in the year 1646, as we formerly wrote, was taken in the mouth of the Thames by one Bascon, and sold in the port of Boulogne; and though the king in his royal council the 4th of November, 1647, decreed, that what money the council should think fitting to be given in recompense of the loss, should be forthwith paid in satisfaction to the owner; nevertheless, as he sets forth, he could never reap the benefit of that order. Now in regard we make no question but that your eminency, at our desire, gave strict command for the speedy execution of that decree; we make it therefore our renewed request, that you would vouchsafe to examine where the impediment lies, or through whose neglect or contumacy it came to pass, that in ten years time the king's decree was not obeyed; and employ your authority so effectually, that the money then decreed, which we thought long since satisfied, may be speedily demanded and paid to our petitioner. Thus your eminency will perform an act most grateful to justice, and lay moreover a singular obligation upon ourselves.

From our court at Westminster,
Feb. 25, 1659.

The two following Letters, after the Deposal of RICHARD, were written in the Name of the Parliament Restored.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *&c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince,* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *King of the* SWEDES, GOTHS, *and* VANDALS, *&c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend;

SINCE it has pleased the most merciful and omnipotent God, at whose disposal only the revolutions of all kingdoms and republics are, to restore us to our pristine authority, and the supreme administration of the English affairs; we thought it convenient in the first place to make it known to your majesty; and to signify moreover as well our extraordinary affection to your majesty, so potent a protestant prince, as also our most fervent zeal to promote the peace between your majesty and the king of Denmark, another most powerful protestant king, not to be reconciled without our assistance, and the good offices of our affection. Our pleasure therefore is, that our extraordinary envoy, Philip Meadows, be continued in the same employment with your majesty, with which he has been hitherto intrusted from this republic. To which end we impower him by these our letters to make proposals, act, and negotiate with your majesty, in the same manner as was granted him by his last recommendations: and whatsoever he shall transact and conclude in our name, we faithfully promise and engage, by God's assistance, to confirm and ratify. The same God long support your majesty, the pillar and support of the protestant interests.

Westminster, WILLIAM LENTHAL,
May 15, 1659. Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, *&c., To the most Serene Prince,* FREDERICK, *King of* DENMARK.

Most serene King, and most dear Friend;

SEEING it now is come to pass, that by the will and pleasure of the most merciful and powerful God, the supreme moderator of all things, we are restored to our pristine place and dignity, in the administration of the public affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place, that a revolution of this government should not be concealed from your majesty's notice, a prince both our neighbour and confederate; and withal to signify how much we lay to heart your ill success: which you will easily perceive by our zeal and diligence, that never shall be wanting in us to promote and accomplish a reconciliation between your majesty and the king of Sweden. And therefore we have commanded our extraordinary envoy with the most serene king of Sweden, Philip Meadows, to attend your majesty, in our name, in order to these matters, and to impart, propound, act, and negotiate such things as we have

given him in charge to communicate to your majesty: and what credit you shall give to him in this his employment, we request your majesty to believe it given to ourselves. God Almighty grant your majesty a happy and joyful deliverance out of all your difficulties and afflicting troubles, under which you stand so undauntedly supported by your fortitude and magnanimity.

Westminster,
May 15, 1659.

WILLIAM LENTHAL,
Speaker of the Parliament of the
Commonwealth of England.

A

MANIFESTO OF THE LORD PROTECTOR

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, &c.

PUBLISHED BY CONSENT AND ADVICE OF HIS COUNCIL.

WHEREIN IS SHEWN THE REASONABLENESS OF THE CAUSE OF THIS REPUBLIC AGAINST THE DEPREDATIONS OF THE SPANIARDS.

[WRITTEN IN LATIN BY JOHN MILTON, AND FIRST PRINTED IN 1655; TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH IN 1738.]

THAT the motives whereby we have been lately induced to make an attack upon certain islands in the West Indies, which have been now for some time in the hands of the Spaniards, are exceeding just and reasonable, every one will easily see, who considers in what a hostile manner that king and his subjects have all along, in those parts of America, treated the English nation; which behaviour of theirs as it was very unjust at the beginning, so ever since with the same injustice they have persevered in it, in a direct contrariety to the common law of nations, and to particular articles of alliance made betwixt the two kingdoms.

It must indeed be acknowledged, the English for some years past have either patiently borne with these injuries, or only defended themselves; which may possibly give occasion to some to look upon that late expedition of our fleet to the West Indies, as a war voluntarily begun by us, instead of considering that this war was first begun and raised by the Spaniards themselves, as in reality it will be found to be, and (though this republic have done all that lay in their power to establish peace and commerce in those parts) hitherto kept up and carried on by them with the greatest eagerness.

That the Spaniards themselves are the occasion of this war, will evidently appear to every one who considers how, as oft as they find opportunity, without any just cause, and without being provoked to it by any injury received, they are continually murdering, and sometimes even in cold blood butchering, any of our countrymen in America they think fit; while in the mean time they seize upon their goods and fortunes, demolish their houses and plantations, take any of their ships they happen to meet with in those seas, and treat the sailors as enemies, nay, even as pirates. For they give that opprobrious name to all, except those of their own nation, who venture to sail in those seas. Nor do they pretend any other or better right for so doing, than a certain ridiculous gift of the pope on which they rely, and because they were the first discoverers of some parts of that western region: by virtue of which name and title, which they arrogate to themselves, they maintain that the whole power and government of that western world is lodged only in their hands. Of which very absurd title we shall have occasion to speak more fully, when we come to consider the causes assigned by the Spaniards for their thinking themselves at liberty to exercise all sorts of hostilities against our countrymen in America, to such a degree, that whoever are driven upon those coasts by stress of weather or shipwreck, or any other accident, are not only clapt in chains by them as prisoners, but are even made slaves; while they, notwithstanding all this, are so unreasonable as to think, that the peace is broken, and very much violated by the English; and that even in Europe, if they attempt any thing against them in those parts, with a view to make reprisals, and to demand restitution of their goods.

But though the king of Spain's ambassadors in our country, depending on a Spanish faction which had always a very considerable influence in the last king's council, as well as his father's, did not scruple to make a great many unreasonable complaints and ridiculous demands upon the most trivial accounts, whenever the English did any thing of this kind; yet those princes, though too much attached to the Spaniards, would by no means have the hands of their subjects bound up, when the Spaniards thought they should have the free use of theirs. On the contrary, they allowed their subjects to repel force by force, and to consider such of the Spaniards, as could not be brought at any rate to keep the peace in those parts, as enemies. So that about the year 1640, when this affair was debated in the last king's council, and when the Spanish ambassador de-

sired that some ships bound for America, lying in the mouth of the river, and just ready to weigh anchor, should be stopt, as being capable of doing mischief to the Spaniards in that part of the world; and when at the same time he refused the English, who asked it of him by some members of the council appointed for that purpose, the privilege of trading to the West Indies, it was nevertheless resolved upon, that these ships should pursue their intended voyage, which accordingly they did.

Thus far the aforesaid princes were not wanting to their subjects, when they made war in those places privately for their own interest, though, by reason of the power of the above-mentioned Spanish faction, they would not espouse their cause publicly, in the way they ought to have done, and in a manner suitable to the ancient glory of the English nation. And certainly, it would have been the most unbecoming and disgraceful thing in the world for us, who by the kind providence of God had in our possession so many ships equipped and furnished with every thing requisite to a war by sea, to have suffered these ships rather to have grown worm-eaten and rot at home for want of use, than to have been employed in avenging the blood of the English, as well as that of the poor Indians, which in those places has been so unjustly, so cruelly, and so often shed by the hands of the Spaniards: since God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. And surely God will one time or other take vengeance on the Spaniards, who have shed so much innocent blood, who have made such terrible havoc among the poor Indians, slain so many thousands of them with the utmost barbarity, done them so many injuries, and harassed and persecuted them in such a miserable manner, whatever time that may happen, and by whose hand soever it may be executed.

But in order to justify our conduct, there is no need of having recourse to the common relation that men have to one another, which is no other than that of brethren, whereby all great and extraordinary wrongs done to particular persons ought to be considered as in a manner done to all the rest of the human race; since their having so often robbed and murdered our own countrymen was cause sufficient of itself, for our having undertaken that late expedition, and has given us abundant reason to avenge ourselves on that people; to pass by at present a great many other reasons, and to take into consideration our own safety for the future, and likewise that of our allies, especially those among them who are of the orthodox religion; and to omit several other causes, whereby we were prompted to this expedition, of which we have no need at present to give a particular enumeration, since our principal design at this time is to declare and shew to the world the justice and equity of the thing itself, and not to reckon up all the particular causes of it. And that we may do this with the greater perspicuity, and explain generals by particulars, we must cast our eyes back a little upon things that are past, and strictly examine all the transactions betwixt the English and Spaniards, consider what has been the state of affairs on both sides, so far as may respect the mutual relation of the two kingdoms, both since the first discovery of America, and since the reformation: which two great events, as they happened much about the same time, so they produced every where vast changes and revolutions, especially amongst the English and Spaniards, who since that time have conducted and managed their affairs in a very different, if not quite contrary, way to what they did formerly. For though the last king and his father, against the will of almost all their subjects, patched up any way two leagues with the Spaniards; yet the different turns of the two nations, proceeding from the difference of their religious principles, and the perpetual dissensions that were in the West Indies, together with the jealousies and suspicions which the Spaniards had all along of the English, (being always mightily afraid of losing their treasures in America,) have not only frustrated all the late attempts made by this commonwealth to obtain a peace upon reasonable and honourable terms, but were likewise the principal reasons why Philip II, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, broke that ancient league, that had subsisted so long, without any violation, betwixt this nation and his ancestors of the house of Burgundy and Castile; and having made war upon that queen, proposed to subdue this whole nation: which very thing in the year 1588 he attempted with all his might, while in the mean time he was treating about the establishment of a peace; which certainly cannot but be still deeply rooted in the minds of the English, and will not easily be extirpated. And though after that there was some kind of peace and commerce in Europe, (and it was of such sort, that no Englishman durst profess his own religion within any part of the Spanish dominions, or have the Holy Bible in his house, or even aboard a ship,) yet in the West Indies the Spaniard from that time has never allowed them either to enjoy peace, or to have the privilege of trading; contrary to what was expressly stipulated concerning both these things in that league of the year 1542, concluded between Henry VIII, king of England, and the emperor Charles V, in which peace and free commerce were expressly established between these two princes and their people, through every part of their respective dominions, through all their ports and territories, without any exception of the West Indies, which was then subject to that emperor.

But as to that article, of a peace to be maintained on the part of both nations through all the countries of the world; this is indeed plainly contained in all the treaties of peace that were ever betwixt them, nor is there any exception relating to commerce in any of these treaties, till that which was made in the year 1604, with which that in the year 1630 does perfectly agree. In which two last treaties it was resolved upon, that both nations should have a privilege of trading in every part of one another's dominions, in all those places, where, before the war between Philip II, king of Spain, and Elizabeth queen of England, there was

any commerce, according to what was usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties made before that time. These are the very individual words of those treaties, which do plainly leave the matter dubious and uncertain, and so King James was satisfied to make peace with Spain any how, since he only renewed the very same treaty which had been concluded a little before the death of Queen Elizabeth, who charged her deputies when it was in agitation, among other things, to insist warmly on having a privilege of trading to the West Indies.

But King James, who was mightily desirous of making peace with the Spaniards, was content to leave that clause so expressed, as both parties might explain it in their own way, and as they judged would be most for their own advantage; though these words, "According to what is usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties," are so to be understood as it is reasonable they should, according to what in justice ought to be done, and not according to what has been done on the part of the Spaniards, to their manifest violation, (which has afforded perpetual matter of complaint to the English, and has been an occasion of continual quarrels betwixt the two nations,) it is most evident from the express words of ancient treaties, that the English had a privilege both of peace and commerce, through all the Spanish dominions.

Moreover, if the way of observing ancient treaties and agreements is to be taken from their manifest violation, the Spaniards have some pretence for explaining that clause, in the last treaties, as debarring the English from all manner of commerce in these parts. And for all that, during one half the time that intervened betwixt the foresaid treaty in the year 1542, and the beginning of the war betwixt Philip II, and Elizabeth, so far as we can judge from the manner in which things were carried on, it would appear that trading in these places was as much allowed as prohibited. But when the Spaniards would permit no commerce at all, they and the English came from the exchange of goods to that of blows and wounds; and this not only before the war broke out betwixt Philip and Elizabeth, but likewise after a peace was made in the year 1604 by King James, and another by his son in 1630, and yet so as not to stop the course of trade through Europe. However, the king of Spain, after this late interruption of our trade, has now judged that the contests in America may be extended to Europe itself.

But we neither insist on the interpretation of treaties, nor the right of commerce by virtue of these treaties, or on any other account, as if this contest of ours with Spain were necessarily to be founded on these. This is built on the clearest and most evident reasons in the world, as will presently appear. Nevertheless, there are some things of such a nature, that though it be not so necessary to found a war upon them, yet they may very justly be obstacles to the establishing of a peace, or at least to the renewing of an alliance, in which these things are not granted, which have either been granted in former pactions, or may reasonably be expected. And this may serve as an answer to that question; Why, since we have renewed the ancient treaties we had formerly made with all other nations, we have not done the same with Spain? And may serve to convince the world, that in the articles of alliance we have not, as is objected, demanded his right eye, far less both eyes, by our refusing to be liable to the cruel and bloody inquisition in those places where we have been allowed to traffic, but have only insisted upon having such a privilege of carrying on trade, as we were not to be deprived of, either by ancient treaties, or the law of nature. For though the king of Spain has assumed to himself a power of prescribing us the laws and bounds of commerce, by authority of a law made by the pope, whereby he discharges all traffic with Turks, Jews, and other infidels:* and though under this pretence, even in time of peace, his ships of war, in other places besides the West Indies, have taken and plundered our ships; and though by the same authority of the pope, and under pretence of a certain gift he has from him, he claims the Indians for his subjects, as if forsooth they also were subject unto him, who are neither under his authority nor protection: yet we maintain, that neither the pope nor the king of Spain is invested with any such power, as either to rob them of their liberty, or us of the privilege of conversing and trading with them, which we have by the law of nature and nations, but especially with those who, as we formerly observed, are not under the power and government of the king of Spain.

Another obstacle to our renewing an alliance with Spain is sufficiently manifest, and at the same time very remarkable; which is this, that any of our ambassadors and public ministers who are sent into that kingdom, either for the sake of cultivating a good understanding, or about any other business, betwixt the two commonwealths, are altogether uncertain of their lives, the king being tied down to such opinions, as hinder him from providing for their safety against murderers, so as they may not be always in the most imminent danger; whose privileges, in order to keep up and preserve friendship between princes and commonwealths, have by the law of nations been always considered as inviolable, and as a thing much more sacred than those altars of refuge, whose privileges, built on the authority of the pope and the church of Rome, have been hitherto applied to elude the force of laws and justice, which we demanded should be put in execution against the murderers of Mr. Anthony Ascham, who was sent by this republic into Spain, to procure and establish friendship betwixt the two nations. For which barbarous murder there has never as yet been any satisfaction made, nor punishment

* William Stephens of Bristol and some other London merchants, in the years 1606 and 1607, trading with those people who live on the coast of Morocco, with three vessels, some ships belonging to the king of Spain that were pirating along these coasts, having come upon them in the bay of Saffia and the harbour of Santo Cruz, while they were lying at anchor, plundered them, without giving any other reason for their doing it than this, that the king their master would not allow of any commerce with infidels; and the loss these merchants sustained at that time was computed at more than 2000*l*.

inflicted on the authors of it, nor could this ever be obtained, though it was demanded by the parliament;* and in their name several times urged with the greatest warmth by the council of state. And this has been hitherto one continued obstacle, and a very just one too, to the renewing of an alliance betwixt the two nations; nay, if we consider how other nations have frequently acted in like cases, it may be considered as a very just cause for a war.

But as to the disputes that have arisen in the West Indies, though we, both in the continent itself, and in the islands, have plantations as well as they, and have as good, nay, a better right to possess them, than the Spaniards have to possess theirs, and though we have a right to trade in those seas, equally good with theirs; yet without any reason, or any damage sustained, and that when there was not the least dispute about commerce, they have been continually invading our colonies in a hostile way, killing our men, taking our ships, robbing us of our goods, laying waste our houses and fields, imprisoning and enslaving our people: this they have been doing all along till these present times, wherein they have of late engaged in an expedition against them.

For which reason, contrary to what used to be done formerly in the like case, they have detained our ships and merchants, and confiscated their goods almost every where through the Spanish dominions; so that whether we turn our eyes to America or Europe, they alone are undoubtedly to be considered as the authors of the war, and the cause of all the inconveniences and all the bloodshed with which it may possibly be attended.

There are a great many instances of the most cruel and barbarous treatment, the English have perpetually met with from the Spaniards in the West Indies; and that even in time of peace, both since the year 1604, when the peace was patched up by King James, till the time that the war broke out again, and since that last peace, which was concluded in the year 1630, to this very day. We shall only mention a few of them.†

After a peace was concluded in the year 1605, a ship called the Mary, Ambrose Birch commander, was trading on the north coast of Hispaniola: the master being allured with promises of a safe and free commerce, by one father John and six of his accomplices, to go ashore to see some goods, twelve Spaniards in the mean time while going aboard to see the English goods, while the English suspecting no frauds were shewing them their wares, the priest giving a signal from the shore, the Spaniards every man drew his dagger, and stabbed all the English that were in the ship, except two who leaped into the sea, and the rest ashore were put to death with an unparalleled cruelty; the master himself stript of his clothes, and fastened to a tree, was exposed naked to be bit by the flies and vermin. And after he had continued in this miserable case for the space of twenty hours, a negro hearing his groans came to the place, and as he was just on the point of expiring, stabbed him with a spear. This ship with her goods was valued at 5400*l.*

Another ship called the Archer was taken at St. Domingo, and all the sailors put to death. She was reckoned worth 1300*l.*

Another ship, called the Friendship of London, with her loading, was taken by Lodowic Fajard, admiral of the Spanish fleet, all her goods confiscated, and the merchants and mariners thrown into the sea, except one boy who was reserved for a slave. This ship with her loading was estimated at 1500*l.*

The sailors going ashore out of another ship, called the Scorn, (the Spaniards having solemnly sworn they would do them no prejudice,) were all nevertheless bound to trees and strangled. The ship with all her goods was seized, and the merchants, to whom she belonged, lost at this time 1500*l.*

In the year 1606, a ship called the Neptune, was taken at Tortuga, by the Spanish guarda costas, valued at 4300*l.*‡

The same year, another ship, called the Lark, was taken by Lodowic Fajard, and confiscated with all her loading, valued at 4570*l.*

Another, called the Castor and Pollux, was taken by the Spaniards at Florida, by whom she was confiscated, and all her sailors either killed or made slaves; for they were never heard of afterwards. This vessel with her loading was valued at 15000*l.*§

In the year 1608, a Plymouth ship called the Richard, commanded by Henry Challins, fitted out at the expense of Lord Popham, lord chief justice of England, Ferdinand Gorges knight, and others, to go to Virginia, happening to be driven by stress of weather upon the southern part of the Canary Islands, in her way from thence to the coast of Virginia, she chanced to fall in with eleven Spanish ships returning from St. Domingo, who seized her; and though the captain, to rescue himself out of their hands, produced a royal passport, yet the ship with all her goods was confiscated, the captain himself barbarously used by them

* This is evident from the parliament's letter, signed by the hand of the Speaker, to the King of Spain, in the month of January, 1650, the words whereof are as follow. "We demand of your majesty, and insist upon it, "that public justice be at length satisfied for the barbarous murder of Anthony Ascham our resident at your court, and the rather, that after we "have seen condign punishment inflicted on the authors of such a detestable crime, we may be in no fear hereafter to send our ambassador to "your royal court, to lay before you such things as may be equally advantageous to your majesty and our commonwealth. On the contrary, "if we should suffer that blood, the shedding whereof was a thing in many "respects so remarkably horrible, to pass unrevenged, we must of necessity be partakers in that detestable crime in the sight of God, our only "deliverer and the eternal fountain of our mercies, and in the eye of the "whole English nation; especially if ever we should send any other of "our countrymen into that kingdom, where murder is allowed to go quite "unpunished. But we have so great an opinion of your majesty, that we "will not easily be brought to believe that your royal authority is subjected to any other power superior to it within your own dominions."

† As a ship called the Ulysses was trading along the coast of Guiana, the merchants and sailors happened to go ashore, by the persuasion of Berry, governor of that place, who had promised, nay, even sworn that they should receive no hurt; nevertheless there were thirty of them taken and committed to prison. Upon which the governor writes a letter to the merchant, acquainting him, that he had indeed taken thirty of his men, and that because some foreigners, who had come there to trade with them, had defrauded him of 20,000 ducats, which, if he would send him, he swore he would restore all his men, and allow him the liberty of commerce. The merchant sent him the sum he demanded, part in ready money, part in goods, which after the governor had received, he ordered all the thirty men to be fastened to trees and strangled, except the chirurgeon, who was reserved, to cure the governor of a certain disease. This ransom, together with other damages sustained there, was computed at 7000*l.*

‡ John Davis lost two ships with all their goods, and the Spaniards slew all the men that were aboard of them, to the entire loss of that voyage, and this was computed at 3500*l.*

§ Another ship belonging to some London merchants, John Lock commander, was taken by the Spanish fleet, at the isle of Tortuga, because she had been trading there, and had felled some trees; for this she was confiscated, most of the sailors put to death, and the rest condemned to the galleys. This was esteemed a loss of 5300*l.*

and sent to the galleys. This was a damage of more than 2500*l.*

A ship, called the Aid, was served much the same way by Lodowic Fajard, having been taken under pretence of friendship; she too with her goods was confiscated, and all the sailors sent to the galleys, where some were cudgelled to death for refusing to ply the oars. Which vessel with her goods, by the Spaniards' own estimation, was worth 7000*l.*

The same year another ship, called the gallant Anne, William Curry commander, as she was trading at Hispaniola, was likewise confiscated with all her goods, and all the sailors hanged; each of them, by way of ridicule, having a piece of paper sewed to his coat, which had these words written upon it, "Why came ye hither?" This ship with her burden was valued at 8000*l.* These instances do sufficiently shew what kind of peace the Spaniards maintained with us during the reign of King James, who was always very much afraid of breaking the peace with them. And we may also plainly discover the same acts of hostility and barbarous treatment ever since the last peace, which was made in the year 1630, to this very day. For this end we will first speak a little of those colonies, that were planted by some noblemen of this nation, in the isle of Catelina, which they call the isle of Providence, and the island of Tortuga, by them called the island of Association. These islands about the year 1629, being then quite uninhabited, having neither men nor cattle in them, were seized by the English, who at that time were at war with the Spaniards. The year following, when peace was established betwixt the two nations, the Spaniards having made no exception about these islands, King Charles, in a charter under the great seal of England, declared himself master of the isle of Providence and some other islands adjacent to it, which he thought no way inconsistent with his peace, and gave them in possession to some noblemen and their heirs, and next year he extended this grant to the isle of Tortuga.

And though the above-mentioned planters had got possession of these islands by the king's grant, and though this grant was exceeding well founded, first on the law of nature, since neither the Spaniards, nor any other people whatever, were in possession of these places when they seized them; and secondly, on the right of war, since they were taken possession of in time of war, and were not excepted in the articles of peace, whence it follows from the second article of the last treaty, that the title of the Spaniards to these islands (even supposing they had had one) was made null by their own consent: and though likewise, neither the aforesaid company of planters in general, nor any one of them in particular by any action of theirs, had given any just cause of offence, either to the king of Spain or to any of his subjects, till they had first in a violent manner attacked our ships and colonies, and had slain several of the English, and set fire to their houses: yet the Spaniards, being firmly resolved to break the peace in these places, about the twenty-second of January 1632, without any the least provocation, betwixt the isle of Tortuga and the cape of Florida, in a hostile manner fell upon a certain ship belonging to the company, called the Sea-Flower, on her return from the isle of Providence, in which engagement they slew some of the men aboard that ship, and wounded others.

After this, about the year 1634, the isle of Tortuga was attacked by four ships belonging to the Spaniards, without any injury done on the part of the English, in which attack upwards of sixty were slain, many wounded and taken prisoners, their houses burnt down and quite demolished, their most valuable goods carried off by the Spaniards, and the English almost wholly driven out of that island; of whom some were hanged, others carried to the Havanna, and detained in the most abject slavery. One Grymes, who had been a gunner in Tortuga, was distinguished from the rest, by a death remarkably cruel. Some of them flying for refuge to a certain desart island called Santa Cruz, were again set upon by the Spaniards, who even pursued them thither with three galleys in the month of March 1636, of whom forty were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, and used with the utmost barbarity.

In the year 1635, July 24th, the Spaniards, with two great ships and one galley, made likewise an attack upon the isle of Providence, and they fought for several hours, but at that time they were repulsed and forced to give over their enterprise. However, they attempted the same thing a second time, about the year 1640, with twelve ships, some large, and some of a lesser size, whereof the admiral's ship was called the Armadillo of Carthagena, one of the greater galleys of the royal plate-fleet, and having sent a great number of soldiers ashore, they were confident of making themselves masters of the whole island; but yet were repulsed with a great deal of damage, and forced to retreat. Nevertheless, having equipped another fleet, they returned a little after, when the planters, at variance among themselves, did not so much employ their thoughts about what method they should take to defend themselves, as about the terms upon which they might most advantageously surrender; which terms, upon their giving up the island, they found no difficulty to obtain. But the island was by this means wrested out of the hands both of the planters and the commonwealth, of whom the former sustained the loss of more than 80,000*l.* and the latter, besides the loss of the island, hereby received a very open and public affront. After the Spaniards had thus made themselves masters of the isle of Providence, a ship bringing some passengers hither, who wanted to transport themselves to this place from New-England, the Spaniards by stratagem having found means to get her brought within gun-shot, (the people in the ship knowing nothing of their late conquest of that island,) she was in great danger of being taken, and with very much difficulty rescued herself; the master of the ship, a very honest and worthy man, was killed by a bullet-shot from the island.

Nor were the Spaniards content to confine the acts of hostility, which they have exercised upon the people

of that colony, within the boundaries of America, but have also treated them in the same hostile manner in Europe. For in the year 1638, December 25th, a ship belonging to that same company, called the Providence, Thomas Newman commander, two leagues from Dungeness on the very coast of England, was assaulted and taken by Sprengfeld, captain of a privateer belonging to Dunkirk, to which place this ship was brought, and her cargo detained, which even by the computation of many persons in that place, was reckoned to amount to the sum of 30,000*l.* As for the sailors, some were slain, some wounded, and the rest, after having been treated with the greatest inhumanity in their own ship, were hurried away to Dunkirk, where they met with much the same usage, till they found some way to make their escape; and though the owners demanded satisfaction in the most earnest manner, and the last king by his resident Mr. Balthasar Gerber, and both by letters written with his own hand, and the hand of secretary Coke, asked reparation on their behalf; yet they could neither procure the restitution of their goods, nor the least compensation for these losses.

But there are other examples of the Spanish cruelty, which are of a later date, and still more shocking; such as that of their coming from Porto-Rico and attacking Santa Cruz about the year 1651, an island that was not formerly inhabited, but at that time possessed by an English colony governed by Nicol. Philips, who with about an hundred more of the colony was barbarously murdered by the hands of the Spaniards, who besides this attacked the ships in the harbour, plundered their houses and razed them from the very foundation; and when they could find no more to sacrifice to their fury, (the rest of the inhabitants having fled to the woods,) returning to Porto-rico, they gave the miserable remnant, who were well nigh famished, time to remove from Santa Cruz, and to betake themselves to some other neighbouring islands. But a little time thereafter, they returned in quest and pursuit of those who sculked in the woods; but they had the good fortune to find a way of making their escape, and stealing away privately to other islands.

In the same year 1631, a ship belonging to John Turner being driven into the harbour of Cumanagola by tempestuous winds, was seized by the governor of that place, and confiscated with all her lading.

The same was done to captain Cranley's ship and her goods.*

And in the year 1650, a certain vessel pertaining to Samuel Wilson, loaden with horses, was taken on the high seas in her way to Barbadoes, and carried to the Havanna. Both the ship and her goods were confiscated, most of the sailors imprisoned, and like slaves obliged to work at the fortifications.

The same hardships were endured by the sailors aboard a certain ship of Barnstable about two years since, which in her return from some of our plantations in the Carribee islands, springing a leak hard by Hispaniola, the sailors to save themselves, being obliged to get into the long boat, got ashore, where they were all made slaves, and obliged to work at the fortifications.

By these, and many more examples of the same kind too long to be reckoned up, it is abundantly evident, the king of Spain and his subjects think they are no way bound by any condition of peace to be performed to us on their part in these places, since they have habitually exercised all sorts of hostilities against us, nay have even done such things as are more insufferable, and more grievous, than open acts of hostility; and since that cruelty, with which they usually treat the English in America, is so contrary to the articles of peace, that it does not so much as seem suitable to the laws of the most bloody war: however, in that embargo of the king of Spain, by which he orders our merchant ships and their goods to be seized and confiscated, the whole blame is laid upon the English, whom he brands with the odious names of treaty-breakers and violators of the most sacred peace, and likewise of free commerce, which he pretends to have so religiously maintained on his part, and gives out that we have violated the laws of peace and commerce with such strange and professed hostility, that we attempted to besiege the town of St. Domingo in the isle of Hispaniola. Which is the only cause he offers, why the goods of the English are confiscated in Spain, and the trading people confined; though this is likewise aggravated by his boasted humanity; for he maintains that he in the most friendly way received our fleets into his harbours,† where it could be of any advantage for them to enter, and that his ministers did not at all require of us a strict observance of the articles of peace, that were agreed to by the two crowns, which forbid both parties to enter a harbour with more than six or eight ships of war.

But as he, by talking in this strain, acquits our fleets of all trespasses and violations of treaty in these harbours, since if any such thing as is objected has been done and passed over, it has been done by the allowance of himself and his ministers; and as it is exceedingly manifest, that he has not been so favourable for nought, if he will but reflect with himself what vast profits he has received from our fleets, so on the other hand, that the king and his ministers have not at all in fact observed the agreements he speaks of, in the twenty-third article of which, the following provision is made in the most express terms; "That if any differences should happen to arise betwixt the two commonwealths, the subjects on both sides should be advertised, that they should have six months from the time of the advertisement to transport their effects, during which time there should be no arrest, interrupting, or damaging, of any man's person or goods."

* And also to one belonging to John Bland, commanded by Nicol. Philips, in the very same harbour.

† But Swanley, our admiral, was not so civilly treated in Sicily, in the harbour of Drepano, when in the year 1653, about the mouth of June, his ship called the Henry Bonaventure, together with a large and very rich Dutch ship called the Peter, which he had taken, was by the treachery of the Spanish governor in that place, taken by seven Dutch ships, under the command of the younger Trump in the very harbour, no further than a small gun's shot from the bulwarks, whereby the merchants, to whom that ship belonged, lost more than 63,000*l.*

In which affair, the king truly has shown but very little regard to those contracts, which he charges us with having broken, as appears from that late confiscation of our goods. But what he declares in that edict concerning the acts of hostility committed in the West Indies, their being to be considered as a violation of peace and free commerce in these parts, is a new and quite different explanation from what has ever been propounded hitherto by either of the two republics, though both parties have frequently had occasions to declare their judgment about this matter.

But seeing the king of Spain has declared both by word and deed, that the articles of peace ought to be thus understood, it follows, that by so many acts of hostility committed against the English in these parts, and which first began on his side, and have been continued from the very time of the last concluded treaty, as was formerly observed, to this very day; hence I say it follows, that he seems to be convinced, that the sacred bonds of friendship have been first broken on his side. Which thing is so clear and manifest, that our adversaries themselves in this controversy are ashamed to deny the fact, and choose rather to dispute with us concerning the right of possession; which must be in the following manner: as the king of Spain, among his other titles, has assumed that of king of the Indies, so they affirm, that the whole Indies and Indian sea, both south and north, belong to him, and that they are all enemies and pirates, who approach these places without his commission. Which if it were true, both we and all other nations ought to leave and restore to him all our possessions there, and having brought back whatever colonies we have sent thither, should beg his pardon for the injury we have done him; but if we consider a little more narrowly the truth and reasonableness of this title, we shall find that it is built upon a very slender and weak foundation, to have such a vast pile of war and contentions erected upon it, as the present is likely to be. They pretend to have a double title, one founded upon the pope's gift, and another upon their having first discovered those places. As to the first, we know the pope has been always very liberal in his gifts of kingdoms and countries, but in the mean time we cannot but think, that in so doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whose vicar he professes himself, who would not so much as allow himself to be appointed a judge in the dividing of inheritances, far less give any one whole kingdoms at his pleasure, like the pope, who has thought fit to make a present of England, Ireland, and some other kingdoms.

But we deny his being invested with any such authority, nor do we think there is any nation so void of understanding, as to think that so great power is lodged in him, or that the Spaniards would believe this or acquiesce in it, if he should require them to yield up as much as he has bestowed. But if the French and others, who acknowledge the pope's authority in ecclesiastical matters, have no regard to this title of the Spaniards, it cannot be expected we should think of it any otherwise. And so we leave this point, as not deserving a fuller answer.

Nor is the other title of any greater weight, as if the Spaniards in consequence of their having first discovered some few parts of America, and given names to some islands, rivers, and promontories, had for this reason lawfully acquired the government and dominion of that new world. But such an imaginary title founded on such a silly pretence, without being in possession, cannot possibly create any true and lawful right. The best right of possession in America is that which is founded on one's having planted colonies there, and settled in such places as had either no inhabitants, or by the consent of the inhabitants, if there were any; or at least, in some of the wild and uncultivated places of their country, which they were not numerous enough to replenish and improve; since God has created this earth for the use of men, and ordered them to replenish it throughout.

If this be true, as the Spaniards will be found to hold their possessions there very unjustly, having purchased all of them against the will of the inhabitants, and as it were plucked them out of their very bowels, having laid the foundations of their empire in that place, in the blood of the poor natives, and rendered several large islands and countries, that were in a tolerable case when they found them, so many barren desarts, and rooted out all the inhabitants there; so the English hold their possessions there by the best right imaginable, especially those islands where the Spaniards have fallen upon their colonies, and quite demolished them; which islands had no other inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all slain by the Spaniards, who had likewise deserted these places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them: so that by the law of nature and nations they belong to any who think fit to take possession of them, according to that common and well-known maxim in law, " Such things as belong to none, and such as are abandoned by their former possessors, become his property who first seizes them." Although, granting that we had beat the Spaniards out of those places where we have planted our colonies, out of which they had at first expelled the inhabitants, we should have possessed them with better right, as the avengers of the murder of that people, and of the injuries sustained by them, than the Spaniards their oppressors and murderers. But since we have settled our colonies in such places as were neither possessed by the natives nor the Spaniards, they having left behind them neither houses nor cattle, nor any thing that could by any means keep up the right of possession, the justness of our title to these places was so much the more evident, and the injuries done us by the Spaniards so much the more manifest, especially our right to those places that were seized while the two nations were at war with each other, such as the isles of Providence and Tortuga, which if the Spaniards could have shewn to be theirs, by any former title which they have not yet produced, yet since they have not done it in the last treaty of peace, by the second article of this treaty, they have for the future cut

themselves off from all such pretence, and if they had any right, have now lost it. It is unnecessary to talk any further upon this argument.

There is no intelligent person but will easily see how empty and weak those reasons are, that the Spaniard has for claiming to himself alone an empire of such a vast and prodigious extent. But we have said this much, in order to shew the weakness of those pretences, whereby the Spaniards endeavour to justify themselves for having treated us with so much cruelty and barbarity in the West Indies, for having enslaved, hanged, drowned, tortured, and put to death our countrymen, robbed them of their ships and goods, and demolished our colonies, even in the time of profound peace, and that without any injury received on their part: which cruel usage and havoc, made among our people, and such as were of the same orthodox faith with them, as oft as the English call to remembrance, they cannot miss to think that their former glory is quite gone, and their ships of war become entirely useless, if they suffer themselves to be any longer treated in such a disgraceful manner: and moreover, to be not only excluded from all free commerce in so great and opulent a part of the world, but likewise to be looked upon as pirates and robbers, and punished in the same manner as they, if they presume to sail those seas, or so much as look that way; or, in fine, have any intercourse or dealing even with their own colonies that are settled there.

Concerning the bloody Spanish inquisition we shall say nothing, this being a controversy common to all protestants, nor shall we speak of the many seminaries of English priests and jesuits nestling under the protection of the Spaniards, which is a perpetual cause of stumbling, and very great danger to the commonwealth; since what we principally propose is, to shew the grounds and reasons of the controversies in the West Indies, and we are confident we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that necessity, honour, and justice, have prompted us to undertake this late expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to war with the Spaniards, since they will not allow us to be at peace with them: and then honour, and justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such unsufferable injuries to be done our countrymen, as those we have shewn to have been done them in the West Indies.

And truly they see but a very little way, who form their notion of the designs and intentions of the Spaniards, according to that friendly aspect, with which the present declension of their affairs has obliged them to look upon us in these parts of the world, (that face which they have put on being only a false one,) for it is certain they have the same mind, and the very same desires, which they had in the year 1588, when they endeavoured to subdue this whole island; nay, it is certain their hatred is more inflamed, and their jealousies and suspicions more increased by this change of the state of our affairs, and of the form of our republic. But if we omit this opportunity, which by reason of some things that have lately happened, may perhaps give us an occasion to fall upon some way, whereby through the assistance of God we may provide for our safety, against this old and implacable enemy of our religion and country; it may happen, he will recover such a degree of strength, as will render him as formidable and hard to be endured as before. One thing is certain, he always will and cannot but have the greatest indignation against us. Meanwhile, if we suffer such grievous injuries to be done our countrymen in the West Indies, without any satisfaction or revenge; if we suffer ourselves to be wholly excluded from that so considerable a part of the world; if we suffer our malicious and inveterate enemy (especially now, after he has made peace with the Dutch) to carry off without molestation, from the West Indies, those prodigious treasures, whereby he may repair his present damages, and again bring his affairs to such a prosperous and happy condition, as to deliberate with himself a second time, what he was thinking upon in the year 1588; namely, whether it would be more adviseable to begin with subduing England, in order to recover the United Provinces, or with them, in order to reduce England under his subjection; without doubt he will not find fewer, but more, causes why he should begin with England. And if God should at any time permit those intentions of his to have their desired effect, we have good ground to expect, that the residue of that cruel havoc, he made among our brethren at the foot of the Alps, will be first exercised upon us, and after that upon all protestants; which, if we may give credit to the complaints that were made by those poor orthodox Christians, was first designed and contrived in the court of Spain, by those friers whom they call missionaries.

All these things being considered, we hope the time will come, when all, but especially true Englishmen, will rather lay aside their private animosities among themselves, and renounce their own proper advantages, than through an excessive desire of that small profit to be made by trading to Spain, (which cannot be obtained but upon such conditions as are dishonourable and in some sort unlawful, and which may likewise be got some other way,) expose, as they now do, to the utmost danger, the souls of many young traders, by those terms upon which they now live and trade there, and suffer the lives and fortunes of many christian brethren in America, and in fine, the honour of this whole nation, to be exposed, and, what of all is the most momentous and important, let slip out of their hands the most noble opportunities of promoting the glory of God, and enlarging the bounds of Christ's kingdom: which, we do not doubt, will appear to be the chief end of our late expedition into the West Indies against the Spaniards, to all who are free of those prejudices which hinder people from clearly discerning the truth.

JOANNIS MILTONI OPERA

OMNIA LATINA.

VIZ.

I. DEFENSIO PRO POPULO ANGLICANO, CONTRA CLAUDII SALMASII DEFENSIONEM REGIAM.

II. DEFENSIO SECUNDA PRO POPULO ANGLICANO, CONTRA ALEXANDRUM MORUM ECCLESIASTEN.

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DEFENSIO PRO POPULO ANGLICANO,

CONTRA

CLAUDII SALMASII DEFENSIONEM REGIAM.*

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1651.]

PRÆFATIO.

Tametsi vereor, si in defendendo populo Anglicano tam sim profusus verborum, vacuus rerum, quàm est plerisque visus in defensione regia Salmasius, nè verbosissimi simul et ineptissimi defensoris nomen meritus esse videar; tamen cùm in mediocri quavis materia tractanda nemo sibi adeò properandum esse existimet, quin exordio saltem aliquo pro dignitate suscepti à se operis uti soleat, id ego in re omnium ferè maxima dicenda si non omittam, neque nimis astringam, spero equidem, duas propemodum res, quas magnopere vellem, assecuturum me esse; alteram, ut causæ huic nobilissimæ, et seculorum omnium memoriâ dignissimæ nulla ex parte, quantum in me est, desim; alteram, ut reprehensam in adversario futilitatem et redundantiam, devitâsse tamen ipse nihilo minus judicer. Dicam enim res neque parvas neque vulgares; regem potentissimum, oppressis legibus, religione afflicta, pro libidine regnantem, tandem à suo populo, qui servitutem longam servierat, bello victum; indè in custodiam traditum; et cùm nullam omnino meliùs de se sperandi materiam vel dictis vel factis præberet, à summo demum regni concilio capite damnatum; et pro ipsis regiæ foribus securi percussum. Dicam etiam, quod ad levandos magna superstitione hominum animos multùm contulerit, quo jure, præsertim apud nos, judicatum hoc atque peractum sit; meosque cives fortissimos et integerrimos, deque universis orbis terrarum civibus ac populis egregiè meritos, ab improbissimis maledicorum, sive nostratium, sive exterorum calumniis, tum imprimis ab hujus inanissimi sophistæ maledictis, qui pro duce et coryphæo cæterorum se gerit, facilè defendam. Quæ enim ullius regis alto solio sedentis majestas unquam tanta eluxit, quanta tum populi Anglicani effulgebat, cùm, excussa illa veteri superstitione, quæ diu invaluerat, ipsum regem, seu potiùs de rege hostem, qui solus mortalium impunitatem sibi divino jure vendicabat, suis legibus irretitum judicio perfundere, et quo is quemcunque alium supplicio affecisset, eodem sontem ipsum afficere non vereretur. At quid ego hæc tanquam populi facta prædico? quæ ipsa per se penè vocem edunt, et præsentem ubique testantur Deum. Qui, quoties suæ sapientissimæ menti complacitum est, superbos et effrænatos reges, supra humanum modum sese attollentes, solet deturbare, et tota sæpe cum domo funditus evertit. Illius nos manifesto numine ad salutem et libertatem propè amissam subitò erecti, illum ducem secuti, et impressa passim divina vestigia venerantes, viam, haud obscuram sed illustrem, illius auspiciis commonstratum et patefactam ingressi sumus. Hæc ego omnia dignè satis explicare, et quod omnes fortasse gentes legant atque ætates, monumentis tradere, si diligentiâ solum meâ, cujusmodicunque est, meis tantùm viribus sperem me posse, frustra sim. Quæ enim oratio tam augusta atque magnifica, quod tam excellens ingenium, huic oneri subeundo par esse queat, ut, cùm illustrium virorum aut civitatum res gestas vix reperiatur tot seculis qui luculentè possit scribere, opinetur quisquam hæc, non hominum, sed omnipotentis planè Dei, gloriosè et mirabilitèr facta ullis se verbis aut stylo assequi posse? Quod quidem munus ut susciperem, tametsi summi in republica nostra viri sua authoritate perfecerunt, mihique hoc negotium datum esse voluerunt, ut quæ illi, Deo ductore, magnâ cum gloriâ gessere, ea, quod certè proximum est, contra invidiam et obtrectationem, quas in res ferrum et apparatus belli nihil potest, alio genere armorum defenderem; quorum ego quidem judicium magno mihi ornamento esse existimo, me scilicet eorum suffragiis eum esse præ cæteris, qui hanc patriæ meæ fortissimis liberatoribus haud pœnitendam operam navarem: quin et ipse ab ineunte adolescentia iis eram studiis incensus, quæ me ad optima quæque si minùs facienda, at certè laudanda, incitatum ferebant. His tamen diffisus adminiculis, ad divinam opem recurro; Deumque Opt. Max. donorum omnium largitorem invoco, ut quàm prosperè quamque piè nostri illi ad libertatem clarissimi duces regios fastus, et domina-

* Printed from an edition in folio, corrected by the author.

tum impotentem, acie fregerunt, dein memorabili tandem supplicio extinxerunt, quamque facili negotio nuper unus de multis ipsum regem veluti ab inferis resurgentem, inque illo libro post mortem edito novis argutiis, et verborum lenociniis, populi se venditantem redarguit atque summovit, tam ego feliciter tamque verè declamatoris hujus exotici petulantiam et mendacia refellam atque discutiam. Qui alienigena cùm sit, et quamvis id millies neget, grammaticus, non ea stipe contentus quam hoc nomine meretur, magnus ardelio esse maluit; non reipub. solùm immiscere se ausus, sed alienæ: cùm neque modestiam, neque judicium, neque aliud quicquam afferat, quod oporteret sanè tantum arbitrum, prætur arrogantiam et grammaticam. Et sanè hæc quæ jam latinè utcunque scripsit, si inter Anglos et nostro sermone protulisset, vix esset, credo, qui de responso laborandum esse judicaret; sed partim trita, et refutationibus jam crebris explosa, negligeret, partim tyrannica et fœda, vilissimo quovis mancipio vix ferenda, quamvis alioqui regias secutus ipse partes, aversaretur. Nunc cùm inter exteros, et nostrarum rerum penitus ignaros grandi pagina turgescat, sunt illi quidem, qui res nostras perperàm intelligunt, edocendi; hic suo more, (quandoquidem tanta maledicendi aliis libidine fertur,) suo inquam more ac modo, erit tractandus. Quod siquis miretur fortè, cur ergò tam diu intactum et ovantem, nostroque omnium silentio inflatum volitare passi simus, de aliis sanè nescio, de me audacter possum dicere, non mihi verba aut argumenta, quibus causam tuerer tam bonam, diu quærenda aut investiganda fuisse, si otium et valetudinem (quæ quidem scribendi laborem ferre possit) nactus essem. Qua cum adhuc etiam tenui admodum utar, carptim hæc cogor, et intercisis penè singulis horis, vix attingere, quæ continenti stylo atque studio persequi debuissem. Unde hoc si minùs dabitur, cives meos præstantissimos, patriæ conservatores digno laudum præconio celebrare, quorum immortalia facinora jam toto orbe claruerunt; defendere tamen, et ab hujus importuni literatoris insolentia, et professoriæ linguæ intemperiis, vindicare haud mihi difficile futurum spero. Pessimè enim vel naturâ vel legibus comparatum foret, si arguta servitus, libertas muta esset; et haberent tyranni qui pro se dicerent, non haberent qui tyrannos debellare possunt: miserum esset, si hæc ipsa ratio, quo utimur Dei munere, non multò plura ad homines conservandos, liberandos, et, quantum natura fert, inter se æquandos, quàm ad opprimendos et sub unius imperio malè perdendos, argumenta suppeditaret. Causam itaque pulcherrimam hac certâ fiduciâ læti aggrediamur; illinc fraudem, fallaciam, ignorantiam, atque barbariem; hinc lucem, veritatem, rationem, et seculorum omnium optimorum studia, atque doctrinam nobiscum stare.

Age nunc jam, satis præfati, quoniam cum criticis res est, tam culti voluminis titulum imprimis videamus quid aït; 'Defensio regia pro Carolo I. ad Car II.' Magnum sanè præstas, O quisquis es! patrem defendis ad filium; mirum ni causam obtineas. Verùm ego te falso aliàs sub nomine, nunc sub nullo latitantem, Salmasi, ad alia voco subsellia, ad alios judices, ubi tu illud euge et sophôs, quod in palæstra tua literaria captare miserè soles, fortassè non audies. Sed cur ad regem filium defensio hæc regia? non opus est tortore, confitentem habemus reum; "Sumptibus inquit regiis." O te venalem oratorem et sumptuosum! Siccine defensionem pro Carolo patre, tuâ sententiâ, rege optimo, ad Carolum filium regem pauperrimum noluisti, nisi sumptibus regiis? Sed veterator etiam haud irridiculus esse voluisti, qui regiam defensionem dixeris; non enim ampliùs tua quam vendidisti, sed legitimè jam regia defensio est; centenis nimirum Jacobæis emta, ingenti pretio ab egentissimo rege: non enim ignota loquimur; novimus qui illos aureos domum attulit tuam, qui crumenam illam tessellis vitreis variatam, novimus qui te avaras manus porrigentem vidit, in speciem quidem ut Sacellanum regis missum cum munere, re vera ut ipsum munus amplecterere; et una tantùm mercede accepta totum penè regis ærarium exinanires. Sed eccum ipsum, crepant fores, prodit histrio in proscenium.

Date operam et cum silentio animadvertite,
Ut pernoscatis quid sibi Eunuchus velit.

Nam quicquid est, præter solitum cothurnatus incedit. 'Horribilis nuper nuntius aures nostras atroci vulnere, sed magìs mentes, perculit, de parricidio apud Anglos in persona regis sacrilegorum hominum nefaria conspiratione admisso.' Profectò nuntius iste horribilis aut gladium multò longiorem eo quem strinxit Petrus habuerit oportet, aut aures istæ auritissimæ fuerint, quas tam longinquo vulnere perculerit: nam aures non stolidas ne offendisse quidem potuit. Ecqua enim vobis fit injuria, ecquis vestrûm læditur, si nos hostes et perduelles nostros, sive plebeios, sive nobiles, sive reges, morte multamus? At ista mitte, Salmasi, quæ ad te nihil attinent: ego enim de te etiam horribilem habeo quem apportem nuntium; quique omnium grammaticorum et criticorum aures, modò teretes habent et doctas, atrociori vulnere si non perculerit, mirabor; de parricidio apud Hollandos in persona Aristarchi, nefariâ Salmasii audaciâ, admisso: te magnum scilicet criticum sumptibus regiis conductum, ut defensionem regiam scriberes, non solùm putidissimo exordio, præficarum funebribus nugis et næniis simillimo, nullius non fatui mentem miseratione permovisse, sed primâ statim clausulâ risum penè legentibus multiplici barbarismo concitâsse. Quid enim, quæso, est parricidium in personâ regis admittere, quid in personâ regis? quæ unquam latinitas sic locuta est? nisi aliquem nobis fortè Pseudophilippum narras, qui personam regis indutus, nescio quid parricidii apud Anglos patraverit; quod verbum verius opinione tuâ ex ore tibi excidisse puto. Tyrannus enim, quasi histrionalis quidam rex, larva tantùm et persona regis, non verus rex est. Cæterùm ob hujusmodi noxas Gallicolatinas, quibus passim scates, non tam mihi, neque enim est otium, quàm ipsis tuis grammatistis pœnas dabis; quibus ego te deridendum et vapulandum propino. Hoc multò atrocius; quod à summis magistratibus nostris de rege statutum est, id sacrilegorum hominum nefaria conspiratione admissum ais. Tune, furcifer, potentissimi nuper regni, nunc reipub. eo potentioris, acta et consulta sic nominas? quorum de factis nè rex quidem ullus ut quic-

quam gravius pronuntiaret, aut scriptum ederet, adduci adhuc potuit. Meritò itaque amplissimi Ordines Hollandiæ, liberatorum olim patriæ vera progenies, defensionem hanc tyrannicam, populorum omnium libertati pestilentissimam, edicto suo tenebris damnârunt; cujus et ipsum authorem omnis libera civitas suis prohibere finibus, aut ejicere, deberet: eaque præcipuè quæ tam ingratum tamque tetrum reipublicæ hostem suo stipendio alit; cujus ille reipublicæ, haud secùs atque nostræ, fundamenta ipsa atque causas oppugnat; necnon utramque unâ et eâdem operâ labefactare et subruere conatur; præstantissimosque illic libertatis vindices nostrorum sub nomine maledictis proscindit. Reputate jam vobiscum, illustrissimi fœderatorum Ordines, et cum animis vestris cogitate, quis hunc regiæ potestatis assertorem ad scribendum impulerit, quis nuper apud vos regiè se gerere incœperit, quæ consilia, qui conatus, quæ turbæ denique per Hollandiam secutæ sint, quæ nunc essent, quàm vobis parata servitus, novusque dominus erat, atque illa vestra tot annorum armis atque laboribus vindicata libertas, quàm propè extincta apud vos nunc foret, nisi opportunissima nuper temerarii juvenis morte respirâsset. Sed pergit iste noster ampullari, et mirabiles tragœdias fingere, " Quoscunque infandus hic," parricidialis nimirum barbarismi Salmasiani, " rumor attigit, haud secùs ac si fulmine afflati essent, derepente his arrectæque horrore comæ et vox faucibus hæsit." Quod nunc primitùs auditum discant physici, comas fulmine arrectas. Verùm quis hoc nescit, viles et imbelles animos, magni cujuspiam facinoris vel rumore, obstupescere; quodque prius fuerunt, tum se maximè stipites indicare. Alii " lacrymas non tenuerunt," mulierculæ credo aulicæ, aut siqui his molliores; inter quos et ipse Salmasius nova quadam metamorphôsi Salmacis factus est; et fonte hoc suo lacrymarum fictitio, et nocte parato, viriles animos emollire conatur. Moneo itaque et cavere jubeo,

———— infamis ne quem malè fortibus undis
Salmacis enervet. —— ne vir cùm venerit, exeat indè
Semivir, et tactis subitò mollescat in undis.

" Fortiùs verò," inquit, " animati," (nam fortes puto et animosos ne nominare quidem nisi putidè potest,) tantâ " indignationis flammâ exarserunt, ut vix se caperent." Furiosos illos non flocci facimus; vera fortitudine suique compote istos minaces pellere, et in fugam vertere, consuevimus. " Nemo cèrtè non diras imprecatus est tanti sceleris authoribus." Vox tamen, ut tu modò aîebas, " faucibus hæsit;" atque hæsisset utinam in hunc usque diem, si de nostris duntaxat perfugis hoc vis intelligi, quod nos etiam pro comperto habemus, nihil illis frequentius in ore esse, quàm diras et imprecationes, omnibus bonis abominandas quidem, non tamen metuendas. De aliis credibile vix est, cum supplicii de rege sumti fama illuc pervenisset, repertum in libero præsertim populo fuisse ullum, tam ad servitutem natum, qui nos dicto læderet, aut factum nostrum crimini daret; immo potiùs omnes bonos omnia bona dixisse; quinetiam Deo gratias egisse, qui exemplum justitiæ tam illustre et excelsum edideret, quodque cæteris regibus tam salutari documento esse possit. Istos itaque " feros ac ferreos in cædem," nescio cujus, " miserabilem ac mirabilem" plorantes, cùm suo tinnulo oratore, " post regium in orbe nomen natum notumque," frigidissimo, etiam atque etiam plorare jubemus. At quis interim è ludo ferè puer, aut è cœnobio quovis fraterculus, casum hunc regis non multò disertiùs, immo latiniùs, hoc oratore regio declamitâsset? Verùm ego ineptior sim, si infantiam hujus et deliramenta hunc in modum toto volumine accuratè persequar; quod tamen libens facerem, (quoniam superbiâ et fastidio, ut ferunt, supra modum turget,) ni mole tantùm libri inconcinna atque incondita se protegeret, et veluti miles ille Terentianus post principia lateret: callido sanè consilio, ut defessus singula notando etiam acerrimus quisque, tædio priùs conficeretur, quàm omnia redargueret. Nunc ejus quoddam specimen dare hac veluti prolusione duntaxat volui; et cordatis lectoribus à principio statim degustandum hominem præbere, ut in hac paginæ unius promulside experiamur quàm lautè nos et luculenter cæteris ferculis excepturus sit; quantas ineptias atque infantias toto opere congesserit, qui tam densas, ubi minimè decuit, in ipsâ fronte collocavit. Exinde multa garrientem, et scombris concionantem, facilè prætereo; ad nostras autem res quod attinet, haud dubitamus quin ea, quæ authoritate parlamenti scripta publicè et declarata sunt, apud omnes bonos et prudentes exteros plus ponderis habitura sint, quàm unius impudentissimi homuncionis calumniæ, et mendacia; qui ab exulibus nostris, patriæ hostibus, pretio conductus, quolibet eorum dictante quibus operam suam locaverat, aut rumusculum spargente, falsissima quæque corradere, et in chartam conjicere, non dubitavit. Utque planè intelligant omnes quàm non illi religio sit, quidlibet scribere, verum an falsum, pium an impium, haud alius mihi testis adhibendus erit, quàm ipse Salmasius. Scribit is in Apparatu contra primatum Papæ, " maximas esse causas cur ecclesia redire ab episcopatu debeat ad apostolicam 'presbyterorum' institutionem; longè majus ex episcopatu introductum in ecclesiam esse malum, quàm illa schismata quæ priùs metuebantur: pestem illam, quæ ex eo ecclesias invasit, totum ecclesiæ corpus miserabili tyrannide pessundedisse; immo ipsos reges ac principes sub jugum misisse; majorem in ecclesiam utilitatem redundaturam hierarchiâ totâ extinctâ, quàm solo capite Papa." p. 169. " Posse episcopatum cum papatu tolli cum summo bono ecclesiæ; sublato episcopatu ruere ipsum papatum, super illo utpote fundatum." p. 171. " Cur removeri debeat in illis regnis, quæ jam papatui renuntiârunt, proprias habere causas. Cur ibi episcopatus retineatur se non videre; non integram videre reformationem quæ hac in parte imperfecta sit; nihil afferri posse rationis aut causæ probabilis, cur sublato papatu retineri debeat aut possit episcopatus." p. 197. Hæc et multò plura cùm ante annos quatuor scripserit, tanta nunc vanitate et impudentia est, ut parlamentum Angliæ graviter incusare hoc loco audeat, quòd episcopatum " non solùm senatu ejiciendum, sed etiam penitùs abjiciendum, censuerint." Quid? quòd ipsum etiam episcopatum suadet atque defendit, iisdem usus argumentis et rationibus, quas libro illo priore magno

impetu confutaverat; "necessarios" nempe "fuisse episcopos, et omnino retinendos, ne mille pestiferæ sectæ et hereses in Anglia pullularent." O vafrum et versipellem! adeone te etiam in sacris non puduit desultorem agere, propè dixeram, ecclesiam prodere; cujus tu ideò sanctissima instituta tanto strepitu asseruisse videris, ut quoties tibi commodum esset, eo majore cum infamia ea ipsa ludificari atque subvertere posses. Neminem hoc latet, cùm regni ordines, ecclesiæ nostræ, ad exemplum cæterarum, reformandæ studio flagrantes, episcopatum funditùs tollere statuissent, primò regem intercessisse, dein bellum nobis eâ potissimùm causâ intulisse; quod ipsi tandem in perniciem vertit. I nunc, et te defensorem regium esse gloriare, qui, ut regem gnaviter defendas, susceptam à temetipso ecclesiæ causam nunc palàm prodis atque oppugnas: cujus gravissimâ quidem censurâ esses notandus. De forma autem reipub. nostræ, quoniam tu, professor triobolaris et extraneus, remotis capsulis atque scriniis tuis nugarum refertissimis, quas meliùs in ordinem redigere poteras, in aliena repub. satagere et odiosus esse mavis, sic breviter tibi, vel cuivis potiùs te prudentiori, respondeo; eam formam esse quam nostra tempora atque dissidia ferunt; non qualis optanda esset, sed qualem obstinata improborum civium discordia esse patitur. Quæ autem respublica factionibus laborat, atque armis se tuetur, si sanæ et integræ tantùm partis rationem habet, cæteros sive plebeios sive optimates præterit aut excludit, satis profectò æqua est; quamvis regem et proceres, suis ipsa malis edocta, ampliùs nolit. "Concilium" autem illud "supremum," quòd insectaris, atque etiam "concilii præsidem," næ tu ridiculus es; concilium enim illud, quod somnias, non est supremum, sed parlamenti authoritate ad certum duntaxat tempus constitutum, quadraginta virorum ex suo ferè numero, quorum quilibet, cæterorum suffragiis, præses esse potest. Semper autem hoc usitatissimum fuit, ut parlamentum, qui noster senatus est, delectos ex suorum numero pauciores, quoties visum erat, constitueret: iis unum in locum ubivis conveniendi, et veluti minoris cujusdam habendi senatûs, potestas delata est. Iisdem res sæpè gravissimæ, quo celeriùs et majori cum silentio transigerentur, commissæ atque creditæ; classis, exercitus, ærarii cura aut procuratio, quævis denique pacis aut belli munia. Hoc, sive concilium nominetur, sive quid aliud, verbo fortè novum, re antiquum est; et sine quo nulla omnino respub. rectè administrari potest. De regis autem supplicio, et rerum apud nos conversione, mitte vociferari, mitte virus illud tuum acerbitatis evomere; donec ista "quâ lege, quo jure, quo judicio" facta sint, te licèt repugnante, singulis capitibus ostendam, et pedem conferam. Si tamen instas "quo jure, quâ lege," eâ, inquam, lege quam Deus ipse et natura sanxit, ut omnia, quæ reipub. salutaria essent, legitima et justa haberentur. Sic olim sapientes tui similibus responderunt. "Leges per tot annos ratas refixisse" nos criminaris; bonasne an malas non dicis, nec si diceres audiendus esses, nam nostræ leges ole quid ad te? Utinam plures refixissent tum leges, tum leguleios; rectiùs sanè et rei christianæ et populo consuluissent Frendes quòd "hæc, Manii, terræ-filii, vix domi nobiles, vix suis noti, licere sibi crediderint." Meminisses quæ te non solùm libri sacri, sed etiam lyricus doceat.

> —— Valet ima summis
> Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus
> Obscura promens ——

Sic etiam habeto; eorum, quos tu vix nobiles esse aîs, alios nulli vestrarum partium vel generis nobilitate cedere; alios ex se natos per industriam atque virtutem ad veram nobilitatem iter affectare, et cum nobilissimis quibusque posse conferri; se autem malle "filios terræ" dici, modò suæ, et domi strenuè facere, quam sine terra et lare fumos vendendo, quod tu facis, homo nihili et stramineus eques, in aliena terra dominorum nutu et stipendio famem tolerare: ab ista, mihi crede, peregrinatione ad agnatos potiùs et gentiles deducendus, nisi hoc unum saperes, quòd frivolas quasdam prælectiones et nugamenta scis tantâ mercede apud exteros effutire. Reprehendis quòd magistratus nostri "colluviem omnium sectarum recipiant;" quid ni recipiant? quos ecclesiæ est è cœtu fidelium ejicere, non magistratuum è civitate pellere; siquidem in leges civiles non peccant. Primò homines, ut tutò ac liberè sine vi atque injuriis vitam agerent, convenere in civitatem; ut sanctè et religiosè, in ecclesiam; illa leges, hæc disciplinam habet suam, planè diversam: hinc toto orbe christiano per tot annos bellum ex bello seritur, quòd magistratus et ecclesia inter se officia confundunt. Quapropter et papisticam minimè toleramus; neque enim eam tam esse religionem intelligimus, quàm obtentu religionis tyrannidem pontificiam civilis potentiæ spoliis ornatam, quæ contra ipsum Christi institutum ad se rapuit. "Independentes," quales à te solo finguntur, nulli apud nos unquam visi; præter eos duntaxat qui, cùm classes et synodos supra ecclesiam quamque singularem esse non agnoscant, eas omnes velut hierarchiæ particulas quasdam, aut certè truncum ipsum, eradicandas esse tecum sentiunt. Hinc nomen Independentium apud vulgus obtinuit. Quod restat; video te id agere, ut regum omnium et monarcharum non invidiam solùm, sed etiam bellum atrocissimum, in nos concites. Olim rex Mithridates, quamvìs causâ dissimili, omnes reges in Romanos concitabat, eadem propè calumniatus; Romanis consilium esse, omnia regna subvertere, iis nulla humana neque divina obstare, à principio nihil nisi partum armis habuisse, latrones, regnorum maximè hostes: hæc Mithridates regi Arsaci: te verò in illa tua exedra infantissimè rhetoricantem quæ fiducia provexit, ut ad bellum hortando, et licèt nolis videri, "classicum canendo," ullum vel inter pueros regem commovere te posse animum induceres; isto præsertim ore tam exili et rancidulo, ut ne mures quidem Homericos, te buccinatore, bellum unquam ranunculis illaturos fuisse credam? Tantum abest ut metuam quid tu belli nobis aut periculi, homo ignavissime, apud exteros reges istâ tuâ rabidâ et insulsâ simul facundiâ conflare possis: qui ad illos, ac si "regum capita" quasi "pilas habeamus, de coronis quasi trocho ludamus, sceptra imperialia non pluris faciamus quàm bacula morionum capitata," lusoriè sanè nos defers. At tu

interea, stultissimum caput, morionis ipse baculo dignissimus es, qui reges ac principes tam puerilibus argumentis ad bellum suaderi putes. Omnes deinde populos inclamas, dicto audientes tuo, sat scio, minimè futuros. Hibernorum etiam consceleratam illam ac barbaram colluviem regiis partibus in auxilium vocas. Quod unicum indicio esse potest. quàm scelestus sis et væcors, quàm omnes penè mortales impietate, audacia, et furore, superes, qui devotæ gentis fidem atque opem implorare non dubitas, cujus ab impia societate, tot civium innocentissimorum sanguine perfusa, etiam rex ipse aut abhorruit semper, aut abhorrere se simulavit. Et quam ille perfidiam, quam ille crudelitatem occultare, quantum potuit, atque ab se longè amovere, summo studio contendit, eam tu, bipedum nequissime, quo minùs ultrò atque palàm suscipias, neque Deum neque homines vereris. Agedum; Hibernis igitur fautoribus ac sociis ad defensionem regis jam te accinge. Caves imprimis, quod cauto mèhercule opus erat, nequis te Tullio fortasse aut Demostheni omnem eloquentiæ laudem præreptum ire suspicaretur; et prædicis, "oratorio more non tibi agendum videri." Næ tu haud stultè sapis; id quod non potes, non videtur tibi esse agendum; oratoriè autem ut tu ageres, quis, qui te satìs novit, unquam expectavit? qui nihil elaboratè, nihil distinctè, nihil quod sapiat, in lucem emittere aut soles aut potes; sed veluti Crispinus alter, aut Tzetzes ille græculus, modò ut multum scribas, quàm rectè, non laboras; neque si labores valeas. "Agetur," inquis, "hæc causa, toto orbe audiente, et quasi ad judicandum sedente." Id adeò nobis pergratum est, ut adversarium non cerebrosum et imperitum, qualis tu es, sed cordatum et intelligentem dari jam nobis optemus. Perorans planè tragicus es, immò Ajax ipse Lorarius: "Horum ego injustitiam, impietatem, perfidiam, crudelitatem, proclamabo cœlo et terræ, ipsosque authores convictos posteris tradam, reosque peragam." O Flosculos! Tunc igitur sine sale, sine genio, proclamator et rabula, bonis authoribus divexandis tantùm aut transcribendis natus, quicquam de tuo quod vivat producere te putas posse? quem unà cum scriptis tuis futilissimis abreptum ætas, mihi crede, proxima oblivioni mandabit. Nisi si defensio hæc regia suo fortasse responso aliquid debitura est, si neglecta jam pridem et consopita, in manus iterum sumatur. Idque ego ab illustrissimis Hollandiæ Ordinibus peterem, ut eam è fisco protinus dimissam, neque enim thesaurus est, pervagari, quò velit, sinant. Si enim qua vanitate, inscitia, falsitate, referta sit, planum omnibus fecero, quò latiùs excurrit, eò arctiùs, meâ quidem sententiâ, supprimitur. Jam nos quemadmodum "reos peragat," videamus.

DEFENSIO PRO POPULO ANGLICANO,

CONTRA

CLAUDII SALMASII DEFENSIONEM REGIAM.

CAPUT I.

Quoniam tibi, vano homini et ventoso, multum hinc forsitan superbiæ, Salmasi, multum spiritûs accessit, magnæ scilicet Britanniæ regem fidei defensorem esse, te verò regis, ego quidem et illum regi titulum, et hunc tibi jure pari ac merito concedam: cum sanè rex fidem, tu regem sic defenderis, ut causam uterque suam evertisse potiùs videatur. Quod cum passim infrà, tum hoc primo capite ostendam. Dixeras tu quidem præfationis paginâ duodecimâ "ornari pigmentis rhetoricis tam bonam et justam causam non debere: nam simpliciter rem, ut gesta est, narrare, regem defendere est." Quando igitur toto hoc capite, in quo narrationem illam simplicem futuram pollicitus eras, neque rem simpliciter, ut gesta est, narras, neque non pigmentis, quantum in eo genere consequi potes, rhetoricis ornas, profectò vel tuo judicio si standum esset, causa regia neque bona neque justa erit. Quanquam hoc cave tibi sumas quod dat nemo, posse te quicquam rhetoricè narrare; qui neque oratoris, neque historici, immò ne caussidici quidem partes narrando sustinere potes; sed quasi circulator quispiam, arte circumforanea, magnam de te in prœmio, velut in posterum diem, expectationem concitabas, non tam ut rem promissam tum demùm narrares, quàm ut pigmenta illa misera, et ampullas fuco refertas, lectoribus quàm plurimis divenderes. Nam "de facto dicturus tot novitatum monstris te circundari ac terreri sentis, ut quid primum exequaris, quid deinde, quid postremò, nescias." Hoccine est simpliciter narrare? Dicam quod res est, tot tuorum ipse mendaciorum monstris primum terreri te sentis, deinde tot nugis, tot ineptiis levissimum illud caput non "circundari" solùm, sed circumagi, "ut quid primum, quid deinde, quid postremò" dicendum ullo tempore sit, non modò nunc "nescias," sed nunquam antea non nesciveris. "Inter difficultates quæ occurrunt ad exprimendam tam incredibilis flagitii immanitatem hoc unum facile dictu suppetit, quod iterum iterumque repeti debet," nempe "solem ipsum atrocius factum nunquam adspexisse alterum." Multa sol aspexit, bone magister, quæ Bernardus non vidit. Solem autem

iterum atque iterum repetas licebit, id tu quidem prudenter feceris, quod non nostra flagitia, sed defensionis tuæ frigus vehementissimè postulabit. "Regum," inquis, "origo cum sole novo cœpit." Dii te, Damasippe, deæque solstitio donent, quo te calfacias, qui ne pedem sine "sole;" nequis fortasse te umbraticum doctorem esse dicat. At hercle etiam in tenebris es, qui jus patrium à regio non distinguis: et cum reges patriæ patres nominaveris, eâ statim metaphorâ persuasisse credis, ut quicquid de patre non negaverim, id continuò de rege verum esse concedam. Pater et rex diversissima sunt. Pater nos genuit; at non rex nos, sed nos regem creavimus. Patrem natura dedit populo, regem ipse populus dedit sibi; non ergò propter regem populus, sed propter populum rex est; ferimus patrem, morosum etiam et durum, ferimus et regem; sed ne patrem quidem ferimus tyrannum. Pater si filium interficit, capite pœnas dabit: cur non item rex eadem justissima lege tenebitur, si populum, id est, filios suos, perdiderit? præsertim cùm pater, ut ne pater sit, efficere non possit, rex facilè possit, ut neque pater sit neque rex. Quod si "de facti qualitate," quod aîs, "indè" æstimandum est, tibi dico, peregrine, et rebus nostris alienissime, testis oculatus et indigena tibi dico; nos regem neque "bonum," neque "justum," neque "clementum," neque "religiosum," neque "pium," neque "pacificum;" sed hostem prope decennalem; nec parentem patriæ, sed vastatorem, "de medio sustulisse." "Solet hoc fieri," fateris, inficias enim ire non audes, "sed non à reformatis, regi reformato." Siquidem reformatus is dici potest, qui, scriptis ad papam literis, sanctissimum appellaverat patrem, qui papistis æquior semper quàm orthodoxis fuit. Talis cùm fuerit, ne suæ quidem familiæ primus à reformatis est "de medio" sublatus. Quid? ejus avia Maria nonne à reformatis exuto regno solum vertere coacta est, supplicio demùm capitis affecta, ne Scotis quidem reformatis ægrè ferentibus? immo si operam contulisse dicam, haud mentiar. In tanta autem regum "reformatorum" paucitate, nihil hujusmodi accidisse, ut eorum aliquis morte plecteretur, non est quod miremur. Licere autem regem nequam, sive tyrannum, regno pellere, vel supplicio quovis, prout meritus erit, punire, (etiam summorum sententiâ theologorum, qui ipsi reformandæ ecclesiæ authores fuere,) aude tu modò negare. Concedis quàm plurimos reges non sicca morte periisse, hunc "gladio," illum "veneno," alium squalore "carceris," aut "laqueo." Omnium tamen hoc tibi miserrimum videtur, et monstri quiddam simile, regem in judicium adduci, "causam capitis dicere coactum, condemnatum, securi percussum." Dic mihi, homo insipientissime, annon humanius, annon æquius, annon ad legis omnium civitatum accommodatius est, cujuscunque criminis reum in judicio sistere, suî defendendi copiam facere, lege condemnatum ad mortem haud immeritam ducere, itâ ut damnato vel pœnitendi, vel se colligendi, spatium detur, quàm statim ut prehensus est, indictâ causâ, pecudis in modum mactare? Quotusquisque est reorum, qui, si optio detur, non illo potiùs quàm hoc modo puniri se maluerit? Quæ ratio igitur animadvertendi in civem moderatior est habita, cur non eadem in regem quoque moderatior, et vel ipsi regi acceptior, fuisse existimanda est? Tu secretò et sine arbitris extinctum regem malebas, vel ut exempli tam boni salubritate omnis memoria careret, vel ut facti tam præclari conscientia defugisse lucem, aut leges atque ipsam justitiam minimè sibi amicam habuisse, videretur. Exaggeras deinde rem, quòd neque per tumultum aut factionem optimatium, aut rebellium furorem, sive militum sive populi; non odio, non metu, non studio dominandi, non cæco animi impetu, sed consilio et ratione, meditatum diu facinus peregerint. O meritò quidem ex te jurisconsulto grammaticum! qui ab accidentibus causæ, ut loquuntur, quæ per se nihil valent, vituperationes instituis, cum nondum docueris illud facinus in vitio an in laude ponendum sit: jam vide quàm in te facilè incurram. Si pulchrum et decorum fuit; eò magis laudandi quòd, nullis affectibus occupati, solius honestatis causâ fecerint; si arduum et grave, quòd non cæco impetu, sed consilio et ratione. Quanquam ego hæc divino potiùs instinctu gesta esse crediderim, quoties memoriâ repeto, quàm inopinato animorum ardore, quanto consensu totus exercitus, cui magna pars populi se adjunxerat, ab omnibus penè regni provinciis una voce regem ipsum suorum omnium malorum authorem ad supplicium deposcebat. Quicquid erat, sive magistrum sive populum spectes, nulli unquam excelsiore animo, et, quod etiam adversarii fatentur, sedatiore, tam egregium facinus et vel heröicis ætatibus dignum, aggressi sunt: quo non leges tantùm et judicia, dehinc mortalibus ex æquo restituta, sed ipsam justitiam nobilitârunt, séque ipsâ illustriorem dehinc, séque ipsâ majorem post hoc insigne judicium, reddidere. Jam tertiam prope hujus capitis paginam exantlavimus, nec tamen illa simplex narratio, quam promisit, usquam apparet. Queritur nos docere, "quoties rex molestè et odiosè regnat, impunè posse regno exui: ab hac," inquit, "doctrina inducti, si mille rebus meliorem regem habuissent, non ei vitam conservâssent." Spectate hominis acumen; nam istuc aveo ex te scire, quo pacto hoc sequitur, nisi tu nobis concesseris, nostro rege mille rebus meliorem molestè et odiosè regnare; unde in eum deductus es locum, ut hunc quem defendis, iis regibus qui molestè et odiosè regnant mille rebus deteriorem facias; id est tyrannorum omnium fortasse immanissimum. Macti estote reges tam strenuo defensore. Nunc narrare incipit. "Torserunt eum variis crucibus." Dic quibus. "De carcere in carcerem traduxerunt." Nec injuriâ, quippe ex tyranno hostem bello captum. "Custodiis sæpè mutatis:" ne ipsæ mutarent fidem. "Libertatis interdum spe ostensa, interdum et restitutionis per pactionem." Vide quàm non antea meditatum nobis fuerit, quam non "tempora et modos" diu captavimus regis abdicandi. Quas res ab eo tum propemodùm victore multo antè postulavimus, quæ nisi concederentur, nulla libertas, nulla salus populo speranda erat, easdem à captivo suppliciter, haud semel, immò ter et ampliùs petivimus; toties repulsam accepimus. Cum nulla de rege spes reliqua esset, fit parlamenti consultum illud nobile, nequa deinceps ad regem postulata mitterentur; non ex quo is tyrannus esse, sed ex quo insanabilis

esse, cœpit. Postea tamen quidam ex senatorum numero nova sibi consilia capientes, et idoneum tempus nacti, conditiones iterum regi ferendas decernunt; pari sanè scelere atque dementia ac Romanus olim senatus, reclamante Marco Tullio et cum eo bonis omnibus, legatos decrevit ad Antonium: pari etiam eventu, nisi Deo immortali visum aliter fuisset, illos in servitutem tradere, nos in libertatem vindicare. Nam cùm rex nihilo plus quàm antea concessisset, quod ad firmam pacem et compositionem revera spectaret, illi tamen satisfactum sibi à rege esse statuunt. Pars itaque sanior, cùm se remque publicam prodi videret, fidem fortissimi et semper reipub. fidissimi exercitûs implorat. In quo mihi quidem hoc solum occurrit quod nolim dicere, nostras legiones rectiora sensisse quàm patres conscriptos: et salutem reipub. armis attulisse, quam illi suis suffragiis propè damnaverant. Multa deinde flebiliter narrat, verùm tam inscitè, ut luctum emendicare, non commovere, videatur. Dolet, quòd "eo modo, quo nullus unquam, rex supplicium capitis passus sit:" cùm sæpiùs affirmaverit, nullum unquam regem supplicium capitis omnino esse passum. Tunc, fatue, modum cum modo conferre soles, ubi factum cum facto quod conferas non habes? "Supplicium," inquit, "capitis passus est, ut latro, ut sicarius, ut parricida, ut proditor, ut tyrannus." Hoccine est regem defendere, an sententiam de rege ferre, eâ sanè quæ à nobis lata est, multò severiorem? quis te tam subitò pellexit ut nobiscum pronuntiares? Queritur "personatos carnifices regi caput amputâsse." Quid hoc homine facias? questus est suprà "de parricidio in persona regis admisso," nunc in persona carnificis admissum queritur. Quid reliqua percurram, partim falsissima, partim frivola "de pugnis et calcibus" militum gregariorum, et licentiâ "spectandi cadaveris quatuor solidis taxatâ," quæ frigidissimi literatoris inscitiam et pusillitatem animi clamitant; legentem certè neminem pilo tristiorem reddere possunt: satius mehercule fuisset Carolo filio, quemvis ex eo balatronum grege conduxisse, qui ad coronam in triviis elegidia cantant, quàm oratorem hunc, (luctificabilem dicam, an perridiculum?) deplorando patris infortunio adhibuisse; tam insipidum et insulsum, ut ne ex lacrymis quidem ejus mica salis exiguissima possit exprimi. Narrare jam desiit; et quid deinde agat, dictu sanè difficile est; adeò lutulentus et enormis fluit; nunc fremit, nunc oscitat, nullum quidlibet garriendi modum sibi statuit, vel decies eadem repetendi, quæ ne semel quidem dicta non sordescerent. Et certè nescio, an blateronis cujuspiam extemporales quælibet nugæ, quas ille uno pede stans versiculis fortè effuderit, non digniores multo sint quæ chartâ illinantur; adeò indignissimas esse reor quibus seriò respondeatur. Prætereo quòd regem "religionis protectorem" laudat, qui ecclesiæ bellum intulit, ut episcopos religionis hostes et tyrannos in ecclesia retineret. "Puritatem autem religionis" qui potuit is conservare, ab impurissimis episcoporum traditionibus et cæremoniis ipse sub jugum missus? "Sectarum" verò, quibus tu "sacrilegos suos cœtus tenendi licentiam" aîs "dari," quam ipsa Hollandia non dat, errores velim enumeres: interim nemo te magis sacrilegus, qui perpetuò maledicendi pessimam omnium licentiam tibi sumis. "Non poterant graviùs rempubl. lædere quàm ejus dominum tollendo." Disce, verna, disce, mastigia, nisi dominum tollis, tollis rempublicam: privata res est, non publica quæ dominum habet. "At pastores facinus eorum abominantes cum summa injustitia persequuntur." Pastores illos nequis fortè nesciat quales sint, breviter dicam; iidem sunt qui regi resistendum armis esse, et verbo et scriptis docuerunt; qui omnes tanquam Merozum indesinenter execrari non destiterunt, quotquot huic bello aut arma, aut pecuniam, aut vires, non suppeditâssent; quod illi non contra regem, sed contra tyrannum Saule quovis aut Achabo, immo Nerone ipso, Neroniorem susceptum esse in concionibus sacris vaticinabantur. Sublatis episcopis et sacerdotibus, quos pluralistarum et non residentium nomine insectari vehementissimè solebant, in eorum amplissima sacerdotia, hic bina, ille trina, quàm ocyssimè irruebant: unde suos greges quàm turpiter negligant pastores isti meritò egregii nemo non videt: nullus pudor, nulla numinis reverentia, dementes cupiditate et furiatos cohibere potuit, donec pessimo ecclesiæ publico eâdem ipsi infamiâ flagrarent, quam paulò antè sacerdotibus inusserant. Nunc quòd avaritia eorum nondum satiata est, quòd inquies ambitione animus turbas concire, pacem odisse, consuevit, in magistratus qui nunc sunt, id quod priùs in regem fecerant, seditiosè concionari non desinunt; regem scilicet pium crudeliter sublatum; quem modò ipsi diris omnibus devotum, omni authoritate regia spoliandum, et bello sacro persequendum, in manus parlamento, quasi divinitùs, tradiderant; sectas scilicet non extirpari, quod certè à magistratibus postulare perabsurdum est, qui avaritiam et ambitionem, quæ duæ in ecclesia hæreses perniciosissimæ sunt, ex ipsorum ordine pastorum ac tribu, nullo adhuc modo aut ratione extirpare valuerunt. Quas illi sectas apud nos insectantur, obscuras esse scio, quas ipsi sequuntur, famosas, et ecclesiæ Dei longè periculosiores; quarum principes Simon ille Magus et Diotrephes fuere. Hos tamen, nequissimi cùm sint, adeò non persequimur, ut factiosis, et res novas quotidie molientibus nimiùm indulgeamus. Offendit jam te Gallum et errabundum, quod Angli "suis molossis," quæ tua canina facundia est, "ferociores," nullam "legitimi successoris et hæredis" regni, nullam "natu minimi," nullam "reginæ Bohemiæ" rationem habuerint. Tute respondebis tibi, non ego. "Ubi reipub. forma mutatur ex monarchica in aliam, non datur successio inter differentis regiminis curatores." Apparat. de Primatu. "Minima," inquis, "regni unius pars" hæc omnia "per tria regna" effecit: et digni quidem, si hoc verum esset, quibus in cæteros imperium sit, viris in fœminas. "Isti sunt qui regimen regni antiquum in alium qui à pluribus tyrannis teneatur, mutare præsumpserunt;" rectè quidem illi et feliciter; quos tu reprehendere non potes, quin simul fœdissimè barbarus et solœcus sis, non moribus solum, sed syntaxi etiam, grammaticorum opprobrium. "Angli maculam hanc nunquam deleverint." Immò tu, licèt omnium literatorum litura ipse sis, et verè macula, Anglorum tamen famam et sempiternam

gloriam nunquam valueris commaculare. Qui tanta animi magnitudine, quanta omni memoriâ vix audita est, non hostes tantùm armatos, sed hostiles intus, id est, superstitiosas vulgi opiniones eluctati atque supergressi, liberatorum cognomen posthac per omnes gentes in commune sibi pepercerunt: populariter id ausi, quod apud alias nationes herôicæ tantùm virtutis esse existimatur. "Reformati et antiqui christiani" quid hac in parte fecerint, aut facturi essent, tum respondebimus, cùm de jure tecum suo loco agetur; ne tuo vitio laboremus, qui gerrones omnes et battos loquacitate vincis. Quæris quid sis in nostra causa Jesuitis responsurus. Tuas res age, transfuga; pudeat te facinorum tuorum, quando ecclesiam tuî pudet; qui primatum papæ, et episcopos, tam jactanter modò et ferociter adortus, nunc episcoporum assecla factus es. Fateris "aliquos reformatorum," quos non nominas, (ego tamen nominabo, quoniam tu eos "Jesuitis longè pejores esse" aîs, Lutherum nempe, Zuinglium, Calvinum, Bucerum, Paræum, cum aliis multis,) docuisse, "amovendum esse" tyrannum: "quis autem sit tyrannus ad judicium sapientium et doctorum se retulisse. Isti vero qui? an sapientes, an docti, an virtute nobiles, an nobilitate illustres." Liceat, quæso, populo, qui servitutis jugum in cervicibus grave sentit, tam sapienti esse, tam docto, tamque nobili, ut sciat quid tyranno suo faciendum sit, etiamsi neque exteros, neque grammaticos sciscitatum mittat. Tyrannum autem fuisse hunc, non Angliæ solùm et Scotiæ parlamenta cùm verbis tum factis disertissimis declaraverunt, sed totus ferè utriusque regni populus assentitus est; donec episcoporum technis et fraudibus in duas postea factiones discessit. Quid si Deus, quemadmodum eos qui lucis evangelicæ participes fiant, ità eos qui decreta ejus in reges hujus mundi potentissimos exequantur, non multos sapientes aut doctos, non multos potentes, non multos nobiles esse voluit? ut per eos qui non sunt aboleret eos qui sunt; ut ne glorietur caro coram eo. Tu quis es qui oblatras? an doctus? qui spicilegia, qui lexica et glossaria ad senectutem usque trivisse potiùs videris, quàm authores bonos cum judicio aut fructu perlegisse? unde nîl præter codices, et varias lectiones, et luxatum et mendosum, crepas; doctrinæ solidioris ne guttulam quidem hausisse te ostendis. An tu sapiens? qui de minutiis minutissimis rixari et mendicorum bella gerere soles, qui nunc astronomis, nunc medicis, in sua arte credendis, imperitus ipse et rudis, convitia dicis; qui, siquis tibi voculæ unius aut literulæ in exemplari quovis ab te restitutæ gloriolam præripere conaretur, igni et aquâ, si posses, illi interdiceres? Et tamen stomacharis, et tamen ringeris, quòd omnes te grammaticum appellant. Hamondum, nuper regis hujus sacellanum imprimis dilectissimum, in libro quodam nugatorio, nebulonem appellas, quòd is te grammaticum appellavisset: idem, credo, esses ipsi regi convitium facturus, et defensionem hanc totam retractaturus, si sacellani sui de te judicium approbâsse audivisses. Jam vide quàm te Anglorum unus, quos tu "fanaticos, indoctos, obscuros, improbos," vocitare audes, contemnam et ludibrio habeam, (nam nationem ipsam Anglicanam de te quicquam publicè cogitare curculiunculo, indignissimum esset,) qui sursùm, deorsùm, quoquoversùm versatus et volutatus, nihil nisi grammaticus es: immo ac si Deo cuilibet votum ipso Midâ stultius nuncupâsses, quicquid attrectas, nisi cùm solœcismos facis, grammatica est. Quisquis igitur "de fæce illa plebis," quam tu exagitas, (illos enim verè optimates nostros, quorum sapientiam, virtutem, et nobilitatem, facta inclyta satis testantur, non sic dehonestabo, ut te illis, aut tibi illos componere velim,) quisquis, inquam, de fæce illa plebis hoc tantummodò sibi persuaserit, non esse se regibus natum, sed Deo et patriæ, multò sanè te doctior, multò sapientior, multò probior, et ad omnem vitam utilior, existimandus erit. Nam doctus ille sine literis, tu literatus sine doctrina; qui tot linguas calles, tot volumina percurris, tot scribis, et tamen pecus es.

CAPUT II.

Quod argumentum pro se "indubitatum" esse, superiore capite perorans dixerat Salmasius, "rem ità se habere ut creditur, cum omnes unanimiter idem de ea sentiant;" quod tamen is "de facto" falsissimè affirmabat, id ego nunc, de jure regio disceptaturus, potero in ipsum verissimè affirmare. Cum enim regem definiat, "cujus suprema est in regno potestas, nulli alii nisi Deo obnoxia, cui quod libet licet, qui legibus solutus est," siquidem id definiri dicendum est, quod infinitum in terris ponitur: evincam ego contrà, non meis tantùm, sed vel ipsius testimoniis, et rationibus, nullam gentem aut populum, qui quidem ullo numero sit, nam omnem penetrare barbariem necesse non est, nullam, inquam, gentem istiusmodi jura aut potestatem regi concessisse, "ut legibus solutus esset, ut quod libet liceret, ut omnes judicaret, à nemine judicaretur;" nec verò ullum, cujuscunque gentis tam servili ingenio exstitisse puto, præter unum Salmasium, qui tyrannorum immania quæque flagitia regum jura esse asseverârit. Eorum plerique apud nos, qui regi maximè favebant, ab hac tam turpi sententia semper abhorruere; quinetiam ipse, nondum pretio corruptus, his de rebus longè aliter sensisse aliis jampridem scriptis facilè deprehenditur. Adeò ut hæc non ab homine libero in libera civitate, nedum in repub. nobilissima, et Batavorum academia celeberrima, sed in ergastulo quovis aut catastra, tam servili vernilitate scripta esse videantur. Etenim, si quicquid regi libet, id jure regio licitum erit, (quod teterrimus ille Antoninus Caracalla, ab Julia noverca per incestum edoctus, non statim ausus est credere,) nemo profectò est, aut unquam fuit, qui tyrannus dici debeat. Cùm enim divina omnia atque humana jura violavit, nihilo tamen minùs rex, jure regio insons erit. Quid enim peccavit homo æquissimus? jure suo usus est in suos. Nihil rex tam horrendum, tam crudele, támque furiosum, committere in suos potest, quod præter jus regium fieri quispiam possit queri aut expostulare. Hoc "tu jus regium à jure gentium, vel potiùs naturali, originem habere" statuis, bellua? Quid enim hominem te dicam, qui in omne hominum genus adeò iniquus et inhumanus es; quique omnem

gentem humanam, Deo simillimam, sic deprimere atque projicere conaris, ut quos nunc superstitio, nunc scelus aut ignavia quorundam, aut denique perfidia, tam feros atque immites dominos gentibus imposuit, eos à natura matre mitissima comparatos atque impositos esse doceas. Quâ tu nefariâ doctrinâ multò jam ferociores factos, non solùm ad proterendos omnes mortales, et posthac miseriorem in modum conculcandos, immittis, sed jure naturali, jure regio, ipsis etiam populi legibus, in populum armare, quo nihil simul stultius et sceleratius esse potest, contendis. Dignus profectò qui, contrà atque olim Dionysius, ex grammatico tyrannus ipse sis; non quo tibi in alium quemvis detur illa regia licentia malè faciendi, sed illa altera malè pereundi: quâ solâ, ut inclusus ille Capreis Tiberius, à temetipso perditus quotidie te sentias perire. Verùm jus illud regium paulò accuratiùs quale sit consideremus. "Sic oriens totus," inquis, "judicavit, sic occidens." Non reponam tibi quod Aristoteles et Marcus Cicero, authores, si qui alii, cordatissimi, ille in Politicis, hic in oratione de provinciis scripsit, gentes Asiaticas facilè servitutem pati, Judæos autem et Syros servituti natos fuisse: fateor paucos ferè libertatem velle, aut ea posse uti, solos nempe sapientes, et magnanimos; pars longè maxima justos dominos mavult, sed tamen justos; injustos et intolerabiles ferendi, neque Deus unquam universo generi humano tam infensus fuit, neque ullus unquam populus tam ab omni spe et consilio derelictus, ut necessitatem hanc atque legem, omnium durissimam, in se atque in suos liberos ultrò statueret. Profers imprimis "verba regis in Ecclesiaste sapientiâ clari." Nos itaque ad legem Dei provocamus, de rege posteriùs videbimus; cujus exinde sententiam rectiùs intelligemus. Audiatur ipse Deus, Deut. 17. "Cum ingressus fueris in terram, quam Jehova Deus dat tibi, et dices, statuam super me Regem, sicut omnes gentes quæ sunt circa me:" Quod ego omnes velim etiam atque etiam animadvertant, teste hìc ipso Deo, penes populos omnes ac nationes arbitrium semper fuisse, vel ea, quæ placeret, forma reipub. utendi, vel hanc in aliam mutandi: de Hebræis disertè hoc dicit Deus, de reliquis haud abnuit: deinde formam reipub. monarchia perfectiorem, ut sunt res humanæ, suique populi magìs ex usu Deo visam esse: cum hanc ipse formam instituerit; monarchiam non nisi serò petentibus, idque ægrè, concederet. Sin regem planè vellent, ut ostenderet Deus id se liberum populo reliquisse, ab uno an à pluribus respub. administraretur, modò justè, regi etiam futuro leges constituit, quibus cautum erat, ut "ne multiplicet sibi equos, ne uxores, ne divitias;" ut intelligeret nihil sibi in alios licere, qui nihil de se statuere extra legem potuit. Jussus itaque est "omnia legis illius præcepta," etiam suâ manu perscribere; perscripta "observare; ne efferatur animus ejus præ fratribus suis." Ex quo perspicuum est, regem æquè ac populum istis legibus astrictum fuisse. In hanc ferme sententiam scripsit Josephus, legum suæ gentis interpres idoneus, in sua repub. versatissimus, mille aliis tenebrionibus Rabbinis anteponendus. Antiquitat. lib. 4. Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον, &c. "Optimum est," inquit, "optimatium regimen; nec vos alium reipub. statum requiratis; satis enim est Deùm habere præsidem. Attamen si tanta vos regis cupido ceperit, plus legibus et Deo tribuatis, quàm suæ sapientiæ; prohibeatur autem, si potentior fieri studet, quàm rebus vestris expedit." Hæc et plura Josephus in istum Deuteronomii locum. Alter, Philo Judæus, gravis author, Josephi coætaneus, legis Mosaïcæ studiosissimus, in quam universam diffusa commentatione scripsit, cum in libro de creatione principis hoc caput legis interpretatur, non alio pacto regem legibus solvit, atque hostis quilibet solutus legibus dici possit, τοὺς ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ ζημίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων, &c. "qui," inquit, "ad perniciem et detrimentum populi magnam sibi acquirunt potentiam, non reges sed hostes appellandi sunt; ea facientes, quæ hostes nullâ pace reconciliandi faciunt; nam qui per speciem gubernandi faciunt injuriam, apertis hostibus pejores sunt; hos enim facile est propulsare, illorum autem malitia haud facilè detegitur." Detecti igitur, quid obstat quo minùs hostium loco habendi sint? Sic libro secundo Allegoriarum legis, "rex et tyrannus contraria sunt;" et deinde, "rex non imperat tantùm, sed paret." Vera sunt ista, dicet aliquis; regem oportet quidem leges, ut qui maximè, observare; verùm si secus fecerit, qua lege puniendus? eadem, inquam, lege qua cæteri; exceptiones enim nullas reperio. Sed nec de sacerdotibus, sed nec de infimis quidem magistratibus, puniendis lex ulla scribitur; qui omnes, cùm de iis puniendis nulla lex scripta sit, pari certè jure et ratione possent impunitatem scelerum omnium sibi vendicare; quam tamen neque eorum quisquam vendicavit, neque ullum iis arbitror idcirco esse daturum. Hactenus ex ipsa Dei lege didicimus regem legibus obtemperare debuisse; nec se præ cæteris efferre, qui etiam fratres ejus sunt. Nunc an quid aliud Ecclesiastes moneat videamus. Cap. 8. ver. 1, &c. "Mandatum regis observa; vel propter juramentum Dei, ne perturbatè à facie ejus abito, ne persistito in re mala, nam quicquid volet faciet. Ubi verbum regis, ibi dominatio; et quis dicat ei, quid facis?" Satis constat Ecclesiasten hoc in loco non synedrio magno, non senatui, sed privato cuique præcepta dare. Jubet mandata sua observare, vel propter juramentum Dei; at quis jurat regi, nisi rex vicissim in leges divinas atque patrias juratus sit? Sic Reubenitæ et Gaditæ obedientiam suam Jehosuæ pollicentur, Jos. 1. "Ut dicto audientes Mosi fuimus, ità erimus tibi, modò ut Deus tecum sit, quemadmodum fuit cum Mose." Conditionem vides expressam. Alioquin ipsum audi Ecclesiasten, cap. 9. "Verba sapientum submissa potiùs audienda esse, quàm clamorem dominantis inter stolidos." Quid porrò monet? "Ne persistito in re mala, nam quicquid volet faciet," in malos nimirum faciet authoritate legum armatus, nam leniter, aut severè agere, prout volet, potest. Nihil hìc tyrannicum sonat, nihil quod vir bonus extimescat. "Ubi verbum regis, ibi dominatio, et quis dicat ei, quid facis?" Et tamen legimus qui regi dixerit non solùm, quid fecisti, sed etiam, stultè fecisti. 1 Sam. 13. At Samuel extraordinarius. Tuum tibi regero, licèt infrà dictum pag. 49. "quid," inquis, "extraordinarium in Saule et Davide?" itidem ego, quid, inquam, in Samuele? Propheta fuit: sunt et illi

hodie, qui ejus exemplo faciunt; ex voluntate enim Dei vel "expressâ" vel "tacitâ" agunt: quod etiam ipse infrà concedis, pag. 50. Prudenter igitur Ecclesiastes hòc in loco monet privatos, ne cum rege contendant: nam etiam cum divite, cum potenti quovis, ut plurimùm damnosa contentio est. Quid ergò? an optimates, an omnes reliqui magistratus, an populus universus, quoties delirare libet regi, ne hiscere quidem audebunt? an stolido, impio, furenti, bonis omnibus perniciem machinanti non obstabunt, non obviam ibunt, ne divina omnia atque humana pervertere occupet, ne rapinis, ne incendiis, ne cædibus, per omnes regni fines grassetur, ita "legibus solutus, ut quod libet liceat?" O de Cappadocis eques catastris! quem omnis libera natio (si unquam post hoc in natione libera pedem ponere audebis) aut in ultimas terras veluti portentum exportandum ejicere, aut servitutis candidatum dedere in pistrinum debebit, ea lege atque omine, ut si te inde exemerit, ipsa sub aliquo tyranno, eoque stultissimo, pro te molat. Quid enim poterit dici, aut ab aliis dictum peti, tam truculentum, aut ridiculum, quod in te non cadat? Perge modò: "Israëlitæ regem à Deo petentes eodem jure se ab eo gubernari velle dixerunt, quo omnes aliæ nationes, quæ hoc regimine uterentur. At orientis reges summo jure, et potestate non circumscripta regnabant, teste Virgilio.

—— Regem non sic Ægyptus et ingens
Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, et Medus Hydaspes
Observant.——"

Primùm, quid nostra refert qualem sibi regem Israëlitæ voluerint, præsertim Deo irato, non solum quòd regem vellent ad exemplum gentium, et non suæ legis, sed planè quòd vellent regem? Deinde regem injustum, aut legibus solutum, petivisse credibile non est, qui Samuëlis filios legibus obstrictos ferre non potuerunt, et ab eorum tantùm avaritia ad regem confugerunt. Postremò, quod ex Virgilio recitas, non probat reges orientis "absoluta potestate" regnâsse; Apes enim illæ Virgilianæ, quæ vel Ægyptiis et Medis observantiores regum sunt, teste tamen eodem poëta—"Magnis agitant sub legibus ævum."—Non ergò sub regibus omni lege solutis. At vide quàm tibi minimè velim malè; cùm plerique te nebulonem esse judicent, ostendam te personam tantum nebulonis mutuam sumpsisse. In apparatu ad primatum papæ, doctores quosdam Tridentinos exemplo apium usos ais, ut monarchiam papæ probarent: ab his tu pari malitia hoc mutuum cepisti. Quod illis itaque respondisti cùm probus esses, jam factus nebulo tute respondebis tibi, tuaque tibi manu personam nebulonis detrahes. "Apium respub. est; atque ità physici appellant: Regem habent, sed innocuum; ductor est potiùs quàm tyrannus; non verberat, non vellicat, non necat apes subditas." Minimè igitur mirum, si ità observant. Istas mehercule apes malâ ave tibi tactio erat; Tridentinæ enim licèt sint, fucum te esse indicant. Aristoteles autem, rerum politicarum scriptor diligentissimus, monarchiæ genus Asiaticæ, quod et barbaricum vocat, κατα νόμον, id est, secundùm legem, fuisse affirmat. Pol. 3. Immo cum monarchiæ quinque species enumeret, quatuor secundum legem, et suffragante populo, fuisse scribit, tyrannicas autem, quòd iis tanta potestas, volente licèt populo, data erat; regnum verò laconicum maximè regnum videri, quòd non omnia penès regem erant. Quinta, quam is παμβασιλέιαν vocat, et ad quam solam id refert, quod tu regum omnium jus esse scribis, ut ad libitum regnent, ubinam gentium, aut quo tempore unquam obtinuerit, non dicit: nec aliam ob caussam fecisse mentionem ejus videtur, quàm ut absurdam, injustam, et maximè tyrannicam, esse demonstraret. Samuelem aïs, cùm eos ab eligendo rege deterreret, "jus illis regium" exposuisse. Unde haustum, à lege Dei? at illa lex jus regium, ut vidimus, longè aliud exhibuit: an ab ipso Deo per Samuëlem loquente? at improbavit, vituperavit, vitio dedit: non igitur jus regium divinitùs datum, sed morem regnandi pravissimum, superbiâ regum et dominandi libidine arreptum exposuit propheta; nec quid debebant reges, sed quid volebant facere; rationem enim regis populo indicavit, sicut antea rationem sacerdotum Eliadarum eodem verbo (quod tu p. 33, Hebraïco etiam solœcismo משפט vocas) suprà indicaverat. C. 2. "ratio sacerdotum istorum cum populo hæc erat, v. 13." impia videlicet, odiosa, et tyrannica: ratio itaque illa nequaquam jus erat, sed injuria. Sic etiam patres antiqui hunc locum exposuerunt; unus mihi erit multorum instar, Sulpitius Severus, Hieronymi æqualis, eique charus, et Augustini judicio vir doctrinâ et sapientiâ pollens. Is in historia sacra Samuelem aït dominationem regiam, et superba imperia, populo exponere. Sanè jus regium non est dominatio et superbia; sed jus atque imperium regium, teste Sallustio, conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipub. causâ datum, in superbiam dominationemque se convertit. Idem theologi omnes orthodoxi, idem jurisconsulti, idem rabbini plerique, ut ex Sichardo didicisse potuisti, de explicatione hujus loci sentiunt; ne rabbinorum enim quisquam jus regis absolutum isto loco tractari dixit. Ipse infrà cap. 5. pag. 106. "non Alexandrinum Clementem solùm, sed omnes hìc" quereris "errare," te unum ex omnibus rem acu tetigisse: Jam verò cujus vel impudentiæ est vel socordiæ, contra omnes, præsertim orthodoxos, mores regum ab ipso Deo damnatissimos in jus regium convertere; et honesta juris præscriptione defendere: cum jus tamen illud in rapinis, injuriis, violentiis, contumeliis, sæpiùs consistere fatearis. An quisquam sic "sui juris" unquam fuit, ut rapere, agere, prosternere, permiscere omnia sibi liceret? an Latini, quod affirmas, hæc "suo jure ab aliquo fieri unquam dixerunt?" Dixerat apud Sallustium C. Memmius tribunus plebis, in superbiam et impunita flagitia nobilitatis invectus, "impune quælibet facere, id est, regem esse;" arrisit hoc tibi, et statim in lucro ponis, nequicquam sanè, si paulum evigilaveris. An jus hic regium asseruit? annon plebis ignaviam potiùs increpuit, quæ nobiles impunè dominari sineret, eosque mores regios jam rursus pateretur, quos jure suo majores illorum cum rege ipso finibus expulerant. Marcum Tullium saltem consuluisses; is te et Sallustium, et Samuelem etiam rectiùs interpretari docuisset. Qui, pro C. Rabirio, "nemo," inquit, "nostrûm ignorat consuetudinem regiam; regum sunt hæc imperia, animadverte et dicto pare;"

aliaque hujusmodi ex poëtis ibidem recitat, quæ non jus, sed "consuetudinem regiam" vocat, eaque legere et spectare nos aït debere, non "ut delectemur solùm, sed ut cavere etiam et effugere discamus." Vides quàm te malè multaverit Sallustius, quem tyrannis inimicissimum, juris tyrannici patronum attulisse te putabas. Nutare, mihi crede, et suum sibi occasum accelerare jus regium videtur, dum ruentis in modum tenuissima quæque sic arripit, seque sustinere iis testibus atque exemplis conatur, quæ tardiùs fortasse alioqui ruiturum vehementiùs proturbant. "Summum," inquis, "jus, summa injuria est, id in regibus maximè locum habet; qui cùm summo jure utuntur, ea faciunt in quibus Samuel dicit jus regis esse positum." Miserum jus; quod tu jam ad extrema perductus, nisi per summam injuriam defendere ulteriùs non potes! Summum jus id dicitur, cùm quis formulas legum sectatur, singulis penè literis immoratur, æquitatem non servat; aut scriptum jus callidè nimis et malitiosè interpretatur, ex quo illud proverbium Cicero ortum esse aït. Cùm autem jus omne de fonte justitiæ manare certum sit, impius sis necesse est, qui "regem injustum esse, iniquum, violentem, raptorem esse, et quales esse solebant" qui pessimi erant, jus regis esse dicis, idque "prophetam populo insinuâsse." Quod enim jus summum aut remissum, scriptum aut non scriptum, ad maleficia perpetranda esse potest? Id ne tibi de aliis concedere, de rege pernegare, in mentem veniat, habeo quem tibi opponam, et puto regem, qui istiusmodi jus regium et sibi et Deo invisum esse profitetur: Psal. 49. "an consociaretur tibi solium ærumnarum, formantis molestiam per statutum." Noli igitur Deo hanc atrocissimam injuriam facere, quasi is regum pravitates et nefaria facinora jus esse regium doceret, qui etiam hoc nomine societatem cum improbis regibus se detestari docet, quòd molestiam et ærumnas omnes populo juris regii titulo creare soleant. Noli prophetam Dei falsò insimulare; quem, tu dum juris regii isto loco doctorem habere putas, non verum nobis affers Samuelem; sed, ut venefica illa, inanem umbram evocas; quamvis et illum ab inferis Samuelem non adeò mendacem fuisse credam, quin illud quod tu jus regium vocas, impotentiam potiùs tyrannicam dicturus fuisset. Jus datem sceleri legimus, tuque "licentiæ jure concessæ reges minùs bonos uti consuevisse" aïs. At jus hoc, ad perniciem humani generis abs te introductum, non esse a Deo datum probavimus; restat, ut sit à Diabolo; quod infrà clariùs liquebit, "Hæc," inquis, "licentia dat posse, si velis;" et authorem hujus juris habere Ciceronem præ te fers. Nunquam ægrè facio ut testimonia tua recitem, tuis enim ipse testibus conficere te soles. Audi igitur verba Ciceronis in 4tà Philipp. "Quæ causa justior est belli gerendi, quàm servitûtis depulsio? in qua etiamsi non sit molestus dominus, tamen est miserrimum posse si velit," posse vi scilicet; nam de jure si loqueretur, repugnantia diceret, et ex justa belli causa injustam faceret. Non est igitur jus regium quod tu describis, sed injuria, sed vis, et violentia regum. Transis ab regia licentia ad privatam: "licet privato mentiri, licet ingrato esse." Licet et regibus; quid inde efficis? licebit ergò regibus impune rapere, occidere, stuprare? Quid interest ad injuriæ gravitatem rex an latro, an aliunde hostis, populum occidat, diripiat, in servitutem agat? eodem certè jure, et hunc et illum humanæ societatis inimicum, et pestem, propulsare atque ulcisci debemus; immo regem eò justiùs, quòd is tot beneficiis et honoribus nostris auctus commissam sibi sub juramento publicam salutem prodat. Concedis postremò "leges dari à Mose, secundùm quas rex ille quandoque eligendus imperare debebat, quamvis diversas ab illo jure quod Samuel proposuit." Quod cum assertione tua dupliciter pugnat; cùm enim regem legibus omnino solutum posueris, nunc obstrictum dicis: dein jus juri contrarium ponis Mosis et Samuëlis, quod est absurdum. At "servi," inquit Propheta, "vos eritis regi." Ut servos fuisse non abnuerim; non jure tamen regio servi fuerunt, sed regum fortasse plurimorum usurpatione et injustitia. Illam enim petitionem obstinatam non jure regio, sed suo merito, in pœnam illis cessuram propheta præmonuit. At verò si regi legibus soluto quicquid libet licuerit, profectò rex longè plus quàm dominus erit, populus infra omnium servorum infimos plus quàm infimus. Servus enim vel alienigena legem Dei vindicem injuriosum in dominum habebat; populus universus, libera nimirum gens, vindicem in terris neminem, nullam legem habebit, quò læsus, afflictus, et spoliatus confugiat: à servitute regum Ægyptiorum ideo liberatus, ut uni ex fratribus suis, duriore si libeat servitute, opprimendus traderetur. Quod cùm neque divinæ legi nec rationi consentaneum sit, dubium nemini esse potest, quin propheta mores enarraverit, non jus regum, neque mores prorsus regum omnium, sed plurimorum. Descendis ad rabbinos, duosque adducis eadem, qua priùs, infelicitate: nam caput illud de rege, in quo R. Joses jus regium aiebat contineri, Deuteronomii esse, non Samuelis, manifestum est. Samuelis enim ad terrorem duntaxat populo injiciendum pertinere rectissimè quidem et contra te dixit R. Judas. Perniciosum enim est id jus nominari atque doceri, quod injustitia planè est, nisi abusivè forsitan jus nominetur. Quo etiam pertinet versus 18. "Et exclamabitis die illa propter regem vestrum, sed non exaudiet vos Jehovah;" obstinatos nimirum ista pœna manebat, qui regem nolente Deo dari sibi voluerunt. Quanquam ista verba non prohibent, quo minus et vota et quidvis aliud tentare potuerint. Si enim clamare ad Deum contra regem populo licebat, licebat proculdubio omnem etiam aliam inire rationem honestam sese à tyrannide expediendi. Quis enim, quovis malo cùm premitur, sic ad Deum clamat ut cætera omnia quæ officii sunt sui negligat, ad otiosas tantum preces devolutus? Verum utcunque sit, quid hoc ad jus regium, quid ad jus nostrum? qui regem nec invito Deo unquam petivimus, nec ipso dante accepimus, sed jure gentium usi, nec jubente Deo nec vetante, nostris legibus constituimus. Quæ cùm ità se habeant, non video quamobrem nobis laudi atque virtuti tribuendum non sit, regem abjecisse; quandoquidem Israëlitis crimini est datum regem petisse. Quod etiam res ipsa comprobavit; nos enim qui regem, cùm haberemus, deprecati sumus, tandem exauditos Deus liberavit; illos, qui cum non haberent,

à Deo efflagitabant, servire jussit; donec Babylone redeuntes ad pristinum reipub. statum reversi sunt. Ludum Talmudicum deinde aperis; quin et hoc sinistro augurio tentatum. Dum enim regem non judicari cupis ostendere, ostendis ex codice Sanhedrim "regem nec judicari nec judicare;" quod cum petitione istius populi pugnat, qui ideo regem petebant, ut judicaret: id frustrà resarcire studes; intelligi nempe id de regibus Postbabylonicis debere. At ecce tibi Maimonides, qui "hanc inter reges Israëlitas et Judæos differentiam ponit: Davidis enim posteros judicare et judicari;" Israëliticis neutrum concedit. Occurris tibi, tecum enim litigas, aut cum rabbinis tuis; meam rem agis. Hoc "primis in regibus locum non habuisse," quia dictum est v. 17. "vos eritis ei servi:" consuetudine scilicet, non jure; aut si jure, pœnas petendi regis, quamvis non sub hoc fortè vel sub illo, at sub plerisque, luebant, quod nos non attingit. Tibi verò adversario opus non est, adeo semper tibi adversaris. Narras enim pro me, ut primò Aristobulus, pòst Jannæus cognomento Alexander, jus illud regium non a synedrio, juris custode et interprete, acceperint, sed paulatim sibi assumpserint, et senatu renitente usurpaverint: quorum in gratiam bella illa fabula de primoribus synedrii "à Gabriele exanimatis" adinventa est, jusque hoc magnificum, quo niti maximè videris, "regem" scilicet "non judicari," ex illa fabula plusquam anili, utpote rabbinica, conflatum esse fateris. Reges autem Hebræorum "judicari posse, atque etiam ad verbera damnari," fusè docet Sichardus ex libris rabbinicis, cui tu hæc omnia debes, et tamen obstrepere non erubescis. Quinimmo legimus ipsum Saulem cum filio Jonathane sortis judicium atque etiam capitale subiisse, suoque ipsum edicto paruisse. Uzzias quoque à sacerdotibus templo deturbatus, lepræ judicio, tanquam unus è populo, se submisit, rexque esse desiit. Quid si templo excedere, quid si magistratu abire, et seorsim habitare, noluisset, jus illud regium legibus solutum sibi asseruisset, an passuros fuisse censes Judæos et sacerdotes templum contaminari, leges violari, populum universum contagione periclitari? In leprosum ergò regem vigebunt leges, in tyrannum nihil poterunt? Ecquis tam demens aut stultus est, ut existimet, cùm rex morbosus nè populum contagione lædat, cautum atque provisum legibus sit, si rex impius, iniquus, crudelis, populum diripiat, excruciet, occidat, rempub. funditus evertat, nullum his malis longè gravioribus remedium legibus repertum esse? Verùm "exemplum ullius regis afferri non potest, qui judicium capitis subierit in jus vocatus." Ad illud Sichardus haud absurdè respondet, perinde esse, ac si quis ad hunc modum dissereret. Cæsar nunquam citatus est coram Electore; ergò si Palatinus diem Cæsari dixerit, non tenetur Cæsar in judicio respondere. Cùm tamen doceat bulla aurea Carolum 4tum se et successores suos huic cognitioni subjecisse. Quid in corrupto populi statu regibus adeò indultum fuisse miramur, ubi tot privati aut opibus suis aut gratia impunitatem vel gravissimorum scelerum assequuntur? Illud autem ἀνυπεύθυνον, id est, "à nemine pendere, nulli mortalium rationem reddere," quod tu regiæ majestatis maximè proprium esse aïs, Aristoteles Polit. 4. c. 10. maximè tyrannicum, et in libera natione minimè ferendum, esse affirmat. Tu vero Antonium tyrannum immanissimum, Romanæ reipub. eversorem, idoneum sanè authorem producis, non esse justum reposci à rege factorum suorum rationem: et tamen Herodem cædis reum ad causam dicendam in Parthos proficiscens accersivit ad se Antonius: et animadversurus etiam in regem fuisse creditur, nisi rex eum auro corrupisset. Ita ab eodem fonte profluxit regiæ potestatis Antoniana assertio, et tua "regia defensio." At non sine ratione, inquis, "nam reges ab alio non habent quòd regnant, sed soli Deo acceptum referunt." Dic sodes quinam? nam istiusmodi reges extitisse unquam, nego. Primus enim Saul, nisi populus refragante etiam Deo regem voluisset, nunquam rex fuisset; et quamvis rex renuntiatus esset Mispæ, vixit tamen peuè privatus, armentum patris secutus, donec Gilgale rex à populo secundùm creatus est. Quid David? quamvis unctus à Deo, nonne iterum unctus est ab Judæis Chebrone, deinde ab omnibus Hebræis, pacto tamen prius fœdere? 2 Sam. 5. 1 Chron. 11. Fœdus autem obligat reges, et intra certos fines continet. Sedit Salomon, inquis, "super solium Domini et cunctis placuit," 1 Paralip. 29. ergo et placuisse populo aliquid erat. Constituit Jehoiadas regem Joasum, fœdus tamen eodem tempore pepigit inter regem et populum. 2 Reg. 11. Hos reges, necnon et reliquos Davidis posteros, et à Deo et à populo constitutos fateor; cæteros omnes, ubicunque gentium, à populo tantùm constitutos esse affirmo; tu ostende constitutos esse à Deo; nisi eâ solum ratione qua omnia, cùm maxima tùm minima, à Deo fieri et constitui dicuntur. Solium itaque Davidis, peculiari quodam jure, solium Jehovæ dicitur; solium aliorum regum non alio, atque cætera omnia, Jehovæ sunt. Quod tu ex eodem capite didicisse potuisti, v. 11. 12. "tua sunt omnia in cœlo et in terra, tuum est, Jehova, regnum; divitiæ et gloria à facie tua sunt, vis et potentia, &c." Diciturque hoc toties, non ut intumescant reges, sed ut moneantur, quamvis deos se esse putent, Deum tamen supra se esse, cui debent omnia. Unde illa Essenorum et poetarum doctrina, reges "non sine Deo, et ab Jove esse," facile intelligitur; omnes enim homines à Deo itidem sumus, Deique genus. Jus igitur hoc universum Dei non tollit jus populi; quo minus omnes cæteri reges, non à Deo nominati, regnum suum soli populo acceptum referant; cui propterea rationem reddere tenentur. Quod quanquam vulgus assentari regibus solet, ipsi tamen reges sive boni, ut Homericus ille Sarpedon, sive mali, ut illi apud Lyricum tyranni, agnoscunt.

Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶι τε τιμήμεσθα μάλιςα, &c.
Glauce, cur nos maximo honore afficimur
In Lycia, omnes autem nos tanquam deos intuentur?

Ipse sibi respondet; quia virtute cæteris prælucemus: quare fortiter pugnemus, inquit, ne Lycii nobis ignaviam objiciant: qua voce et honores regios à populo acceptos, et bellicæ administrationis rationem populo reddendam esse, innuit. Mali autem reges, ut metum populo incutiant, Deum imperii regii authorem palam

prædicant: tacitis autem votis nullum numen præter Fortunam venerantur. Juxta illud Horatii:

> Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
> Regumque matres barbarorum, et
> Purpurei metuunt tyranni,
> Injurioso ne pede proruas
> Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
> Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
> Concitet, imperiumque frangat.

Si ergò reges hodie per Deum regnant, etiam populi per Deum in libertatem se vindicant, quandoquidem omnia à Deo et per Deum fiunt. Utrumque etiam æquè testatur Scriptura, et reges per eum regnare, et per eum solio dejici; cùm tamen id utrumque longè sæpius à populo fieri perspiciamus, quàm à Deo. Jus itaque populi pariter ac regis, quicquid est, à Deo est. Populus ubicunque sine Deo manifesto regem creavit, potest eodem jure suo regem rejicere. Tyrannum sanè tollere quàm constituere divinius est; plusque Dei cernitur in populo, quoties injustum abdicat regem, quàm in rege qui innocentem opprimit populum. Immo reges noxios Deo authore judicat populus: hoc enim ipso honore dilectos suos decoravit Deus, Psal. 149. ut Christum regem suum laudibus celebrantes, gentium reges, quales sub evangelio sunt omnes tyranni, "vinculis coërcerent, inque eos jus scriptum exercerent," qui jure omni scripto atque legibus solutos se esse gloriantur. Ne quis tam stolidè, ne quis tam impiè, credat tanti esse apud Deum reges, ferè mortalium ignavissimos, ut eorum nutu orbis terrarum totus pendeat et gubernetur; eorum ut gratiâ, præque illis, divinum, ut ita dicam, hominum genus eodem quo bruta et vilissima quæque animalia loco atque numero habendum sit. Agè nunc, ne nihil enim agas, M. Aurelium, quasi tyrannis faventem, in medium profers; at satius tibi fuit Marcum Aurelium non attigisse. Ille an Deum de principibus solum judicare dixerit nescio. Xiphilinus certè, quem citas, de ἀυταρχίᾳ loquitur; περὶ ἀυταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. ἀυταρχίαν autem monarchiæ synonymum illic esse non assentior; eoque minùs quo sæpius præcedentia lego; nam quî cohæreat, aut quid sibi velit aliena illa sententia subitò insititia, qui legerit miretur; presertim cùm Marcus Aurelius, imperatorum optimus, non aliter cum populo egerit, ut Capitolinus tradit, quàm est actum sub civitate libera; jus autem populi quin supremum tunc fuerit nemo dubitat. Idem Thraseam, Helvidium, Catonem, Dionem, Brutum, tyrannicidas omnes, aut istam gloriam æmulantes coluisse, sibique reipublicæ formam proposuisse, in qua æquis legibus parique jure, omnia administrarentur, in primo libro de vita sua profitetur: in quarto, non se, sed legem, dominum esse. Agnovit etiam omnia senatûs populique esse: nos, inquit, adeò nihil proprium habemus, ut in vestris ædibus habitemus. Hæc Xiphilinus. Tantum abfuit ut quicquam jure regio sibi arrogaret. Moriens, filium suum regnaturum ea lege Romanis commendavit, si dignus esset: jus itaque illud regnandi absolutum atque fictitium, tanquam à Deo per manus traditum, illam denique ἀυταρχίαν præ se non tulit. "Plena" tamen "omnia Græcorum et Latinorum monumenta esse" aïs: at nusquam visa; "plena Judæorum," et tamen addis "Judæos in plerisque regiæ potestati minùs æquos fuisse:" immò Græcos et Latinos multo minùs tyrannis æquos et reperisti et reperies; multo minus Judæos, si liber ille Samuelis in quo is, 1 Sam. 10. jus regni descripserat, exstaret; quem librum doctores Hebræorum à regibus discerptum aut combustum esse tradiderunt, quo impuniùs tyrannidem in suos exercerent. Circumspice jam, numquid captare possis: occurrit tibi rex David postremò torquendus, Psal. 17. "à facie tuâ judicium meum prodeat:" ergo, inquit Barnachmoni, "nullus judicat regem nisi Deus." Et tamen similius veri videtur, Davidem hæc scripsisse, cùm à Saule vexatus, ne Jonathanis quidem judicium, quamvis jam tum unctus à Deo, detractabat. "Si est in me iniquitas, tu me affice morte," inquit, 1 Sam. 20; deinde ut quivis alius ab hominibus falso accusatus, ad judicium Dei provocat; id sequentia declarant, "tui occuli vident quæ recta sunt, cum exploraveris cor meum," &c. Quid hoc ad judicium regium, aut forense? Sanè jus regium illi maximè labefactant atque destruunt, qui fundamentis tam fallacibus niti, atque exædificari, produnt. En tritum illud tandem, et aulicorum nostratium argumentum palmarium. "Tibi soli peccavi," Psal. 51. 6. quasi verò rex David in mœrore et lacrymis pœnitentiam agens, sordidatus et squalidus in terra jacens, misericordiam à Deo suppliciter petens, quicquam de jure regio cogitaverit hæc loquutus; cùm se vix jure mancipii dignum esse arbitraretur. An omnem Dei populum, fratres suos, usque adeò præ se contempsit, ut cædibus, adulteriis, rapinis, peccare in eos non se posse censeret? absit à rege tam sancto tanta superbia, tamque fœda ignoratio vel sui vel proximi. "Tibi" igitur "soli peccavi" proculdubio intelligendum est, tibi præcipuè. Utcunque sit, profectò verba psallentis, et sententiæ affectibus plenæ, haudquaquam sunt ad jus explicandum accommodatæ, aut eò trahendæ. At "non est in jus vocatus, nec coram synedrio causam capitis dixit." Esto; quî enim potuit id resciri, quod adeò sine arbitris, et secretò peractum fuit, ut per aliquot fortasse annos (cujusmodi aulæ arcana sunt) vix unus aut alter conscius fuisse videatur, 2 Sam. 12. "Tu hoc clàm fecisti." Deinde quid si in privatis etiam puniendis cessaret synedrium? an quis inde puniendos non esse argumentabitur? Sed ratio obscura non est; ipse se condemnaverat, ver. 5. "reus capitis vir ille qui fecit hoc;" cui statim subjecit propheta, "tu vir ille es;" prophetæ etiam judicio capitis reus. Veruntamen Deus pro suo jure atque in Davidem eximiâ clementiâ, et peccato absolvit regem, et ipsâ mortis sententiâ, quam is in semetipsum pronuntiaverat, v. 13. "non es moriturus." Nunc in advocatum nescio quem sanguinarium debaccharis, et in eo totus es ut perorationem ejus refellas: de qua ipse viderit; ego quod propositum mihi est, id ago, ut quam paucissimis absolvam. Quædam tamen præterire non possum; primùm, insignes repugnantias tuas: qui p. 30. hæc habes: "Israëlitæ non deprecantur injustum regem, violentem, raptorem, et quales esse solerent qui pessimi. A p. 42. advocatum vellicas quòd Israëlitis tyrannum petisse arguerat. "An de fumo," inquis, "in flammam

ire præcipites maluerunt, id est, sævitiam pessimorum tyrannorum experiri, potiùs quàm judices malos pati, quibus jam assueverant?" Illìc Hebræos maluisse aïs tyrannos quàm judices, hìc judices maluisse quàm tyrannos; et "nihil minùs quàm tyrannum voluisse." De tuo igitur respondebit tibi advocatus, juxta enim te omnis rex jure regio tyrannus est. Quod sequitur bene habet, "authoritatem in populo maximam tunc fuisse, quòd judices repudiârunt, regem optârunt." Memineris, cùm hoc ego à te reposcam. Negas "Deum iratum Israëlitis regem tanquam tyrannum aut pœnam attribuisse, sed ut rem salutarem et bonam." Quod tamen facilè refellitur. Cur enim exclamarent propter regem illum quem elegerant, nisi quòd res mala erat imperium regium; non quidem per se, sed quòd plerunque, sicut Propheta hic monet, in superbiam et dominationem se convertit. Si adhuc non satisfacio, agnosce jam tua, syngrapham agnosce tuam, et erubesce. Apparat. ad primatum, "Iratus Deus regem illis dedit, offensus eorum peccatis, quòd Deum habere regem renuissent. Ita ecclesia quasi in pœnam ejus delicti, quòd à puro Dei cultu desciverat, in unius mortalis monarchæ plusquam reginm dominatum data est." Tua igitur similitudo si sibi constat, aut dedit Deus regem Israëlitis in pœnam, et tanquam rem malam, aut dedit papam ecclesiæ in bonum, et tanquam rem bonam. Quid hoc homine levius, quid insanius? Quis huic in re minima fidem habeat, qui tantis in rebus quid asserat, et mox neget, nihil pensi habet. Affirmas, p. 29. "regem legibus solutum esse apud omnes gentes, sic Oriens judicavit, sic Occidens." At, p. 43. "omnes reges Orientis *κατὰ νόμον* et legitimos fuisse; immò Ægypti reges in maximis minimisque rebus legibus obstrictos," cùm initio capitis hoc te probaturum pollicitus sis, omnes reges "solutos legibus" esse, "leges dare, non accipere." Equidem non irascor tibi; aut enim insanis, aut stas à nobis. Hoc certè oppugnare est, non defendere, hoc regem est ludos facere. Sin minus, Catullianum profectò illud * in te aptissimè quadrat, sed inversum; nam quantò quis unquam optimus poëta fuit, tantò tu pessimus omnium patronus. Certè nisi stupor ille, quo advocatum esse "demersum" ais, te potiùs obcæcavit, jam tute "obrutuisse" te senties. Nunc "omnibus quoque gentium regibus leges datas fuisse" fateris; "non tamen ut iis tenerentur, judiciorum metu et pœnæ capitis." Quod nequedum ex scriptura, neque ex ullo authore fide digno, ostendisti. Tu igitur paucis accipe: leges civiles iis dare qui legibus non tenentur, stultum et ridiculum est; omnes alios punire, uni duntaxat omnium scelerum impunitatem dare, cum lex neminem excipiat, iniquissimum est. Quæ duo in sapientes legumlatores minimè cadunt, multò minùs in Deum. Ut omnes autem videant te nullo modo ex Hebræorum scriptis id probare, quod probandum hoc capite susceperas, esse ex magistris tua sponte confiteris, "qui negant alium suis majoribus regem agnoscendum fuisse præter Deum, datum autem in pœnam fuisse." Quorum ego in sententiam pedibus eo. Non decet enim, neque dignum est regem esse, nisi qui cæteris omnibus longè antecellit; ubi multi sunt æquales, ut sunt in omni civitate plurimi, imperium ex æquo atque per vices dandum esse arbitror: æquali, aut plerunque deteriori, ac sæpissime stulto, servire omnes, quis non indignissimum putet? Nec "ad commendationem regalis imperii" plus "facit," quòd Christus à regibus originem duxit, quàm facit ad pessimorum regum commendationem, Christum eos habuisse nepotem. "Rex est Messias:" agnoscimus, gaudemus, et quàm citissimè veniat oramus; dignus enim est, nec ei quisquam similis aut secundus: interim regia gubernatio commissa indignis et immerentibus, ut plerumque fieri solet, plus mali quàm boni attulisse humano generi rectè existimatur. Nec continuò sequitur omnes reges tyrannos esse. Verùm ita esto: do tibi hoc, ne me nimis tenacem putes; utere tu jam dato. "Hæc duo sequuntur," inquis, "Deus ipse rex fuerit tyrannorum dicendus, et quidem tyrannus ipse maximus." Horum alterum si non sequitur, sequitur profectò illud quod toto libro tuo semper ferè sequitur, te non scripturæ solùm, sed tibimet, perpetuò contradicere, ut qui proxima periodo suprà dixeras, "unum Deum regem esse omnium rerum, quas et ipse creavit." Creavit autem et tyrannos et dæmonas; eorum itaque rex vel tuâ ipsius sententiâ. In alterum despuimus, et blasphemum illud tibi os obturatum volumus, qui Deum affirmes tyrannum esse maximum, si tyrannorum, quod ipse sæpius dicis, rex et dominus dicatur. Sed nec rem regiam multò plus adjuvas, dum ostendis, Mosen etiam cum "summa potestate regem fuisse." Nam fuerit sanè vel quivis alius, dummodò is sit qui res nostras, quemadmodum Moses, "ad Deum referre" possit. Exod. xviii. 19. Verum neque Mosi, quamquam is Dei quasi sodalis fuit, licuit in Dei populo quicquid libuit facere. Quid enim ille? "Venit ad me hic populus," inquit, "ad consulendum Deum;" non ergo ad mandata Mosis accipienda. Tum suscipit Jethro, "esto tu pro hoc populo erga Deum, et commonefacias eos de legibus Dei." Et Moses, Deut. iv. 5. "docui vos statuta et judicia, quemadmodum præcepit mihi Deus." Unde "fidelis" dicitur "in tota domo Dei." Num. xii. Rex itaque Jehova tum populi fuit; Moses veluti interpres tantùm Jehovæ regis. Impium igitur et sacrilegum te esse oportet, qui summam hanc potestatem à Deo ad hominem injussus ausis transferre, quam ipse Moses non summam, sed vicariam tantum et intermediam sub præsenti numine, obtinuit. Accedit etiam cumulus ad improbitatem tuam, quòd Mosen hic summa potestate regem fuisse dicas; cùm in Apparatu ad primatum," p. 230. "Eum in commune cum LXX senioribus populum rexisse; et primum populi, non dominum fuisse" dixeris. Si igitur rex fuit, ut erat certè, et regum optimus, idque sicut ipse aïs, cum "potestate planè summa et regia," nec tamen dominus, neque solus populum regebat, vel te authore; necessariò sequitur, reges, quamvis summa potestate præditos, jure tamen regio atque summo, non esse dominos, neque solos populum regere debere; quantò minus ad libitum suum. Jam verò qua impudentiâ Dei mandatum

* Tantò pessimus omnium Poeta,
Quantò tu optimus omnium Patronus.

ementiris, "de rege statim atque ingressi essent terram sanctam sibi constituendo." Deut. xvii. Supprimis enim veteratoriè quod præcedit, "si dixeris, statuam super me regem;" tuque memento quid à te jam reposcam; cùm dixeris, p. 42. "liberrima tunc potestate populus erat præditus." Nunc iterum fanaticus an profanus esse velis, ipse videres. "Deus," inquis, "cum tanto ante determinaverit regium regimen instituendum tanquam optimum populi illius regendi statum, quomodo hæc conciliabuntur? Propheta repugnavit, Deus sic egit cum propheta, ut quasi nollet." Videt se illaqueatum, videt se impeditum: jam attendite quanta cum malitia adversùs prophetam, impietate adversùs Deum, expedire se quærat: "cogitandum in his est," inquit, "Samuelem esse, cujus filii populum tunc judicabant; eos populos repudiabat ob corrupta judicia; Samuel igitur noluit filios suos à populo rejici; Deus ut gratificaretur prophetæ suo, innuit non valdè sibi placere, quod populus desideraret." Dic uno verbo, improbe, quod per ambages dicis; Samuel populo fucum fecit, Samueli Deus. Non advocatus ergò, sed tu "ceritus" ille et "lymphaticus" es, qui modò ut regem honores nil Deum revereris. Isne tibi Samuel videtur, qui saluti aut charitati patriæ filiorum avaritiam et ambitionem præposuerit, qui populo recta et salutaria petenti, tam callido consilio, tamque vafro, illuserit, falsa pro veris docuerit? Isne tibi Deus, qui in re tam turpi cuivis gratificaretur, aut cum populo simulatè ageret? Aut ergo jus regium non erat quod Propheta populo exposuit, aut jus illud, teste Deo et Propheta, malum, molestum, violentum, inutile, sumptuosum reipub. erat; aut denique, quod nefas est dicere, et Deus et Propheta populo verba dare voluerunt. Passim enim testatur Deus valdè sibi displicuisse quòd regem petîssent. ver. 7. "Non te sed me spreverunt ne regnem super ipsos, secundùm illa facta quibus dereliquerunt me, et coluerunt Deos alienos:" acsi species quædam idololatriæ videretur regem petere, qui adorari se, et honores propè divinos tribui sibi postulat. Sanè, qui supra omnes leges terrenum sibi dominum imponit, propè est ut sibi Deum statuat alienum; Deum utique haud sæpe rationabilem, sed profligata sæpius ratione brutum, et belluinum. Sic 1 Sam. x. 19. "Vos sprevistis Deum vestrum, qui ipse servat vos ab omnibus malis et angustiis vestris, cùm dixistis ei, regem præpones nobis:" et cap. xii. 12. "Vos regem petistis, cùm Jehova sit rex vester:" et ver. 17. "Videte malum vestrum magnum esse coram Jehova, petendo vobis regem." Et contemptim Hosea de rege, xiii. 10, 11. "Ubi rex tuus, ubinam est? servet te jam in civitatibus tuis. Ubi vindices tui? quoniam dixisti, da mihi regem et proceres: dedi tibi regem in ira mea." Hinc Gedeon ille heros rege major, "Non dominabor in vos, neque filius meus in vos dominabitur, sed dominabitur in vos Jehova," Jud. viii. planè ac si simul docuisset, non hominis esse dominari in homines, sed solius Dei. Hinc Hebræorum rempublicam, in qua Deus principatum solus tenuit, θεοκρατίαν vocat Josephus, contra Apionem grammaticum Ægyptium, et maledicum tui similem. Populus denique resipiscens, apud Isaiam, xxvi. 13. calamitosum hoc sibi fuisse queritur, quòd alios præter Deum dominos habuerat. Indicio sunt hæc omnia regem, irato Deo, Israëlitis fuisse datum. In historia tyranni Abimelechi quis est cui non risum moveas? de quo dicitur, cùm is partim saxo à muliere, partim armigeri gladio, interfectus fuerit, "reddidit Deus malum Abimelechi. Hæc," inquis, "historia potentissimè adstruit Deum solum regum judicem esse et vindicem:" immo tyrannorum, nebulonum, nothorum, si hoc valebit: quicunque per fas aut nefas tyrannidem occupaverit, is jus regium statim in populum adeptus erit, pœnas effugit; confestim arma magistratui de manibus fluent, mussare deinceps populus non audebit. Verùm quid si magnus aliquis latro hoc modò in bello periisset, an Deus ergò solus latronum vindex? Quid si carnificis manu lege damnatus, an ideo minùs illi Deus malum reddidisset? Ne judices quidem eorum unquam legisti lege postulatos; tamen "in optimatum statu vel principem, si quid committat, posse ac debere judicari," ultrò fateris, p. 47. cur non item tyrannus in regno? quia Deus reddidit malum Abimelechi. At reddidit quoque mulier illa, reddidit etiam armiger, in quos ille ambos jus regium habere præ se tulit. Quid si reddidisset magistratus, annon is idcircò Dei gladium gerit, ut malum malis reddat? Ab hoc "potentissimo" de morte Abimelechi argumento ad verborum contumelias more suo se convertit; nil nisi "cœnum et lutum" ore funditat; cùm eorum, quæ promisit se probaturum, nihil vel ex sacris libris, vel ex rabbinicis, probaverit. Nam neque regem legibus solutum esse, nec cur puniri, si delinquat, solus mortalium non debeat, quicquam ostendit. Immo suis ipse testibus se induit, et sententiam suæ contrariam esse veriorem suomet ipse opere demonstrat. Cùmque argumentis parùm proficiat, criminationibus atrocissimis omnium in nos odium excitare conatur, quasi rege optimo et innocentissimo crudeliter sublato. "An Solomon," inquit, "melior rex Carolo primo fuit?" Sunt, ut verum fatear, qui patrem ejus Jacobum cum Solomone comparare non dubitàrunt, et natalibus quidem anteferre. Solomon Davidis filius; is primò Saulis musicus erat; Jacobus Darlii comitis filius, qui Davidem musicum, reginæ uxoris thalamos nocte ingressum, cum ostio pessulum obdidisse deprehendit, haud multò pòst interfecit, ut narrat Buchananus. Natalibus ergò illustrior Jacobus, et secundus Solomon sæpe dictus, quamvis Davidis musici filius an fuerit dubium sit. At Carolum conferre cum Solomone quî tibi in mentem venire potuerit non video. Quem enim tu Carolum tot laudibus tollis, ejus pervicaciam, avaritiam, crudelitatem, et sævum in omnes pios atque bonos dominatum, ejus bella, incendia, rapinas, et miserorum civium cædes innumeras, dum hæc scribo, Carolus ipse filius in illa publicæ pœnitentiæ sedecula apud Scotos coram populo confitetur atque deplorat: immò tuum illud regium jus ejurat. Verùm si parallelis tantopere delectaris, Carolum cum Solomone conferamus. Solomon à meritissimo "fratris" supplicio "regnum auspicatus est:" Carolus à patris funere; non dico à nece, quamvis indicia veneni omnia in corpore patris mortui conspecta sint; ista enim suspicio in Bucchinghamio constitit; quem tamen Carolus, et regis inter-

fectorem et sui patris, non solùm in comitiis omni culpa *exemit, sed, ne omninò res ea senatûs cognitioni subjiceretur*, comitia dissolvit. Solomon "*gravissimis tributis* populum pressit:" ut ille in templum Dei et ædificia publica impendit, Carolus in luxum. Solomon à plurimis uxoribus ad idolorum cultum pellectus est, hic ab una. Pellectus in fraudem Solomon, pellexisse alios non legitur; hic alios, non solum uberrimis corruptæ ecclesiæ præmiis pellexit, sed etiam edictis et canonibus ecclesiasticis coëgit, ut invisa reformatis omnibus altaria statuerent, et pictos in pariete crucifixos altaribus imminentes adorarent. At non est ideo "Solomon à populo capitis damnatus." Nec inde, inquam, sequitur damnari à populo non debuisse; multa enim incidere potuerunt, cur id tum expedire populo non videretur. Populus certè quid sui juris esset haud multo pòst et verbis et factis patefecit: cùm Solomonis filium decem tribus expulerunt; et nisi maturè se in fugam conjecisset, etiam lapidibus regem tantummodò minacem obruturos fuisse credibile est.

CAPUT III.

Cum satis jam disputatum atque conclusum sit, reges Mosaïcos, ex præscripto Dei, omnibus obstrictos legibus pariter cum populo fuisse, nullas legum exceptiones perscriptas inveniri, ut reges "quod vellent, impunè possent," aut ut "à populo puniri ne possint; Deum" proinde "vindictam de his tribunali suo reservâsse" falsissimum esse, sine authore, sine ratione dictum, videamus an id suadeat evangelium, quod dissuasit lex, non imperavit: videamus an evangelium, divinum illud libertatis præconium, nos in servitutem addicat regibus et tyrannis, quorum ab impotenti imperio etiam servitutis cujusdam magistra lex vetus populum Dei liberavit. Primum argumentum ducis à persona Christi, quem quis nescit non privati solùm, sed etiam servi personam ideo sumpsisse, ut nos liberi essemus. Neque hoc de interna tantùm libertate intelligendum est, non de civili; quàm enim aliena sunt ista quæ Maria, mater Christi, ejus in aventu cecinit, "superbos dissipavit cogitatione cordis ipsorum, detraxat dynastas è thronis, humiles evexit," si adventus ejus tyrannos potius in solio stabiliret, Christianos omnes eorum sævissimo imperio subjiceret. Ipse sub tyrannis nascendo, serviendo, patiendo, omnem honestam libertatem nobis acquisivit: ut posse servitutem, si necesse est, æquo animo pati, sic posse ad libertatem honestè aspirare non abstulit Christus, sed majorem in modum dedit. Hinc Paulus, 1 Cor. vii. non de evangelica solùm, sed de civili libertate, sic statuit: "Servus vocatus es? ne sit tibi curæ; sin autem potes liber fieri, potiùs utere; pretio empti estis, ne estote servi hominum." Frustra igitur ab exemplo Christi ad servitutem nos hortaris, qui suæ servitutis pretio libertatem nobis etiam civilem confirmavit. Et formam quidem servi nostra vice suscepit, animum verò liberatoris nunquam non retinuit: unde jus regium quid sit, longè aliter docuisse ostendam, atque tu doces; qui non regii, sed tyrannici juris, idque in republica novus professor, siqua gens tyrannum sive hæreditarium, sive adventitium, sive fortuitum, sortita erit, eam non solùm necessitate, sed etiam religione, servam esse statuis. Tuis autem, ut soleo, in te utar testimoniis. Interrogavit Petrum Christus, cùm ab eo coactores quidam Galilæi didrachma exigebant, Mat. xvii. à quibus acciperent reges terræ tributa, sive censum, à filiis suis, an ab alienis? respondet ei Petrus, ab alienis. Ergò, inquit Christus, "liberi sunt filii; sed ne offendamus illos, da iis pro me et pro te." Variè hic locus interpretes exercet, cuinam persolverentur hæc didrachma, alii sacerdotibus in sanctuarium, alii Cæsari: ego quidem Herodi persoluta, interverso sanctuarii reditu, sentio fuisse. Varia enim ab Herode et filiis ejus exacta tributa, ab Agrippa tandem remissa, narrat Josephus. Hoc autem tributum per se exiguum, multis aliis adjunctum, grave erat: gravia autem fuerint oportet de quibus hic Christus loquitur, alioqui, in republica etiam, pauperes capite censi fuerunt. Hinc itaque Christus Herodis injustitiam arguendi, cujus sub ditione erat, occasionem cepit. Qui, cum cæteri reges terræ (siquidem patriæ parentes dici se cupiant) non filiis, id est, civibus suis, sed alienis, bello nempe subactis, graviora tributa imperare soleant, hic contra non alienos, sed filios opprimeret. Utcunque sit, sive filios hìc, cives regum proprios, sive filios Dei, id est, fideles et in universum Christianos intelligi concedas, ut intelligit Augustinus, certissimum est, si filius fuit Petrus, et proinde liber, nos etiam authore Christo liberos esse: vel ut cives, vel ut Christianos: non esse ergò juris regii à filiis et liberis tributa graviora exigere. Testatur enim Christus persolvisse se, non quod deberet, sed ne illos offendendo qui exigebant negotium sibi privatus exhiberet: cum officium ac munus longissimè diversum in illo vitæ suæ curriculo explendum sibi esset. Dum igitur negat Christus jus regium esse, graviora vectigalia liberis imponere, certè spoliare, diripere, occidere, excruciare proprios cives, et præsertim Christianos, jus esse regium multò evidentiùs negat. Hunc in modum de jure regio cum et aliàs disputâsse videatur, venire in suspicionem quibusdam cœpit, non se tyrannorum licentiam pro jure regio habere. Non enim de nihilo erat, quòd Pharisæi interrogatione hujusmodi animum ejus tentarent, quòd de jure regio percontaturi, eum neminem curare, non respicere personam hominum, dixerint; neque de nihilo, quòd is proposita sibi istiusmodi questione irasceretur, Mat. xxii. An te quispiam si insidiosè aggredi, si loquentem captare vellet, si elicere ex te quod fraudi futurum tibi sit, de jure regio sub rege interrogaret? an tu cuipiam de istoc interroganti irascerere? non opinor. Vel hinc ergò perspicias, non id eum de jure regio sensisse quod regibus gratum erat. Idem ex responso ejus apertissimè colligitur, quo ille percontatores amandare à se potiùs quàm docere videtur. Poscit numisma censûs; "Cujus," inquit, "imago ista est? Cæsaris. Reddite ergo Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, quæ Dei sunt Deò." Immo quæ populi sunt populo reddenda esse quis nescit? Reddite omnibus quod debetis, inquit Paulus, Rom. xiii. non ergò Cæsari omnia. Libertas nostra non Cæsaris, verùm ab ipso Deo natale

nobis donum est; eam Cæsari cuivus reddere, quam ab eo non accepimus, turpissimum esset, et humana origine indignissimum. Si enim os hominis et vultum aspiciens interrogaret quisquam, cujus ista imago esset, annon facilè quivis responderet Dei esse? Cùm igitur Dei simus, id est, verè liberi, ob eamque causam soli Deo reddendi, profectò Cæsari nos, id est, homini, et præsertim injusto, improbo, tyranno, in servitutem tradere, sine piaculo, et quidem maximo sacrilegio non possumus. Interim quæ Cæsaris sint, quæ Dei, in medio relinquit. Quòd si idem erat hoc numisma, quod didrachmum illud Deo pendi solitum, ut certè postea sub Vespasiano fuit, tum sanè controversiam non minuit Christus, sed implicavit: cùm impossibile sit Deo et Cæsari idem simul reddere. At enim ostendit quæ Cæsaris essent; numisma nempe illud Cæsaris imagine signatum. Quid igitur inde lucraris præter denarium vel Cæsari vel tibi? Aut enim Cæsari Christus præter denarium illud nihil dedit, cætera omnia nobis asseruit, aut si quicquid pecuniæ Cæsaris nomine inscriptum esset, id Cæsari dedit, contrarius jam sibi, nostra ferè omnia Cæsari dabit, qui duo modò didrachma regibus non se ex debito persolvere, et suo et Petri nomine professus est. Ratio denique infirma est quâ niteris; non enim principis effigiem habet moneta, ut principis esse, sed ut probam se esse, moneat; atque se principis nomine insignitam ne quis audeat adulterare. Sin autem ad jus regium inscriptio tantum valeat, reges profectò nostras omnium facultates, uti essent suæ, sola nominis inscriptione statim perficerent; aut si nostra omnia jam sua sunt, quod tuum dogma est, non idcirco Cæsari numisma illud reddendum erat, quia Cæsaris nomen aut imaginem prætulit, sed quia Cæsaris jam antea jure erat, nulla licèt imagine signatum. Ex quo manifestum est, Christum hoc in loco non tam nos officii nostri erga reges aut Cæsares ita perplexè atque ambiguè admonere voluisse, quàm Pharisæos hypocritas improbitatis et militiæ arguere. Quid? rursus cum ei nuntiarent Pharisæi Herodem ejus vitæ insidias parare, an humile aut demissum ab eo responsum, tyranno reddendum, tulerunt? Immo "ite," inquit, "et dicite vulpi illi;" innuens reges non jure regio, sed vulpino, civibus suis insidiari. Atqui "sub tyranno supplicium mortis subire sustinuit." Enimverò quî potuit nisi sub tyranno? "supplicium sub tyranno passus est;" ergò ad injustissima quævis juris regii testis et assertor: egregius tu quidem officiorum ratiocinator es. Verùm Christus quamvis nostri liberandi, non sub jugum mittendi, causâ servum se fecerit, tamen ad hunc modum se gessit; nec juri quicquam regio præter æquum et bonum concessit. Nunc ad præcepta ejus hac de re aliquando veniamus. Zebedæi filios maximam in regno Christi, quod mox in terris futurum somniabant, dignitatem affectantes, sic Christus corripuit, ut omnes simul Christianos commonefaceret, quale jus magistratûs et imperii civilis apud eos constitui voluerit. "Scitis," inquit, "principes gentium in eas dominari, et magnatus authoritatem exercere in eas, verùm non ita erit inter vos. Sed quicunque volet inter vos magnus fieri, esto vester minister; et quicunque volet inter vos primus esse, esto vester servus." Hæc tu nisi mente captus tecum facere credidisses? hisne te argumentis vincere, ut reges nostros rerum dominos existimemus? Tales in bello hostes nobis contingant, qui in castra hostium (quanquam et armatos vincere sat scimus) uti tu soles, cæci atque inermes tanquam in suos incidant: ita semper, quod tibi maximè adversatur, id demens, veluti firmissimum causæ tuæ subsidium, comparare consuevisti. Petebant Israëlitæ regem, "ut habebant omnes istæ gentes:" dissuasit Deus multis verbis, quæ Christus hic summatim complexus est, "scitis principes gentium in eas dominari:" petentibus tamen iis dedit regem Deus, quamvis iratus: Christus, ne peteret omnino Christianus populus more gentium dominaturum, adhibita cautione antevertit; "inter vos non ita erit." Quid hoc clariùs dici potuit? non erit inter vos ista regum superba dominatio, tametsi specioso titulo euergetæ et benefici vocentur; sed qui magnus inter vos fieri vult, (quis autem principe major?) "esto vester minister:" et qui primus sive "princeps, (Luc. xxii.) esto vester servus." Non erravit itaque Advocatus ille quem insectaris, sed authorem habuit Christum, si regem Christianum populi ministrum esse dixit, uti est certè omnis bonus magistratus. Rex autem inter Christianos aut omninò non erit, aut erit servus omnium; si planè vult esse dominus, esse simul Christianus non potest. Quin et Moses, legis quodammodo servilis institutor, non populo tamen superbè dominabatur, sed onus ipse populi ferebat; ferebat in sinu populum, ut nutricius lactantem; Num. xi. Nutricius autem servus est. Plato non dominos, sed servatores et adjutores, populi appellandos esse magistratus docuit; populum non servos, sed altores, magistratuum, ut qui alimenta et stipendia magistratibus etiam regibus præbeant. Eosdem Aristoteles custodes et ministros legum vocat, Plato et ministros et servos. Ministros Dei Apostolus quidem appellat, quod tamen nequaquam obstat quò minùs sint et legum et populi; tam leges enim quàm magistratus propter populum sunt. Et tamen hanc tu "Fanaticorum Angliæ Molossorum opinionem" esse clamitas. Molossos esse Anglos certè non putarem, nisi quòd tu illos, hybrida, latratu tàm degeneri oblatras; Lupi, si diis placet, Sancti Dominus: Lupus nimirum sanctus queritur Molossos esse fanaticos. Germanus olim, cujus ille Lupus Trecassinus collega fuit, incesto apud nos regi Vortigerno authoritate sua regnum abrogavit. Sanctus itaque Lupus talem te Lupi non sancti, sed famelici cujuspiam et latrunculi, dominum, illo apud Martialem viperarum domino viliorem, aspernatur: qui et latrantem ipse domi, ut ferunt, Lyciscam habes, quæ tibi miserè dominatur; cujus partim impulsu etiam scripsisse hæc diceris; unde mirum non est velle te regiam dominationem aliis obtrudere, qui fœmineum ipse domi dominatum ferre tam serviliter assuevisti. Sis itaque Lupi Dominus, sit Lupa tuî domina, sis Lupus ipse, sis Lycanthropus, molossis mehercùlè Anglicanis ludibrium debes. Verùm lupos venari nunc non est otium; sylvis itaque egressi, in viam regiam redeamus. Qui contra omnem in ecclesia primatum nuper scripsisti, nunc "Petrum Apostolicæ coronæ principem appellas." Quis tibi authoritate tam fluxa homunculo fidem ha-

beat? Quid Petrus? "subjecti estote omni humanæ ordinationi propter Dominum, sive regi ut supereminenti, sive præsidibus, ut qui per eum mittantur, ad ultionem quidem facinorosorum, laudem verò benefacientium; quoniam ita est voluntas Dei." Scripsit hæc Petrus non solùm privatis, sed etiam advenis per Minorem ferè Asiam dispersis, atque dispalatis; qui, in iis ubi degebant locis, nullius juris præterquam hospitalis capaces erant. An tu incolas, liberos, nobiles, indigenarum conventus, comitia, parlamenta idem in sua patria, quod sparsos et peregrinos in aliena, decere putas? an idem privatos decere in sua, quod senatores et magistratus, sine quibus ne reges quidem esse possunt? fac tamen indigenas fuisse, fac non privatos, sed senatum ipsum Romanum, cui hæc scripta sunt. Quid inde assequeris? cùm nullum præceptum cui ratio aliqua adjuncta est, quenquam ultra illam præcepti rationem obligare aut soleat aut possit. "Estote subjecti, ὑποτάγητε, id est, si vim verbi spectes, subordinati, seu legitimè subjecti, ἡ γὰρ τάξις νόμος, inquit Aristoteles; lex est ordo. "Subjecti estote propter Dominum." Quamobrem? quia cùm rex, tum præses, constituitur à Deo ad ultionem facinorosorum, laudem benefacientium. "Quoniam ita voluntas est Dei." Videlicet ut talibus obsequamur, quales hic describuntur; de aliis nullum hìc verbum. Vides quam optimè hujus præcepti constet ratio; addit, v. 16. "ut liberi," non ergò ut mancipia. Quid si versa vice ad crucem et perniciem bonorum, ad impunitatem et laudem et præmia facinorosorum, regnent? an in perpetuum subjecti erimus non privati solùm, sed primores, sed magistratus omnes, ipse denique senatus? Annon humana ordinatio dicitur? cur ergò potestas humana, ad constituendum quod hominibus bonum et salubre est, valebit, ad tollendum quod iisdem malum et exitiosum est, non valebit? Atqui rex ille, cui subjecti esse jubentur, erat Romæ ea tempestate Nero tyrannus; ergò tyrannis etiam subjecti esse debemus. At, inquam, et dubium hoc est, Nero an Claudius tunc temporis rerum potiretur, et illi qui subjecti esse jubentur, advenæ, dispersi, privati, non consules, non prætores, non senatus Romanus, erant. Nunc Paulum adeamus (quoniam tu quod nobis de regibus licere non vis, id tibi de Apostolis licere autumas, ut principatum Petro modò des, modo eripias): Paulus hæc ad Romanos, c. xiii. "omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subjecta esto; non est enim potestas nisi à Deo, quæ autem sunt potestates à Deo sunt ordinatæ:" Romanis hæc scribit, non, ut Petrus, advenis, dispersis, sed privatis tamen potissimum et plebeiis; ita etiam scribit, ut totam reipub. administrandæ rationem, originem, finem, luculentissimè doceat. Quò magis obedientiæ quoque nostræ vera ac distincta ratio, ab omni servitute disjuncta, eluceret. "Omnis anima," hoc est, quisque homo, "subjectus esto." Quid sibi Apostolus proponat hoc capite satis explanavit Chrysostomus, ποιεῖ τοῦτο δεικνὺς, &c. "facit hoc," inquit, "ut ostendat Christum leges suas non ad hoc induxisse, ut communem politiam everteret, sed ut in melius statueret." Non ergò ut Neronem, aut tyrannum quemvis alium supra omnem legem et pœnam constituendo, crudelissimum unius imperium in omnes mortales constabiliret. "Utque simul doceret superflua et inutilia bella non esse suscipienda," non ergò bella damnat contra tyrannum, hostem patriæ intestinum, atque adeò periculosissimum, suscepta. "Pervulgatus tunc erat hominum sermo traducens Apostolos tanquam seditiosos, et novatores, quasi omnia ad evertendum leges communes et facerent et dicerent; his nunc ora obstruit." Non ergò tyrannorum defensiones conscripserunt Apostoli, quod tu facis, sed ea fecerunt, ea docuerunt, quæ suspecta omnibus tyrannis defensione apud illos potiùs, et interpretatione quadam, egebant. Propositum Apostolo quid fuerit ex Chrysostomo vidimus; nunc verba scrutemur. "Omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subjecta esto;" quæ tamen istæ sint non statuit: non enim jura atque instituta omnium nationum abolere, unius libidini omnia permittere, in animo erat. Certè optimus quisque imperator authoritatem legum et senatûs authoritate sua longè superiorem semper agnovit. Idem apud omnes nationes non barbaras jus semper sanctissimum fuit. Unde Pindarus apud Herodotum, νόμον πάντων βασιλέα, legem omnium regem esse, dixit; Orpheus in hymnis non mortalium solum, sed immortalium etiam, regem appellat;

> Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἁγνὸν ἄνακτα
> Οὐράνιον νόμον. ———

Reddit rationem. Αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ζώων οἴηκα κρατύνει, "Lex enim sola viventium gubernaculum tenet." Plato in legibus τὸ κρατεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει, id quod in civitate plurimum debet posse, legem esse aït. In epistolis eam maximè rempub. laudat, ubi lex, et domina et rex hominum, non homines tyranni legum sunt. Eadem Aristotelis sententia in Politicis, eadem Ciceronis in Legibus, ita leges præesse magistratibus, ut magistratus præsunt populo. Cùm itaque sapientissimorum virorum judicio, prudentissimarum civitatum institutis, lex semper potestas summa atque suprema habita sit, nec evangelii doctrina cum ratione aut cum jure gentium pugnet, is utique potestatibus supereminentibus verissimè subjectus erit, qui legibus, et magistratibus juxta leges rempub. gubernantibus, ex animo paret. Non ergò solùm populo subjectionem hanc, sed regibus etiam, præcipit; qui supra leges nequaquam sunt. "Non est enim potestas nisi à Deo; id est, nulla reipub. forma, nulla homines regendi legitima ratio. Antiquissimæ etiam leges ad authorem Deum olim referebantur; est enim lex, ut Cicero in Philipp. 12. nihil aliud nisi recta et à numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans honesta, prohibens contraria. A Deo igitur est magistratuum institutio, ut eorum administratione gens humana sub legibus viveret: hanc autem vel illam administrationis formam, hos vel illos magistratus, eligendi optio proculdubio penès liberas hominum nationes semper fuit. Hinc Petrus et regem et presides ἀνθρωπίνην κτίσιν, humanam creationem, vocat; et Hosea c. 8. "constituunt reges, at non ex me; præficiunt principes quos non agnosco." In ista enim sola Hebræorum repub. ubi Deum variis modis consulere poterant, de regis nominatione ad Deum referri ex lege oportebat: cæteræ gentes mandatum à Deo nullum istiusmodi

accepimus. Aliquando aut ipsa regiminis forma, si vitiosa sit, aut illi qui potestatem obtinent, et ab hominibus, et à diabolo, sunt. Luc. 4. "Tibi dabo potestatem hanc omnem, nam mihi tradita est, et cui volo do illam." Hinc princeps hujus mundi dicitur, et Apocalyp. 13. dedit Bestiæ Draco potentiam suam, et thronum suum, et potestatem magnam. Propterea necesse est hic intelligi non potestates quascunque, sed legitimas, prout etiam infra describuntur; necesse est intelligi potestates ipsas, non semper eos qui imperium obtinent. Hinc dilucidè Chrysostomus, "Quid ais?" inquit; "omnis ergò princeps à Deo constitutus est? non dico: non enim de quovis principe, sed de ipsa re, loquitur Apostolus; non dicit, non est princeps nisi à Deo, sed non est potestas." Hæc Chrysostomus. "Quæ autem potestates sunt, à Deo sunt ordinatæ." Legitimas ergò vult hic intelligi Apostolus; malum enim et vitium, cùm ataxia sit, non est ut possit ordinari, et esse simul vitiosum. Hoc enim duo simul contraria ponit, taxin et ataxian. "Quæ autem sunt," ita interpretaris ac si diceretur, "quæ nunc sunt;" quo faciliùs probare possis etiam Neroni, qui, ut opinaris, tunc "imperavit," Romanos obtemperare debuisse; nostra sanè bona venia: quàm enim voles de Anglicana repub. malè sentias, in ea tamen Anglos acquiescere debere, quoniam "nunc est," et "à Deo ordinatur," ut Neronis olim imperium, necesse habebis concedere. Neque enim Nero minùs quàm Tiberius "artibus matris imperium nihil ad se pertinens" occupaverat, ne legitimè partum fuisse respondeas. Quò sceleratior et doctrinæ retractator ipse tuæ, Romanos potestati quæ tunc fuit subjectos esse vis, Anglos potestati quæ nunc est subjectos esse non vis. Verùm nullæ in hoc orbe terrarum res duæ magis è regione adversæ sibi sunt, quàm tu nequissimus nequissimo semper ferè adversus es tibi. Quid autem facies miser? acumine hoc tuo regem adolescentem planè perdidisti; ab ipsa enim tua sententia extorquebo ut fatearis, hanc potestatem in Anglia, quæ nunc est, à Deo ordinatam esse; atque omnes proinde Anglos intra ejusdem reipublicæ fines eidem potestati subjectos esse debere. Attendite igitur, critici, et manus abstinete; Salmasii nova hæc emendatio est, in epistola ad Romanos; non quæ sunt potestates, "sed quæ nunc existunt" reddi debere adinvenit; ut Neroni tyranno tunc scilicet imperanti subjectos esse omnes oportuisse demonstraret. At ô bone, ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσας: ut regem modò, ita nunc interpretamentum hoc tam bellum, perdidisti. Quam tu epistolam sub Nerone scriptam esse aïs, sub Claudio scripta est, principe simplici, et non malo: hoc viri docti certissimis argumentis compertum habent; quinquennium etiam Neronis laudatissimum fuit, unde argumentum hoc toties inculcatum, quod multis in ore est, multis imposuit, tyranno parendum esse, eò quòd Paulus hortatus est Romanos ut Neroni essent subjecti, callidum indocti cujuspiam commentum esse reperitur. "Qui obsistit potestati," scilicet legitimæ, "Dei ordinationi obsistit." Astringit etiam reges præceptum hoc, qui legibus et senatui obsistunt. At verò qui potestati vitiosæ, aut potestatis non vitiosæ corruptori et eversori, obsistit, an is Dei ordinationi obsistit? sanus, credo, non dixeris. Tollit omnem dubitationem sequens versiculus, de legitima tantùm potestate Apostolum hic loqui. Definiendo enim explicat, nequis errare, et opiniones hinc stolidas aucupari, possit, qui sint magistratus potestatis hujus ministri, et quam ob causam subjectos esse nos hortetur; "Magistratus non sunt timori bonis operibus, sed malis; boni à potestate hac laudem adipiscentur; magistratus minister est Dei nostro bono datus; non frustra gladium gerit, vindex ad iram ei qui malum facit." Quis negat, quis recusat, nisi improbus, quin hujusmodi potestati aut potestatis administro libens se subjiciat? non solùm ad vitandam "iram" et offensionem, aut pœnæ metu, sed etiam "propter conscientiam." Sine magistratibus enim et civili gubernatione, nulla respublica, nulla societas humana, nulla vita, esse potest. Quæ autem potestas, qui magistratus, contraria his facit, neque illa, neque hic, à Deo propriè ordinatus est. Unde neque tali vel potestati, vel magistratui, subjectio debetur aut præcipitur, neque nos prudenter obsistere prohibemur: non enim potestati, non magistratui, obsistemus, qui hic optimè depingitur, sed prædoni, sed tyranno, sed hosti; qui si magistratus tamen dicendus erit, eò duntaxat quòd habet potestatem, quòd ad pœnam nostram ordinari à Deo videri potest, etiam diabolus hoc modo magistratus erit. Sanè unius rei una vera definitio est: si ergò Paulus hic magistratum definit, quod quidem accuratè facit, eadem definitione, iisdem verbis tyrannum, rem maximè contrariam, definire non potuit. Unde quem ipse magistratum definivit atque descripsit, ei duntaxat subjectos nos esse voluisse, non ejus contrario tyranno, certissimè colligitur. "Propter hoc tributa solvitis;" rationem adjungit ad præceptum; unde Chrysostomus, "Cur," inquit, "vectigalia regi damus? annon tanquam nobis prospicienti, curæ ac tuitionis mercedem solventes? atqui nihil illi solvissemus, nisi ab initio utilem nobis talem esse præfecturam cognovissemus." Quapropter illud repetam quod suprà dixi; quandoquidem subjectio hæc non simpliciter, sed cum adjuncta ratione, à nobis requiritur, illa profectò ratio quæ adjungitur, subjectionis nostræ vera norma erit: Cum ista ratione non subjecti, rebelles; sine ista ratione subjecti, servi erimus et socordes. "At Angli," inquis, "nihil minùs quàm liberi, quia mali, quia flagitiosi." Nolo ego Gallorum vitia commemorare, quamvis sub regibus sint; neque Anglorum nimis excusare; dico tamen illa esse flagitia, quæ sub regibus, tanquam in Ægypto didicerunt; neque dum in deserto; licèt Dei sub imperio, dediscere statim potuerunt. Spes est tamen de plerisque bona; ut ne sanctissimos hic optimosque viros et veritatis studiosissimos collaudare incipiam; quorum apud nos non minorem credo esse numerum, quàm ubi tu maximum esse existimas. At "jugum Anglis durum imponitur." Quid si illis, qui jugum cæteris civibus imponere studebant? quid si suo deinde merito subactis? nam cæteri puto non molestè ferunt, exhausto civilibus bellis ærario, sumptibus propriis suam se tolerare libertatem. Relabitur jam ad rabbinos nugivendos. Regem legibus astrictum esse negat, ex iis tamen probat "læsæ majestatis reum esse posse, si jus suum patiatur imminui:"

astrictus itaque et non astrictus, reus et non reus rex, erit: adeò frequenter enim solet repugnare sibi, ut ipsa repugnantia huic homini germana atque gemella esse videatur. Atqui Deus, inquis, multa regna Nebuchadnezzari in servitutem dedit. Fateor ad certum tempus dedisse, Jer. 27. 7. Anglos in servitutem Carolo Stuarto ad semihorulam dedisse ostende; permisisse non negaverim, dedisse nunquam audivi. Aut si Deus in servitutem dat populum, quoties tyrannus plus populo potest, cur non idem liberare dicendus erit, quoties plus potest populus tyranno? an is Deo tyrannidem suam, nos Deo libertatem nostram, acceptam non feremus? Non est malum in civitate quod Deus non immittat, Amos 3. famem, pestilentiam, seditionem, hostem; ecquod nam horum civitas ab se non totis viribus amolietur? faciet profectò, si possit, quamvis ab ipso Deo immissa hæc esse sciat; nisi è cœlo ipse secùs jusserit, Cur non tyrannos pariter amovebit, si plus polleat? an ejus unius impotentiam ad commune malum esse magis à Deo credemus, quàm potentiam totius civitatis ad commune bonum? Absit à civitatibus, absit ab omni cœtu hominum ingenuorum, doctrinæ tam stupidæ, tamque pestiferæ, labes, quæ vitam omnem civilem funditus delet, gentem humanam universam, propter unum atque alterum tyrannum, ad quadrupedum propè conditionem detrudit: cum illi supra omnem legem excelsi par in utrunque genus et pecudum et hominum jus atque imperium obtinebunt. Mitto jam stulta illa dilemmata, in quibus et te jactes, nescio quem fingis, "potestatem illam supereminentem de populo velle intelligere;" tametsi affirmare non dubito omnem magistratûs authoritatem à populo proficisci. Hinc Cicero pro Flacco, "Illi nostri sapientissimi et sanctissimi majores, quæ scisceret plebs, quæ populus juberet, juberi vetarique voluerunt." Hinc Lucius Crassus, orator eximius, et senatûs eo tempore princeps, cujus tum causam agebat ad populum. "Nolite," inquit, "sinere nos cuiquam servire, nisi vobis universis, quibus et possumus et debemus." Quamvis enim senatus populum regeret, populus tamen illam moderandi et regendi sui potestatem senatui tradiderat. Unde majestatem populo Romano frequentiùs quàm regibus olim attributam legimus. Idem Marcus Tullius pro Plancio; "Est enim conditio liberorum populorum, præcipueque hujus principis populi et omnium gentium domini, posse suffragiis vel dare vel detrahere quod velit cuique; nostrum est ferre modicè populi voluntates: honores si magni non putemus, non servire populo; sin eos expetamus, non defatigari supplicando." Egone ut regem populi servum dicere metuam, cùm senatus Romanus, tot regum dominus, servum se populi professus sit? Vera sunt hæc, inquies, in populari statu; nondum enim lex regia potestatem populi in Augustum, et successores ejus, transtulerat. Hem tibi ergò Tiberium illum, quem tu "tyrannum, plus vice simplici," fuisse aïs, ut revera fuit; is tamen dominus, etiam post legem illam regiam, appellatus à quodam, ut tradit Suetonius, denuntiavit ne se ampliùs contumeliæ causâ nominaret. Audisne? tyrannus iste dominus dici contumeliæ sibi duxit. Idem in senatu, "Dixi et nunc, et sæpe aliàs, patres conscripti, bonum et salutarem principem, quem vos tanta et tam libera potestate instruxistis, senatui servire debere, et universis civibus sæpe, et plerunque etiam singulis; neque id dixisse me pœnitet; et bonos et æquos et faventes vos habui dominos, et adhuc habeo." Nec simulata hæc ab eo si dixeris, ut erat simulandi callidissimus, quicquam proficies; quis enim id videri se cupit, quod esse non debet? Hinc ille mos non Neroni solùm, quod scribit Tacitus, sed cæteris etiam imperatoribus fuit, populum in circo adorandi. De quo Claudianus, VI. Cons. Honorii.

> O quantum populo secreti numinis addit
> Imperii præsens species, quantamque rependit
> Majestas alterna vicem, cum regia circi
> Connexum gradibus veneratur purpura vulgus,
> Consensuque cavæ sublatus in æthera vallis
> Plebis adoratæ reboat fragor.——"

Qua adoratione quid aliud imperatores Romani, nisi universam plebem, etiam post legem regiam, suos esse dominos fatebantur? Atque illud est, quod initio statim suspicatus sum, te glossariis pervolutandis, et tricis quibusdam laboriosis magnificè divulgandis, operam potiùs dedisse, quàm bonis authoribus attentè et studiosè perlegendis; qui veterum scriptorum sapientia ne leviter quidem imbutus, rem præstantissimorum opinionibus philosophorum, et prudentissimorum in republica principum, dictis celebratissimam, novam esse prorsus, et "enthusiastarum" tantummodò "deliriis" somniatam, censes. I nunc, Martinum illum sutorem, et Gulielmum Pellionem, quos adeò despicis, ignorantiæ collegas et mystagogos tibi sume: quanquam erudire te poterunt illi, et illos tibi gryphos dissolvere stolidissimos, "An in democratia serviat populus, cùm serviat rex in monarchia; utrùm totus an pars ejus?" Ita illi, cum tibi Œdipi vice fuerint, tu illis Sphinx in malam rem præceps abeas licebit; alioquin fatuitatum tuarum et ænigmatum finem nullum fore video. Rogas, "Cùm reges Apostolus nominat, an de populo eos intelligemus?" Pro regibus quidem orandum esse Paulus docet, 1 Tim. ii. 2. at priùs pro populo orandum esse docuerat, "v. 1. Sunt tamen et de regibus, et de populo nonnulli, pro quibus orare etiam vetamur. Pro quo non orem, eùmne ex lege non puniam? quid vetat? Atqui "cum hæc scriberet Paulus, imperabant vel pessimi;" hoc etiam falsum est, scriptam enim sub Claudio et hanc epistolam fuisse certissimis argumentis evincit Ludovicus Capellus. De Nerone cùm mentionem facit Paulus, non regem, sed "leonem," id est belluam immanem, vocat, cujus ex ore ereptum se gaudet, 2 Tim. iv. Pro regibus itaque, non pro belluis, "orandum, ut vitam tranquillam et quietam transigamus, cum pietate" tamen "omni et honestate." Vides non tam regum hìc quàm tranquillitatis, pietatis, honestatis, etiam rationem esse habendam. Quis autem populus non se suosque liberos tuendo (contra tyrannum an contra hostem nihil interest) vitam "sollicitam, inquietam," bellicosam, honestam, agere, quàm sub hoste vel tyranno, non solùm æquè sollicitam et inquietam, sed turpem etiam, servilem, et inhonestam. Teipsum testem adhibebo, non quo tanti sis, sed ut perspiciant omnes quàm sis duplex, et fraudulentus, et mancipium regis mercenarium.

"Quis," inquis, "non perferre mallet in repub. aristocratica ex optimatum æmulatione dissensiones oriri solitas, quàm ex uno monarcha, tyrannico more imperare consueto, certam miseriam ac perniciem? Populus Romanus prætulit statum illum reipub. quantumlibet discordiis agitatæ jugo Cæsarum intolerabili. Populus, qui vidandæ seditionis causâ monarchicum statum præoptavit, ubi expertus est levius esse malum quod vitare voluit, ad priora sæpe redire expetit." Hæc et plura tua verba sunt in illa de episcopis dissertatione, sub Walonis Messalini adscititio nomine edita, p. 412. contra Petavium Loiolitam, cùm ipse magis Loiolita sis, et eo de grege pessimus. Quid hac de re Scriptura sacra statuerit, et vidimus et omni diligentia investigâsse non pœnitet: unde quid senserint patres antiqui per tot ingentia volumina exquirere pretium fortasse operæ non erit. Si quid enim afferunt, quod Scriptura non exhibuit, eorum authoritatem, quantacunque sit, meritò repudiamus. Quod autem ex Irenæo profers, "reges Dei jussu constitui aptos his qui in illo tempore ab iis reguntur," cum Scriptura pugnat evidentissimè. Cùm enim judices ad regendum populum suum aptiores regibus esse palàm significâsset Deus, id tamen totum voluntati atque arbitrio populi permisit, ut aptiorem sibi sub optimatibus formam reipub. deteriore sub regibus, si vellent, permutarent. Legimus etiam sæpe regem malum bono populo datum, et contra, regem bonum populo malo. Virorum itaque sapientissimorum est perspicere quid populo aptissimum et utilissimum sit: constat enim neque omni populo, neque eidem semper, eundem reipub. statum convenire, sed vel hunc vel illum, prout civium virtus et industria nunc augescit, nunc minuitur. Qui tamen potestatem adimit populo eligendi sibi quam velit reipub. formam, adimit profectò id in quo civilis libertas tota ferè consistit. Citas deinde Justinum Martyrem, Antoninis imperatorum optimis obsequium deferentem; quisnam iis tam egregiis et moderatis non detulisset? "At quantò, inquis, nos hodie pejores Christiani? tulerunt illi principem diversæ religionis." Privati scilicet, et viribus longè inferiores. "Nunc sanè pontificii regem non ferrent reformatum," nec "reformati pontificium." Facis tu quidem prudenter, ut ostendas te nec pontificium esse, nec reformatum; facis etiam liberaliter; ultrò enim largiris quod nunc non petivimus, omnes hodie Christianos in hoc planè consentire, quod tu solus insigni audacia atque scelere oppugnas, patrum etiam quos laudas dissimillimus; illi enim pro Christianis, ad profanos reges, defensionis conscribebant, tu pro rege pontificio atque deterrimo contra Christianos et Reformatos. Multa deinde ex Athenagora, multa ex Tertulliano, futiliter depromis, quæ ab ipsis Apostolis multò clariùs et explanatiùs dicta jam sunt. Tertullianus autem longissimè à te dissentit, qui regem vis esse dominum: quod tu aut nescivisti, aut nequiter dissimulâsti. Is enim christianus ad imperatorem ethnicum in Apologetico ausus est scribere, non oportere imperatorem appellari dominum. "Augustus," inquit, "imperii formator, ne dominum quidem dici se volebat, hoc enim Dei est cognomen: dicam planè imperatorem dominum; sed quando non cogor ut dominum Dei vice dicam: cæterùm liber sum illi, Dominus meus Deus unus est," &c.; et ibidem "qui pater patriæ est, quomodo dominus est?" Gratulare nunc tibi de Tertulliano, quem sanè præstabat missum fecisse. "At parricidas appellat qui Domitianum interfecerunt." Rectè appellat; uxoris enim et famulorum insidiis, à Parthenio, et Stephano interceptarum pecuniarum reo, est interfectus. Quod si senatus populusque Romanus hostem judicatum, ut Neronem priùs judicabant, et ad supplicium quærebant, more majorum punivissent, eos parricidas appellaturum fuisse censes? immo si appellâsset, dignus ipse supplicio fuisset; uti tu furcâ jam dignus es. Origeni responsum idem quadrabit quod Irenæo. Athanasius reges terræ ad humana tribunalia vocare nefarium esse dicit. Quis hoc dixit Athanasio? verbum enim Dei nullum hìc audio. Credam itaque ego imperatoribus potiùs et regibus, de se falsum hoc esse fatentibus, quàm Athanasio. Adfers deinde Ambrosium ex proconsule et catechumeno episcopum, verba illa Davidis, "tibi soli peccavi," imperitè, ne dicam assentatoriè, interpretantem. Volebat is omnes alios imperatori subjectos esse, ut imperatorem ipse subjiceret sibi. Quàm enim superbè, et fastu plusquàm pontificio, Theodosium imperatorem Mediolani tractaverit, cœdis Thessalonicensis reum ipse judicaverit, ingressu ecclesiæ prohibuerit, quàm se deinde novitium et rudem evangelicæ doctrinæ ostenderit, omnibus notum est. Imperatorem ad pedes ejus provolutum excedere salutatorio jussit; sacris tandem restitutum, et postquam obtulisset, altari adstantem his vocibus extra cancellos exegit. "O imperator, interiora loca tantùm sacerdotibus sunt attributa, quæ cæteris contingere non licet." Doctorne hic evangelii, an Judaïcorum pontifex rituum fuit? Hic tamen (quæ omnium ferè ecclesiasticorum artes sunt) imperatorem cæteris dominum imposuit, ut imperatoris ipse dominus esset. His itaque verbis Theodosium tanquam sibi subjectum repulit; "Coæqualium hominum es imperator et conservorum; unus enim omnium dominus rex et Creator." Bellè profectò; quam veritatem calliditas et assentatio episcoporum obscuravit, eam iracundia unius, et ut molliùs dicam, zelus ineruditus, protulit in lucem. Ambrosii imperitiæ tuam subjungis ignorantiam aut hæresin, qui disertè negas "sub veteri fœdere remissionem peccatorum per sanguinem Christi locum tunc habuisse, cum David Deo confitebatur ei soli se peccavisse." p. 68. Orthodoxi, non nisi per sanguinem agni mactati ab initio mundi, peccata unquam remissa fuisse credunt; te novum hæreticum cujusnam discipulus sis nescio; certè summi Theologi discipulus ille, quem exagitas, à vero non aberravit, cum dixit potuisse quemvis è populo pari jure cum Davide Deum his verbis inclamâsse, "tibi soli peccavi." Augustinum deinde ostentas; clericos Hipponenses nescio quos producis; nam Augustini quæ sunt abs te allata nobis non obsunt. Quidni enim fateamur cum propheta Daniële, Deum tempora mutare, regna dare, et regna auferre, per homines tamen. Si regnum Deus solus Carolo dedit, idem Carolo abstulit, optimatibus et populo dedit. Si ea de causa præstandam Carolo obedientiam fuisse dicis, eandem nunc

magistratibus nostris præstandam esse dicas necesse est. Nam Deum et nostris etiam magistratibus candem dedisse potestatem, quam dat malis regibus "ad castiganda populi peccata," ipse concedis; nostros itaque à Deo pariter constitutos removere à magistratu nemo, vel tuo judicio, nisi Deus potest. Atque ita, uti soles, tuum tibi ipse mucronem in temet vertis, tuus tibi ipse sicarius es; neque injuriâ, cum eò improbitatis et impudentiæ processeris, eò stuporis et insaniæ, ut quos digito violandos non esse tot argumentis probas, eosdem omnium suorum bello persequendos esse idem affirmes. Ismaëlem, Godoliæ præfecti interfectorem, ab Hieronymo parricidam esse nominatum aïs, et meritò; præsidem enim Judææ, virum bonum, sine ulla causa interemit. Idem Hieronymus in Ecclesiasten, præceptum illud Solomonis, "Os regis observa," cum præcepto Pauli concordare dixit; et laudandus quidem, quòd locum istum cæteris sui temporis moderatiùs exposuit. "Ad inferiora tempora post Augustinum non descendes, ut doctorum sententiam exquiras." Ut omnes tamen intelligant faciliùs mentiri te posse quàm tacere, si quos adhuc haberes tuæ sententiæ fautores, post unam statim periodum non temperas tibi, quò minùs ad Hispalensem Isidorum, Gregorium Turonensem Ottonem, Frinsingensem etiam in mediam barbariem, descendas. Quorum authoritas quàm nullius apud nos pretii sit si modò scivisses, non huc eorum obscurum testimonium per mendacium adduxisses. Vultis scire cur ad hæc tempora descendere non audet, cur abdit se, cur subitò evanescit? dicam: quot sunt Ecclesiæ Reformatæ præstantissimi doctores, tot videt acerrimos sibi adversarios fore. Faciat modò periculum, sentiet quàm facilè reluctantem, omnes in unum vires conferentem, Lutheris, Zuingliis, Calvinis, Buceris, Martyribus, Paræis, in aciem eductis fundam atque obruam. Leidenses etiam tuos tibi opponam, quorum academia, quorum respub. florentissima, libertatis olim domicilium, isti denique literarum humaniorum fontes atque rivi, servilem illam æruginem tuam, et innatam barbariem, eluere non potuerunt. Qui cùm theologum orthodoxum habeas neminem tibi faventem, quem tuo commodo nominare possis, omnium præsidio reformatorum nudatus, confugere ad Sorbonam non erubescis: quod tu collegium doctrinæ pontificiæ addictissimum nullius apud orthodoxos authoritatis esse non ignoras. Sorbonæ igitur absorbendum tam sceleratum tyrannidis propugnatorem tradimus; tam vile mancipium nostrum esse nolumus; qui "populum universum regi ignavissimo parem esse" negat. Frustra id in papam deonerare atque transferre contendis, quod omnes liberæ nationes, omnis religio, omnes orthodoxi, sibi sumunt, in se suscipiunt. Papa quidem cum episcopis suis, dum tenuis et nullarum virium erat, tuæ hujus fœdissimæ doctrinæ author primus extitit; iis demùm artibus magnas opes, magnamque potentiam, paulatim adeptus, tyrannorum ipse maximus evasit. Quos tamen omnes sibi firmissimè devinxit, cùm populis, quorum animos jamdiu superstitione oppressos tenuerat, suaderet, non posse regibus quamlibet pessimis, nisi se fidelitatis sacramentum solvente, imperium abrogari. Verùm tu scriptores orthodoxos devitas, et quæ communis et notissima ipsorum sententia est, eam à papa introductam esse causatus, veritatem in invidiam rapere conaris. Quod nisi astutè faceres, appareret te neque papanum esse neque reformatum, sed nescio quem semibarbarum Edomæum Herodianum, qui tyrannum quemque immanissimum, tanquam Messiam cœlo demissum, colas atque adores. "Demonstrâsse te" hoc dicis "ex doctrina patrum, primorum quatuor sæculorum, quæ sola evangelica et christiana censeri debet." Periit huic homini pudor; quàm multa sunt ab illis dicta atque scripta, quæ Christus et Apostoli neque docuerunt neque approbârunt? quàm multa in quibus reformati omnes à patribus dissentiunt? Quid autem ex patribus demonstravisti? "reges etiam malos à Deo constitui." Fac esse constitutos, ut omnia etiam mala quodammodo à Deo constituuntur: "eos proinde Deum solum habere judicem, supra leges esse, nulla lege scripta, non scripta, naturali, neque divina, posse reos fieri à subditis, neque apud subditos suos." Quare? certè nulla lex vetat, nulla reges excipit: ratio, et jus, et fas omne, animadverti in omnes qui peccant indiscriminatim jubet. Neque tu legem ullam scriptam, non scriptam, naturalem, aut divinam, protulisti quæ vetaret. Cur ergò non in reges quoque animadvertendum? "quia sunt etiam mali à Deo constituti." Nebulonem te magis an bardum et caudicem esse dicam? nequissimus sis oportet, qui doctrinam perniciosissimam in vulgus disseminare audeas, stupidissimus, qui ratione tam stolida maximè nitaris. Dixit Deus, Isaiæ 54. "Ego creavi interfectorem ad perdendum;" ergò interfector supra leges est; excute hæc, et pervolve quantum voles, parem utrobique consequentiam invenies. Nam et papa etiam eodem modo, quo tyrannus, à Deo est constitutus, et ecclesiæ in pœnam datus, quod supra ex scriptis etiam tuis ostendimus; tamen "quia in fastigium potestatis non ferendum, tyrannidi non absimilis, primatum suum evexit, cùm eum, tum episcopos, meliori jure tollendos esse" affirmas "quàm fuere constituti." Wal. Mes. p. 412. Papam et episcopos, quamvis ab irato Deo constitutos, ex ecclesia tollendos esse aïs, quia sunt tyranni; tyrannos ex repub. tollendos esse negas quia sunt ab irato Deo constituti. Ineptè prorsus et absurdè: cùm enim papa ipsam conscientiam, quæ sola regnum ejus est, invito quoquam lædere non possit, cum, qui revera tyrannus esse non potest, quasi tyrannum gravissimum tollendum esse clamas; tyrannum autem verum, qui vitam et facultates nostras omnes in potestate sua habet, et sine quo papa in ecclesia tyrannus esse nequit, eum in repub. omnino ferendum esse contendis. Hæc tua sibi invicem collata tam imperitum te tamque puerilem sive falsi sive veri argutatorem produnt, ut levitas tua, inscitia, temeritas, incogitantia, neminem posthac latere queat. At ratio subest altera, "rerum vices inversæ viderentur," quippe in melius; actum enim esset de rebus humanis, si quæ res pessimo loco sunt, in eodem semper starent: in melius inquam; authoritas enim regia ad populum rediret, ab cujus voluntate atque suffragiis profecta primò, atque in unum ex suo numero derivata erat: potestas ab eo qui injuriam intulit, ad eum qui

injuriam est passus, æquissima lege transiret; cùm tertius nemo inter homines idoneus esse possit, alienigenam enim judicare quis ferret? omnes æquè homines legibus tenerentur, quo nihil justius esse potest: deus mortalis nemo esset. Quem qui inter homines constituit, non minùs in rempub. scelestus est, quàm in ecclesiam. Tuis iterum in te armis utar. "Maximam hæresin esse" aïs "qua creditur unum hominem in loco Christi sedere: duæ hæ notæ antichristum signant, infallibilitas in spiritualibus, et omnipotentia in temporalibus," Apparat. ad Primat. p. 171. An reges infallibiles? Cur ergò omnipotentes? aut si hoc sunt, cur minùs exitiales rebus civilibus quàm papa spiritualibus? An verò Deus res civiles prorsus non curat? si non curat, certè nos curare non prohibet; si curat, eandem in republica reformationem atque in ecclesia vult fieri; præsertim si infallibilitatem et omnipotentiam attributam homini easdem malorum omnium utrinque causas esse exploratum sit. Non enim in negotiis civilibus eam patientiam præcepit, ut sævissimum quemlibet tyrannum respublica ferret, ecclesia non ferret; immò contrarium potiùs præcepit: et ecclesiæ quidem nulla arma præter patientiam, innocentiam, preces, et disciplinam evangelicam, reliquit; reipublicæ et magistratibus simul omnibus non patientiam, sed leges et gladium, injuriarum et violentiæ vindicem, in manus tradidit. Unde hujus hominis perversum et præposterum ingenium aut mirari subit aut ridere; qui in ecclesia Helvidius est et Thraseas et planè tyrannicida; in republica commune omnium tyrannorum mancipium et satelles. Cujus sententia si locum habeat, non nos solùm rebellavimus, qui regem, sed reformati etiam omnes, qui papam dominum invitis regibus, rejecerunt. Jamdiu autem est quòd suis ipse telis concisus jacet. Sic enim homo est, modò manus adversarii ne desit, ipse in se tela abundè suppeditat: nec quisquam ad refutandum se, aut irridendum, commodiores ansas ministrat. Defessus etiam cædendo citius quis abscedat, quàm hic terga præbendo.

CAPUT IV.

Magnam à regibus iniisse te gratiam, omnes principes et terrarum dominos demeruisse, defensione hac regia te fortè putas, Salmasi, cùm illi, si bona sua, remque suam, ex veritate potius quàm ex adulationibus tuis vellent æstimare, neminem te pejus odisse, neminem à se longiùs abigere atque arcere, debeant. Dum enim regiam potestatem supra leges in immensum extollis, admones eàdem operâ omnes ferè populos servitutis suæ nec opinatæ; eoque vehementiùs impellis ut veternum illum, quo se esse liberos inaniter somniabant, repentè excutiant; moniti abs te, quod non putabant, servos se esse regum. Eoque minùs tolerandum sibi esse regium imperium existimabunt, quò magis tu iis persuasum reddideris tam infinitam potestatem non sua patientiâ crevisse, sed ab initio talem atque tantam ipso jure regio natam fuisse. Ita te, tuamque hanc defensionem, sive populo persuaseris, sive non persuaseris, omnibus posthac regibus funestam, exitialem, et execrabilem, fore necesse erit. Si enim populo persuaseris, jus regium omnipotens esse, regnum amplius non feret; si non persuaseris, non feret reges, dominationem tuam injustam pro jure usurpantes. Me si audiant, quibus integrum hoc est, seque circumscribi legibus patiantur, pro incerto, imbecillo, violento, imperio quod nunc habent, curarum atque formidinum pleno, firmissimum, pacatissimum, ac diuturnum, sibi conservabunt. Consilium hoc sibi, suisque regnis, adeò salutiferum si propter authorem contempserint, sciant non tam esse meum, quàm regis olim sapientissimi. Lycurgus enim Spartanorum rex, antiqua regum stirpe oriundus, cùm propinquos videret suos Argis et Messenæ rerum potitos, regnum quemque suum in tyrannidem convertisse, sibique pariter suisque civitatibus exitio fuisse, ut patriæ simul saluti consuleret, et dignitatem in familia sua regiam quàm diutissimè conservaret, consortem imperii senatum, et ephororum potestatem in ipsum regem quasi censoriam, firmamentum regno suo, indixit. Quo facto regnum suis nepotibus firmissimum in multa secula transmisit. Sive, ut alii volunt, Theopompi, qui centum ampliùs annis post Lycurgum Lacedæmone regnabat, ea moderatio fuit, ut popularem ephororum potestatem superiorem quam suam constitueret, eoque facto gloriatus est stabilivisse se regnum, multoque majus ac diuturnius filiis reliquisse; exemplum profectò haud ignobile hodierni reges ad imitandum habuerint, eundem etiam consilii tutissimi authorem egregium. Majorem enim legibus dominum, ut perferrent homines hominem omnes unum, nulla lex unquam sanxit; ne potuit quidem sancire. Quæ enim lex leges omnes evèrtit, ipsa lex esse non potest. Cùm itaque eversorem te, et parricidam legum omnium, rejiciant ab se leges, exemplis redintegrare certamen, hoc capite, conaris. Faciamus itaque periculum in exemplis: sæpe enim, quod leges tacent, et tacendo tantùm innuunt, id exempla evidentiùs docent. Ab Judæis auspicabimur, voluntatis divinæ consultissimis; "postea ad Christianos" tecum "descendemus." Initium autem altiùs petitum ab eo tempore faciemus, quo Israëlitæ, regibus quocunque modo subjecti, jugum illud servile cervicibus dejecerunt. Rex Moabitarum Eglon Israëlitas bello subegerat; sedem imperii inter ipsos Hierichunte posuerat: numinis contemptor non erat, facta enim Dei mentione, è solio surrexit: servierant Israëlitæ Egloni annos duodeviginti; non ut hosti, sed ut suo regi, munus miserant. Hunc tamen dum publicè munerantur ut regem suum, interficiunt per insidias ut hostem. Verùm Ehudes, qui interfecit, Dei monitu id fecisse creditur. Quid factum hujusmodi commendare magis potuit? Ad honesta enim quæque et laudabilia hortari solet Deus, non ad injusta, infida, truculenta. Expressum autem Dei mandatum habuisse nusquam legimus, "clamârunt filii Israëlis ad Jehovam;" clamavimus et nos: excitavit iis Jehova servatorem; excitavit et nobis. Ille ex vicino domesticus, ex hoste rex, factus erat; noster ex rege hostis: non ergo rex erat; nam neque civis ullo modo esse potest, qui reipublicæ est

hostis; nequé consul habebatur Antonius, neque Nero imperator, ex quo uterque hostis à senatu est judicatus. Quod Cicero quarta Philippica de Antonio clarissimè docet: "Si consul Antonius, Brutus hostis; si conservator reipublicæ Brutus, hostis Antonius. Quis illum consulem, nisi latrones, putant?" Pari ego jure, quis tyrannum, inquam, regem, nisi hostes patriæ, putant? Fuerit itaque Eglon externus, fuerit noster domesticus necne, quandoquidem uterque hostis et tyrannus, parum refert. Si illum Ehudes jure trucidavit, nos nostrum supplicio jure affecimus. Quin et heros ille Sampson, incusantibus etiam popularibus suis, (Jud. 15.) "An nesciebas Phelisthæos dominium habere in nos?" suis tamen dominis bellum solus intulit, neque unum sed multos simul patriæ suæ tyrannos, sive Dei, sive propriæ virtutis instinctu, occidit; conceptis priùs ad Deum precibus ut auxilio sibi esset. Non impium ergò sed pium Sampsoni visum est, dominos, patriæ tyrannos occidere; cum tamen pars major civium servitutem non detrectaret. At David, rex et propheta, noluit Saulem interimere "unctum Dei." Non quicquid noluit David, continuò nos obligat ut nolimus; noluit David privatus; id statim nolle synedrium, parlamentum, totum populum, necesse erit? noluit inimicum dolo occidere, nolet ergò magistratus noxium lege punire? noluit regem occidere, timebit ergò senatus tyrannum plectere? religio erat illi unctum Dei interficere, an ergò religio erit populo unctum suum capitis damnare? præsertim qui unctionem illam, vel sacram vel civilem, totus cruore civium delibutus, tam longa hostilitate aboleverat? Equidem reges, vel quos Deus per prophetas unxit, vel quos ad certum opus, sicuti olim Cyrum, nominatim destinavit, Isa. 44. unctos Domini agnosco; cæteros vel populi, vel militum, vel factionis tantummodò suæ, unctos esse arbitror. Verum ut concedam tibi omnes reges esse unctos Domini; esse tamen idcirco supra leges, non esse ob scelera quæcunque puniendos, nunquam evinces. Quid enim? et sibi et privatis quibusdam interdixit David, ne extenderent manus suas in unctum Domini. At regibus interdixit ipse Dominus, Psal. 105. ne attingerent unctos suos, id est, populum suum. Unctionem sui populi prætulit unctioni, siqua erat, regum. An ergò fideles punire, si quid contra leges commiserint, non licebit? Unctum Domini sacerdotem, Abiatharem, prope erat ut rex Solomon morte multaret; neque illi, quòd unctos Domini esset, pepercit, sed quòd patris fuerat amicus. Si ergò summum sacerdotem, summum eundem in plerisque magistratum, unctio illa Domini, et sacra et civilis, eximere supplicio non potuit, cur unctio tantum civilis tyrannum eximeret? At "Saul quoque tyrannus erat, et morte dignus;" esto: non inde enim sequetur, dignum aut idoneum fuisse Davidem, qui sine populi authoritate, aut magistratuum jussu, Saulem regem quocunque in loco interficeret. Itane verò Saul tyrannus erat? Utinam diceres; quinimmo dicis; cùm tamen suprà dixeris, cap. 2. pag. 32. "Tyrannum non fuisse, sed bonum et electum." Ecquid causæ est nunc cur in foro quadruplator aut falsarius quispiam stigmate notetur, tu eadem careas ignominiæ nota? cùm meliori profectò fide sycophantari soleant illi, quàm tu scribere, et res vel maximi momenti tractare. Saul igitur, si id ex usu est tuo, bonus erat rex; sin id minus tibi expedit, repentè non rex bonus, sed tyrannus erit; quod certè mirum non est; dum enim potentiæ tyrannicæ tam impudenter lenocinaris, quid aliud facis quàm ex bonis regibus tyrannos omnes. At verò David, quamvis regem socerum multis de causis, quæ ad nos nihil attinent, interimere nollet, sui tamen tuendi causâ copias comparare, Saulis urbes vel occupare vel insidere, non dubitavit; et Cheilam oppidum contra Saulem etiam præsidio tenuisset, nisi oppidanos erga se malè animatos cognovisset. Quid si Saul, urbe obsessa, scalis muro admotis, primus ascendere voluisset, an censes Davidem arma protinus abjecturum, suos omnes uncto hosti proditurum fuisse? non existimo. Quidni enim fecisset quod nos fecimus, qui, rationum suarum necessitate coactus, Phelisthæis patriæ hostibus operam prolixè suam pollicitus, id fecit contra Saulem, quod nos in nostrum tyrannum credo nunquam fecissemus? Pudet me, et jam diu pertæsum est, mendaciorum tuorum; "Inimicis potiùs parcendum quàm amicis," Anglorum esse dogma fingis; "seque regi suo parcere non debuisse, quia amicus erat." Quis unquam hoc prius audivit, quàm à te confictum esset, hominum mendacissime? Verùm ignoscimus: deerat nempe huic capiti præstantissimum illud et tritissimum orationis tuæ pigmentum, jam quintò, et ante finem libri decies, ex loculis tuis et myrotheciis expromendum, "molossis suis ferociores." Non tam Angli suis molossis ferociores sunt, quàm tu cane quovis rabido jejunior, qui ad illam, quam toties evomuisti, cramben duris ilibus identidem redire sustines. David denique Amalechitam interfici jussit, Saulis, ut simulavit ipse, interfectorem; nulla hic neque facti neque personarum similitudo. Quòd nisi David ad Phelisthæos defecisse, et pars eorum exercitûs fuisse visus, eò diligentiùs omnem à se suspicionem maturandæ regi necis amovere studuit, non erat, meo quidem judicio, cur virum illum tam malè exciperet, qui moribundum jam regem, et ægrè morientem, opportuno vulnere se confecisse nuntiavit. Quod idem factum in Domitiano, qui Epaphroditum similiter capite damnavit, eò quòd Neronem in adipiscenda morte adjuvisset, ab omnibus reprehenditur. Nova deinde audacia quem tyrannum modò dixeras, et "malo spiritu agitatum," hunc non jam satis habes unctum Domini, sed "Christum Domini" vocare; adeò tibi vile Christi nomen videtur, ut illo tam sancto nomine vel dæmoniacum tyrannum impertire non metuas. Venio nunc ad exemplum illud, in quo, qui jus populi jure regis antiquius esse non videt, cæcus sit oportet. Mortuo Solomone, populus de constituendo ejus filio Sechemi comitia habebat; profectus est eò Roboamus candidatus, ne regnum tanquam hæreditatem adire, ne populum liberum tanquam paternos boves possidere, videretur: proponit populus conditiones regni futuri; ad deliberandum rex triduum sibi dari postulat; consulit seniores; nihil illi de jure regio, sed ut populum obsequio et pollicitationibus conciliet sibi, suadent, penès quem erat, vel illum creare regem vel præterire. Consulit deinde æquales suos, secum à pueris educatos; illi, Salmasiano quodam

senio perciti, nil præter jus regium intonare, scuticas et scorpiones ut minitetur hortari. Horum ex consilio respondit Roboamus populo. Videns itaque totus Israël regem "non auscultâsse sibi," suam protinus libertatem et populare jus liberis palàm vocibus testatur. "Quæ nobis portio cum Davide? ad tentoria tua, Israël; jam ipse videris de domo tua, David." Missum deinde à rege Adoramum lapidibus obruerunt; exemplum fortasse aliquod etiam in regem edituri, nisi maxima celeritate se in fugam contulisset. Parat ingentem exercitum, quo in suam ditionem Israëlitas redigeret: prohibet Deus; "ne ascendite," inquit, "ne pugnate contra fratres vestros, filios Israëlis, nam à me facta est res ista." Adverte jam animum; populus antea regem volebat, displicuit id Deo; eorum tamen juri noluit intercedere: nunc populus Roboamum non vult regem, id Deus non solùm penès populum esse sinit, sed regem eo nomine bella moventem vetat ac reprimit: nec ideo rebelles, sed nihilo minùs fratres, eos qui desciverant appellandos esse docet. Collige te nunc jam; sunt omnes, inquis, reges à Deo, ergo populus vel tyrannis resistere non debet. Vicissim ego, sunt, inquam, populi conventus, comitia, studia, suffragia, plebiscita pariter à Deo, teste hîc ipso; ergò et rex itidem resistere non debet populo, authore etiam eodem Deo. Quàm enim certum est, esse hodie reges à Deo, quàmque hoc valet ad imperandam populo obedientiam, tam est certam esse à Deo etiam hodie libera populi concilia, tamque hoc valet vel ad cogendos in ordinem reges, vel ad rejiciendos; neque magis propterea bellum populo inferre debebunt, quàm debuit Roboamus. Quæris cur ergò non defecerint Israëlitæ à Solomone? quis præter te tam stulta interrogaret, cùm defecisse constet impunè à tyranno? In tia quædam lapsus est Solomon; non idcirco statim tyrannus: sua vitia magnis virtutibus, magnis de repub. meritis, compensabat: fac tyrannum fuisse; sæpe est ut populus nolit tyrannum tollere, sæpe est ut non possit: satis est sustulisse cùm potuerit. At "factum Jeroboami semper improbatum fuit, et apostasia ejus detestata, successores ejus pro rebellibus semper habiti." Apostasiam ejus non à Roboamo, sed à vero cultu Dei, reprehensam sæpiùs lego; et successores quidem ejus sæpe reprobos, rebelles nusquam, dictos memini. "Si quid fiat," inquis, "juri et legibus contrarium, ex eo jus fieri non potest." Quid quæso tum fiet juri regio? Sic tuus ipse perpetuò refutatores. "Quotidie," inquis, "adulteria, homicidia, furta, impunè committuntur." An nescis nunc te tibi respondere quærenti cur toties tyrannis impunè fuerit? "Rebelles fuerunt isti reges, prophetæ tamen populum ab eorum subjectione non abducebant." Cur ergò, sceleste, et pseudopropheta, populum Anglicanum à suis magistratibus, tuo sint licèt judicio rebelles, abducere conaris? "Allegat," inquis, "Anglicani latrocinii factio, se ad id scelus, quod tam nefariè suscepit, nescio qua voce cœlitùs missa impulsos fuisse." Primùm delirâsse te cum hæc scriberes planè video, neque mentis neque latinitatis compotem satis fuisse: deinde Anglos hoc unquam allegâsse, de innumeris mendaciis et figmentis tuis est unum. Sed pergo exemplis tecum agere; Libna, urbs validissima, ab Joramo rege defecit, quia dereliquerat Deum; defecit ergò rex, non urbs illa, neque defectione ista notatur; sed si adjectam rationem spectes, approbari potiùs videtur. "In exemplum trahi non debent hujusmodi defectiones." Cur ergò tanta vaniloquentiâ pollicitus es, exemplis te nobiscum toto hoc capite decertaturum, cùm exempla ipse nulla præter meras negationes, quarum nulla vis est ad probandum, afferre possis: nos quæ certa et solida attulimus, negas in exemplum trahi debere? Quis te hoc modo disputantem non explodat? Provocâsti nos exemplis; exempla protulimus; quid tu ad hæc? tergiversaris, et diverticula quæris; pregredior itaque. Jehu regem à propheta jussus occidit, etiam Achaziam suum regem legitimum occidendum curavit. Si noluisset Deus tyrannum interimi à cive, si impium hoc, si mali exempli fuisset, cur jussit fieri? si jussit, certè licitum, laudabile, præclarum fuit. Non tamen tyrannum perimi, quia Deus jussit, idcirco bonum erat et licitum, sed quia bonum et licitum erat, idcirco Deus jussit. Jam septem annos regnantem Athaliam Jehoiada sacerdos regno pellere et trucidare non est veritus. "At regnum," inquis, "non sibi debitum sumpserat." Annon Tiberius multò postea "imperium ad se nihil pertinens?" illi tamen, et id genus tyrannis aliis, ex doctrina Christi obediendum esse suprà affirmabas: ridiculum planè esset, si potestatem regiam non ritè adeptum interficere liceret, pessimè gerentem non liceret. At per leges regnare non potuit utpote fœmina, "constitues autem supra te regem," non reginam. Hoc si sic abibit, constitues, inquam, super te regem, non tyrannum. Pares ergò jam sumus. Amaziam regem ignavum et idololatrum non conjurati quidam, sed principes et populus, quod verisimilius est, morte affecerunt: nam fugientem Hierosolymis, et adjutum à nemine, Lachisum usque persecuti sunt. Hoc consilium iniisse dicuntur "ex quo is Deum" deseruerat, neque ullam ab Azaria filio de morte patris quæstionem habitam fuisse legimus. Multum rursus nugaris ex rabbinis, ut regem Judaicum supra synedrium constituas; ipsa regis verba Zedechiæ non attendis, Jer. 38. "Non is est rex, qui possit contra vos quicquam." Sic principes alloquitur; fassus se planè suo senatu inferiorem; "Fortasse," inquis, "nihil negare illis ausus metu seditionis." At tuum illud "fortasse" quanti quæso est, cujus asseveratio firmissima non est pili? quid enim te levius, quid inconstantius, quid instabilius? quoties te varium et versicolorem, quoties tibimet discordem, dissidentem à temetipso, et discrepantem, offendimus? Rursus comparationes instituis Caroli cum bonis Judææ regibus. Davidem imprimis quasi contemnendum aliquem nominas; "Sume tibi Davidem," inquis, "adulterii simul et homicidii reum; nihil tale in Carolo. Solomon ejus filius qui sapiens audiit vulgò." Quis non indignetur maximorum et sanctissimorum virorum nomina ab impurissimo nebulone et vappa hunc in modum jactari? Tune Carolum cum Davide, regem et prophetam religiosissimum cum superstitioso et Christianæ doctrinæ vix initiato, sapientissimum cum stolido, fortissimum cum imbelli, justissimum cum iniquissimo, conferre sustinuisti? castimoniam tu ejus et continentiam laudes,

quem cum Duce Bucchingamio flagitiis omnibus coopertum novimus? secretiora ejus et recessus perscrutari quid attinet, qui in theatro medias mulieres petulanter amplecti, et suaviari, qui virginum et matronarum papillas, ne dicam cætera, pertractare in propatulo, consueverat? Te porrò moneo, Pseudoplutarche, ut istiusmodi parallelis ineptissimis dehinc supersedeas, ne ego quæ tacerem alioqui libens de Carolo, necesse habeam enuntiare. Contra tyrannos quid tentatum à populo aut peractum fuerit, et quo jure, per ea tempora quibus ipse Deus Hebræorum rempub. suo nutu ac verbo quasi præsens regebat, hactenus liquet. Quæ sequuntur ætates non nos sua authoritate ducunt, sed, ad majorum suorum normam et rationem omnia dirigentes, imitatione sua nostram tantummodò confirmant. Cùm itaque Deus post captivitatem Babylonicam nullum iis de repub. mandatum dedisset novum, quamvis regia soboles extincta non esset, ad antiquam et Mosaïcam reipub. formam reverterunt. Antiocho Syriæ regi, cui erant vectigales, ejusque præsidibus, quòd is vetita imperaret, per Maccabæos pontifices restiterunt; seque armis in libertatem vindicârunt; dignissimo deinde cuique principatum dederunt: donec Hyrcanus Simonis Judæ Maccabæi fratris filius, expilato Davidis sepulcro, militem externum alere, et regiam quandam potestatem adjicere sacerdotio, cœpit; unde filius ejus Aristobulus diadema sibi primus imposuit. Nihil in eum populus quamvis tyrannum movit aut molitus est; neque mirum, annum tantummodò regnantem. Ipse etiam morbo gravissimo correptus, et suorum facinorum pœnitentiâ ductus, mortem sibi optare non destitit, donec inter ea vota expiravit. Ejus frater Alexander proximus regnabat. "Contra hunc," aïs, "neminem insurrexisse," tyrannus cùm esset. O te securè mendacem, si periisset Josephus, restaret tantum Josippus tuus, ex quo pharisæorum quædam nullius usus apophthegmata depromis. Res itaque sic se habet; Alexander, cùm et domi et militiæ rempub. malè administraret, quamvis magna Pisidarum et Cilicum manu conductitia se tutaretur, populum tamen cohibere non potuit, quin ipsum etiam sacrificantem, utpote indignum eo munere, thyrsis palmeis et citreis penè obrueret; exinde per sexennium gentis ferè totius gravi bello petitus est; in quo Judæorum multa millia cum occidisset, et pacis tandem cupidus interrogaret eos quid vellent à se fieri, responderunt uno ore omnes, ut moreretur; vix etiam mortuo se veniam daturos. Hanc historiam, tibi incommodissimam, quoquo modo avertere ut posses, fraudi tuæ turpissimæ pharisaïcas quasdam sententiolas obtendisti; cùm exemplum hoc aut omnino prætermisisse, aut rem, sicuti gesta erat, fideliter narrâsse, debuisses, nisi veterator et lucifugus mendaciis longè plus quàm causæ confideres. Quinetiam Pharisæi illi octingenti, quos in crucem tolli jussit, ex eorum numero erant, qui contra ipsum arma ceperant: quique omnes cùm cæteris una voce testati sunt, se regem morte affecturos fuisse, si bello victus in suam potestatem venisset. Post maritum Alexandrum Alexandra regnum capessit, sicut olim Athalia, non legitimè, nam regnare fœminam leges non siuebant, quod ipse modò fassus es, sed partim vi, (extraneorum enim exercitum ducebat,) partim gratiâ; nam Pharisæos, qui apud vulgus plurimum poterant, sibi conciliaverat hac lege, ut nomen imperii penès illam, imperium ipsum penès illos, foret. Haud aliter atque apud nos nuper Scoti presbyteri nomen Regis Carolo concesserunt, ea mercede ut regnum sibi reservare possent. Post Alexandræ obitum, Hyrcanus et Aristobulus ejus filii de regno contendunt; hic, viribus et industria potior, fratrem natu majorem regno pellit. Pompeio deinde in Syriam à Mithridatico bello divertente, Judæi nactos se jam æquissimum libertatis suæ arbitrum Pompeium rati, legationem pro se mittunt; fratribus utrisque regibus renuntiant; ad servitutem se ab iis adductos queruntur; Pompeius Aristobulum regno privavit; Hyrcano pontificatum reliquit, et principatum more patrio legitimum; exinde pontifex et ethnarcha dictus est. Iterum sub Archelao Herodis filio Judæi, missis ad Augustum Cæsarem quinquaginta legatis, et Herodem mortuum et Archeläum graviter accusârunt; regnum huic pro sua virili parte abrogarunt, Cæsarem orant ut populum Judaïcum sine regibus esse permitteret. Quorum Cæsar precibus aliquantum permotus, non regem eum, sed ethnarcham duntaxat, constituit. Ejus anno decimo, rursus eum populus per legatos ad Cæsarem tyrannidis accusat; quibus Cæsar benignè auditis, Romam accersitum, et judicio damnatum, Viennam in exilium misit. Jam mihi velim respondeas; qui suos reges accusatos, qui damnatos, qui punitos volebant, annon ipsi, si potestas facta, si optio data sibi esset, annon ipsi, inquam, judicio damnâssent, ipsi supplicio affecissent? Jam in Romanos præsides, avarè et crudeliter provinciam administrantes, populum et primores etiam sæpiùs arma sumpsisse non negas; causas more tuo stultissimas affingis, "nondum jugo erant assueti;" sub Alexandro scilicet, Herode, ejusque filiis. At C. Cæsari, et Petronio "bellum inferre" noluerunt. Prudenter illi quidem, non poterant. Vis ipsorum audire verba? πολεμεῖν μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἂν δύνασθαι. Quod ipsi fatentur imbecillitatis esse suæ, hoc tu hypocrita ad religionem refers. Magno dein molimine prorsus nihil agis, dum ex patribus probas, quod et antea tamen pari oscitatione feceras, pro regibus orandum esse. Nam pro bonis quis negat? pro malis quoad spes est; pro latronibus etiam et pro hostibus; non ut agros depopulentur, aut nos occisione occidant, sed ut resipiscant. Oramus pro utrisque; illos tamen legibus, hos armis, vindicare quis vetat? "Liturgias Ægyptiacas" nîl moror; sacerdos autem ille qui orabat, uti aïs, ut "Commodus patri succederet," meo quidem judicio non orabat, sed Romano imperio pessima imprecatus est. "Fidem," aïs, "fregisse nos, de authoritate et majestate regis conservanda solenni conventione non semel interpositam." Expecto te fusiùs ista de re infrà, illic te rursus conveniam. Redis ad patrum commentationes, de quibus hoc summatim accipe; Quicquid illi dixerint, neque ex libris sacris, aut ratione aliqua satis idonea confirmaverint, perinde mihi erit, ac si quis alius è vulgo dixisset. Primum adfers Tertullianum, scriptorem haud orthodoxum, multis erroribus notatum, ut si tecum sentiret, pro nihilo tamen hoc esset. Quid autem ille?

damnat tumultus, damnat rebelliones; damnamus et nos, neque hinc statim de jure omni populorum, de privilegiis, et snatûs consultis, de potestate magistratuum omnium cæterorum præterquam unius regis, præjudicatum esse volumus: loquuntur isti de seditionibus temere conflatis, et multitudinis insania, non de magistratibus, non de senatu, aut parlamento ad legitima arma populum contra tyrannos convocante. Unde Ambrosius quem citas, "Non repugnare, flere, gemere, hæc sunt munimenta sacerdotis; et quis est qui potest vel unus vel inter paucos dicere imperatori, Lex tua mihi non probatur? non permittitur hoc dicere sacerdotibus; permittetur laïcis?" Vides jam planè de quibus hic loquatur de sacerdotibus, de laïcis privatis, non de magistratibus: vides quàm infirma tamen et præposterâ ratione usus, dissentioni inter laïcos et sacerdotes, de legibus etiam civilibus, postmodùm futuræ facem prætulit. Sed quoniam primorum Christianorum exemplis urgeri nos maximè, et redargui, putas, quòd illi omnibus modis vexati "bellum in Cæsares non moverent," ostendam primò non potuisse, deinde quoties poterant movisse, postremò etiamsi cùm possent non movissent, non esse tamen cæteroqui dignos, quorum ex vita et moribus, tantis in rebus, exempla sumamus. Primùm ignorare hoc nemo potest, ex quo Romana respublica nulla fuit, omnes imperii vires rerumque summam ad unum Cæsarem rediisse; omnes legiones sub uno Cæsare stipendia meruisse: adeò ut senatus ad unum omnis, totus ordo equester, plebs universa, si novis rebus studuisset, poterant se quidem internecioni objecisse, ad libertatem tamen recuperandam nihil prorsus effecissent; nam imperatorem si fortè sustulissent, imperium tamen mansisset. Jam verò Christiani, innumeri licèt, at sparsi, inermes, plebeii et plerunque infimi, quid potuerunt? quantam eorum multitudinem una legio in officio facilè continuisset? Quod magni sæpe duces cum interitu suo, et veteranorum exercituum deletione, incassum tentârunt, isti è plebecula ferè homuli posse se ad exitum perducere sperarent? cùm annis à Christo nato prope trecentis, ante Constantinum plùs minùs viginti, imperante Diocletiano, sola Thebæa legio Christiana esset; eoque ipso nomine à reliquo exercitu in Gallia, ad Octodurum oppidum, cæsa est. "Cum Cassio, cum Albino, cum Nigro" non conjurârunt: idne illis gratiæ vult apponi Tertullianus, quòd sanguinem pro infidelibus non profuderunt? Constat igitur Christianos ab imperatorum imperio liberare se non potuisse: cum aliis conjurare non Christianis nequaquam sibi expedivisse, quamdiu imperatores ethnici regnabant. Bellum autem tyrannis postea intulisse Christianos aut armis se defendisse, aut tyrannorum facta nefaria sæpe ultos esse, nunc ostendam. Primus omnium Constantinus, jam Christianus, consortem imperii Licinium, Orientalibus Christianis gravem, bello sustulit; quo facto illud simul declaravit, posse à magistratu in magistratum animadverti; cùm is Licinium pari jure secum regnantem, subditorum ejus causâ, supplicio affecerit, nec Deo soli pœnam reliquerit: poterat enim Licinius Constantinum, si Constantinus populum sibi attributum iis modis oppressisset, eodem supplicio affecisse. Postquam igitur à Deo ad homines redacta res est, quod Licinio Constantinus erat, cur non idem Carolo senatus? Constantinum enim milites, senatum jura constituerunt regibus parem, immo superiorem. Constantio imperatori Ariano Byzantini, quoad poterant, armis restiterunt; missum cum militibus Hermogenem, ad pellendum ecclesia Paulum orthodoxum episcopum, facto impetu repulerunt, et incensis ædibus, quo se receperat, semiustum et laniatum interfecerunt. Constans fratri Constantio bellum minatur, ni Paulo et Athanasio episcopis sedes suas restituat; videsne ut istos sanctissimos patres, de episcopatu cùm agitur, bellum fraternum in regem suum concitare non puduit? Haud multò pòst Christiani milites, qui tunc temporis quos volebant imperatores creabant, Constantem Constantini filium, dissolutè et superbè regnantem, interfecerunt, translato ad Magnentium imperio. Quid? qui Julianum nondum apostatam, sed pium et strenuum, invito Constantio imperatore suo, imperatorem salutârunt, annon ex illis Christianis fuerunt, quos tu exemplo nobis proponis? Quod factum Constantius cum suis literis ad populum recitatis acriter prohiberet, clamârunt omnes, fecisse se ut provincialis, et miles, et reipublicæ authoritas, decreverat. Iidem bellum Constantio indixerunt, et, quantum in se erat, imperio ac vita spoliârunt. Quid Antiocheni, homines apprimè Christiani? orârunt, credo, pro Juliano jam apostata, quem palàm adire, et convitiis proscindere, solebant, cujus barbam illudentes promissam, funes ex ea conficere jubebant. Cujus morte audita, supplicationes, epulas, et lætitiam, publicè indixerunt, ejus pro vita et incolumitate preces fudisse censes? Quid? quòd eundem etiam à Christiano commilitone interfectum esse ferunt. Sozomenus certè scriptor ecclesiasticus non negat; immo, siquis ita fecisset, laudat. *οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικός τινα τῶν τότε ϛρατευομενων*, &c. "Non est mirum," inquit, "aliquem ex militibus hoc secum cogitâsse; non Græcos solùm, sed omnes homines ad hanc usque ætatem tyrannicidas laudare solitos esse, qui pro omnium libertate mortem oppetere non dubitant; nec temere quis hunc militem reprehendat, Dei et religionis causâ tam strenuum." Hæc Sozomenus, ejusdem ætatis scriptor, vir bonus et sanctus; ex quo, quid reliqui ea tempestate viri boni hac de re senserint, facilè perspicimus. Ipse Ambrosius ab imperatore Valentiniano minore jussus urbe Mediolano excedete, parere noluit, sed circumseptus armato populo se, atque basilicam suam, contra regios præfectos armis defendit; et summæ potestati resistere, contra quàm docuit ipse, est ausus. Constantinopoli haud semel, propter exilium Chrysostomi, contra Arcadium imperatorem seditio maxima commota est. In tyrannos igitur quid antiqui Christiani fecerint, non milites solum, sed populus, sed ipsi patres, vel resistendo, vel gerendo bellum, vel concitando, usque ad Augustini tempora, quoniam tibi ulteriùs progredi non libet, breviter exposui. Valentinianum enim Placidiæ filium interfectum à Maximo patricio, ob stuprum uxori ejus illatum, taceo: Avitum etiam imperatorem, dimissis militibus suis, luxuria diffluentem à senatu Romano confestim exutum imperio non memoro: quia annos aliquot post Augustinum

obitum ista acciderunt. Verùm dono tibi hoc omne, tu nihil horum exposuisse me finge, paruerint per omnia suis regibus veteres Christiani, quicquam contra tyrannos ne fecerint, aut fecisse voluerint, non esse tamen eos quorum authoritate niti debeamus, aut à quibus exempla petere salutariter possimus; quod superest, nunc docebo. Jamdiu ante Constantinum populus Christianus multum de primæva illa sanctimonia et sinceritate cum doctrinæ tum morum deperdiderat. Postquam immensis opibus ditata ab eo ecclesia honores, dominatum, et potentiam civilem, adamare cœpit, statim omnia in præceps ruere. Primò luxus et segnities, errorum deinde omnium et vitiorum caterva, veluti solutis aliunde carceribus, in ecclesiam immigravit; hinc invidentia, odium, discordia, passim redundabat; tandem haud mitius inter se charissimo religionis vinculo fratres quàm hostes acerrimi dissidebant; nullus pudor, nulla officii ratio, restabat; milites, et copiarum præfecti, quoties ipsis visum erat, nunc imperatores novos creabant, nunc bonos pariter ac malos necabant. Quid Vetranniones et Maximos, quid Eugenios, à militibus ad imperium subitò evectos, quid Gratianum optimum principem, quid Valentinianum minorem non pessimum, occisos ab iis, commemorem? Militum hæc quidem facinora et castrensium, sed tamen Christianorum illius ætatis, quam tu maximè evangelicam et imitandam esse aïs. Jam ergò de ecclesiasticis pauca accipe: pastores et episcopi, et nonnunquam illi, quos admiramur, patres, sui quisque gregis ductores, de episcopatu non secus quàm de tyrannide certabant: nunc per urbem, nunc in ipsa ecclesia, ad ipsum altare, sacerdotes et laici promiscuè digladiabantur; cædes faciebant, strages utrinque magnas nonnunquam ediderunt. Damasi et Ursicini, qui cum Ambrosio floruerunt, potest meminisse. Longum esset Byzantinos, Antiochenos, et Alexandrinos, illos tumultus, sub Cyrillo præsertim, quem tu laudas obedientiæ prædicatorem, duce ac patre; occiso pœne à monachis, in illo urbico prælio, Oreste Theodosii præfecto. Jam tua quis vel impudentia vel supinitate non obstupescat? "Usque ad Augustinum," inquis, "et infra ejus ætatem, nulla cujusquam privati aut præfecti, aut plurium conjuratorum extat in historiis mentio, qui regem suum necaverint, aut contra eum armis pugnârint:" nominavi ego ex historiis notissimis et privatos, et proceres, qui non malos tantùm, sed vel optimos reges, sua manu trucidaverint; totos Christianorum exercitus, multos cum iis episcopos, qui contra suos imperatores pugnaverint. Adfers patres, obedientiam erga regem, multis verbis aut suadentes aut ostentantes; adfero ego partim eosdem, partim alios patres haud paucioribus factis obedientiam, etiam licitis in rebus, detrectantes, armis se contra imperatorem defendentes, alios præsidibus ejus vim et vulnera inferentes, alios, episcopatûs competitores, civilibus præliis inter se dimicantes; scilicet de episcopatu Christianos cum Christianis, cives cum civibus, confligere fas erat, de libertate, de liberis et conjugibus, de vita, cum tyranno, nefas. Quem non pœniteat hujusmodi patrum? Augustinum inducis "de potestate domini in servos, et regis in subditos" idem pronuntiantem; respondeo, ista si dicat Augustinus, ea dicere, quæ neque Christus, neque ejus Apostoli, unquam dixerunt; cùm eorum tamen sola authoritate rem alioqui apertissimè falsam commendare videatur. Quæ supersunt hujus capitis tres vel quatuor paginæ, aut mera esse mendacia, aut oscitationes identidem repetitas, ex iis quæ à nobis responsa jam sunt, per se quisque deprehendet. Nam ad papam quod attinet, in quem multa gratìs peroras, facilè te patior ad ravim usque declamitare. Quod tamen ad captandos rerum imperitos tam prolixè adstruis, "regibus, sive justis sive tyrannis, subjectum fuisse omnem Christianum, donec potestas papæ regali major agnosci cœpta est, et subjectos sacramento fidelitatis liberavit," id esse falsissimum plurimis exemplis "et usque ad Augustinum, et infra ejus ætatem," prolatis demonstravimus. Sed neque illud, quod postremò dicis, "Zachariam pontificem Gallos juramento fidelitatis absolvisse," multò verius esse videtur. Negat Franciscus Hotomanus, et Gallus, et jurisconsultus, et vir doctissimus, in Francogallia sua, cap. 13. abdicatum authoritate papæ Chilpericum, aut regnum Pipino delatum; sed in magno gentis concilio pro sua pristina authoritate transactum fuisse id omne negotium, ex annalibus Francorum vetustissimis probat. Solvi deinde illo sacramento Gallos omnino opus fuisse, negant ipsa Gallorum monumenta, negat ipse papa Zacharias. Monumentis enim Francorum traditur, teste non solùm Hotomano, sed Girardo historiarum illius gentis notissimo scriptore, veteres Francos ut eligendi, sic abdicandi, si videretur, suos reges jus sibi omne antiquitus reservâsse; neque aliud sacramentum regibus, quos creabant, dicere consuevisse, quàm se illis hoc pacto fidem et officium præstituros, si vicissim illi, quod eodem tempore jurati etiam spondent, præstiterint. Si ergò reges, rempublicam sibi commissam malè gerendo, fidem jusjurandi fregerint priores, nîl opus est papâ, ipsi suâ perfidiâ populum sacramento solverunt. Papa denique Zacharias, quam tu authoritatem sibi aïs arrogâsse, eam in epistola illa ad Francos abs te citata ipse sibi derogavit, populo attribuit. Nam "si princeps populo, cujus beneficio regnum possidet, obnoxius est, si plebs regem constituit, et destituere potest," quæ ipsius verba sunt papæ, verisimile non est voluisse Francos de antiquo jure suo, ullo postmodùm jurejurando, præjudicium facere; aut unquam ita sese obstrinxisse, quin semper sibi liceret, quod majoribus suis licuit, reges bonos quidem colere, malos amovere; nec eam præstare fidem tyrannis, quam bonis regibus dare sese arbitrati sunt. Tali obstrictum juramento populum, vel tyrannus ex rege factus, vel ignavia corruptus, suo ipse perjurio solvit, solvit ipsa justitia, solvit naturæ lex ipsa: unde pontifex quod solveret, etiam ipsius pontificis judicio nihil prorsus erat.

CAPUT V.

Quanquam in ea sum opinione, Salmasi, semperque fui, legem Dei cùm lege naturæ optimè consentire, adeòque, si satis ostendi quid divina lege sit de regibus

statutum, quid à populo Dei factum et Judaïco et Christiano, ostendisse me, eodem tempore eademque opera, quid legi naturali maximè consentaneum sit; tamen quia "confutari nos lege naturæ validissimè nunc posse" arbitraris, quod supervacuum esse modò existimabam, id nunc ultrò necessarium fatebor; ut contra te hoc capite planum faciam, nihil congruentius naturæ etiam legibus esse, quàm tyrannos plecti. Id nisi evincam, non recuso quin, Dei quoque legibus puniri non posse, è vestigio tibi concedam. Non est consilium de natura jam, deque origine civilis vitæ, longam orationem contexere; istud enim argumentum viri disertissimi cum Græci, tum Latini, copiosè pertractàrunt; ipse et brevitati, quantum licet, studeo, et huic rei do operam, ut non tam ego, qui labori huic parcissem libens, sed tute te redarguas, teque subvertas. Ab eo igitur quod ipse ponis incipiam, et disputationis hujus futuræ fundamenta jaciam. "Lex," inquis, "naturæ est ratio omnium hominum mentibus insita, bonum respiciens universorum populorum, quatenus homines inter se societate gaudent. Bonum illud commune non potest procurare, nisi etiam, ut sunt quos regi necesse est, disponat quoque qui regere debeant." Ne scilicet, ut quisque fortior est, debiliorem opprimat; atque ita quos mutua salus ac defensio unum in locum congregaverat, vis atque injuria distrahat, et ad vitam agrestem redire cogat. Estne hoc quod volebas, etsi verbosiùs? "Ex ipsorum" itaque "numero qui in unum convenêre, deligi" ais "oportuisse quosdam sapientia aut fortitudine cæteris præstantes, qui vel vi vel persuadendo malè morigeros in officio continerent; sæpe unum id præstare potuisse, cujus excellens sit virtus et prudentia; interdum plures, qui mutuis consiliis id faciant. Cæterùm cum unus omnia providere et administrare non possit, necesse est ut consilia cum pluribus participet, et in societatem regiminis alios admittat. Ita sive ad unum revocetur imperium, sive ad universum redeat populum, quia nec omnes simul rempub. gubernare possunt, nec unus omnia, ideo revera penès plures semper regimen consistit." Et infrà. "Ipsa autem regendi ratio, sive per plures, sive per pauciores, sive per unum, dispensetur, æquè naturalis est, cum ex naturæ ejusdem principiis descendat, quæ non patitur ita unius singularitatem gubernare, ut non alios socios imperandi habeat." Hæc cùm ex Aristotelis tertiò politicorum decerpsisse potueram, malui abs te decerpta transcribere, quæ tu Aristoteli, ut ignem Jovi Prometheus, ad eversionem monarcharum, et perniciem ipsius tuam, surripuisti. Jam enim prolatam à temetipso naturæ legem excute quantum voles; nullum juri regio, prout tu jus illud explicas, in natura locum, nullum ejus vestigium, prorsus invenies. "Lex," inquis, "naturæ, cum disponeret qui regere alios deberent, universorum populorum bonum respexit." Non igitur unius, non monarchæ. Est itaque rex propter populum: populus ergò rege potior et superior; superior cum sit et potior populus, nullum jus regis existere potest, quo populum is affligat, aut in servitute habeat, inferior superiorem. Jus malè faciendi cùm sit regi nullum, manet jus populi naturâ supremum; ut quo jure homines consilia et vires mutuæ defensionis gratiâ, ante reges creatos, primò consociavere; quo jure ad communem omnium salutem, pacem, libertatem, conservandam unum vel plures cæteris præfecerunt, eodem jure, quos propter virtutem et prudentiam cæteris præposuerant, possent eosdem aut quoscunque alios rempub. malè gerentes, propter ignaviam, stultitiam, improbitatem, perfidiam, vel coërcere vel abdicare: cùm natura non unius vel paucorum imperium, sed universorum salutem, respexerit semper et respiciat. Jam verò populus quosnam delegit? "sapientia" inquis "aut fortitudine cæteris præstantes," nempe qui naturâ maximè regno idonei visi sunt, "cujus excellens virtus, et prudentia præstare id" muneris "potuit." Jus igitur successionis naturâ nullum, nullus naturâ rex, nisi qui sapientia et fortitudine cæteris omnibus præcellit: cæteri vel vi, vel factione, contra naturam reges sunt, cum servi potiùs esse deberent. Dat enim natura sapientissimo cuique in minùs sapientes imperium, non viro malo in bonos, non stolido in sapientes: his igitur imperium qui abrogant, omnino convenienter naturæ faciunt. Cui fini sapientissimum quemque natura constituat regem, ex temetipso audi; ut vel naturæ vel legibus "malè morigeros in officio contineat." Continere autem in officio potestne is alios, officium qui negligit, aut nescit, aut pervertit, ipse suum? Cedò jam quodvis naturæ præceptum, quo jubeamur instituta naturæ sapientissima in rebus publicis et civilibus non observare, non curare, pro nihilo habere, cùm ipsa in rebus naturalibus et inanimatis, ne suo fine frustretur, sæpissimè res magnas atque miras efficere soleat. Ostende ullam vel naturæ vel naturalis justitiæ regulam, qua oporteat reos minores puniri, reges et malorum omnium principes impunitos esse, immò inter maxima flagitia coli, adorari, et Deo proximos haberi. Concedis "ipsam regendi rationem, sive per plures, sive per pauciores, sive per unum, dispensetur, æque naturalem esse." Non est ergò rex vel optimatibus vel populi magistratibus naturâ sanctior, quos cùm punire posse ac debere, si peccant, suprà sis largitus, idem de regibus, eidem fini ac bono constitutis, fateare necesse est. "Non" enim "patitur natura," inquis, "ita unius singularitatem gubernare, ut non alios socios imperandi habeat." Minimè ergò patitur monarcham, minimè unum ita imperare, ut cæteros omnes sui unius imperii servos habeat. Socios autem imperandi qui tribuis regi, "penès quos semper regimen consistat" das eidem collegas, et æquales; addis qui punire, addis qui abdicare possint. Ita, uti semper facis, dum potestatem regiam non jam exauges, sed tantummodò naturâ constituis, aboles: adeò ut nihil putem inauspicatius accidere regibus potuisse, quàm te defensorem. O infelicem ac miserum! quæ te mentis caligo in hanc impulit fraudem, ut latentem antehac diu, et quasi personatum, improbitatem atque inscitiam tuam nunc tanto conatu insciens nudares ipse, et omnibus patefaceres: tuoquemet opprobrio operam ipse tuam locares, tuo ipse ludibrio tam gnaviter inservires? Quæ te ira numinis quasve pœnas luentem, in lucem et ora hominum evocavit, ut tanto apparàtu causam teterrimam impudentissimè simul et stolidissimè de-

fenderes, atque ita defendendo invitus, perque inscitiam, proderes? Quis te pejùs perditum vellet, quis miseriorem? cui jam sola imprudentia, sola væcordia, saluti esse potest, ne sis miserrimus, si tyrannos, quorum causam suscepisti, imperita ac stulta defensione tantò magis invisos ac detestabiles omnibus, contrà quàm sperabas, reddideris, quanto iis majorem malefaciendi et impunè dominandi licentiam de industria attribueris; eoque plures eorundem hostes inconsultò excitaveris. Sed redeo ad tua tecum dissidia. Cùm tantum in te scelus admiseris, ut tyrannidem naturâ fundare studeas, præ cæteris gubernandi rationibus monarchiam primò laudandam tibi esse vidisti; id, uti soles, incœptare sine repugnantia nequis. Cum enim modò dixeras, "Ipsam regendi rationem, sive per plures, sive per pauciores, sive per unum, æque naturalem esse," statim "eam, quæ per unum exercetur, ex his tribus, magis naturalem esse" aïs, immò qui etiam recèns dixeras, "non patitur natura unius singularitatem gubernantis." Jam tyrannorum necem objice cui voles, qui et monarchas omnes, et monarchiam ipsam, tua fatuitate jugulâsti. Verùm quæ sit melior administrandi rempub. ratio, per unum an per plures, non est nunc disserendi locus. Et monarchiam quidem multi celebres viri laudârunt, si tamen is, qui solus regnat, vir omnium optimus, et regno dignissimus, sit; id nisi contingat, nihil monarchiâ proclivius in eam tyrannidem, quæ pessima est, labitur. Jam quòd ad unius "exemplar Dei expressam esse" dicis, quis potentiam divinæ similem in terris obtinere dignus est, nisi qui, cæterorum omnium longè præstantissimus, etiam bonitate ac sapientia est Deo simillimus; is autem solus, mea quidem sententia, expectatus ille Dei filius est. Quòd regnum in familiam rursus contrudis, ut patrifamilias regem assimiles, pater certè suæ familiæ regnum meretur, quam omnem vel generavit, vel alit: in rege nihil est hujusmodi, sed planè contrà sunt omnia. Animalia deinde nobis gregalia, imprimis "aves," et in iis "apes," siquidem te physiologo aves istæ sunt, imitandas proponis. "Apes regem habent." Tridentinæ scilicet, annon meministi? cæterarum, te teste, "respub. est." Verum tu desine de apibus fatuari; musarum sunt, oderunt te scarabæum, et, ut vides, redarguunt. "Coturnices sub ortygometra." Istos onocrotalis tuis tende laqueos; nos tam stolido aucupio non capimur. Atqui jam tua res agitur, non nostra. "Gallus gallinaceus," inquis, "tam maribus quàm fœminis imperitat." Quî potest hoc fieri? Cum tu ipse gallus, et, ut ferunt, vel nimiùm gallinaceus, non tuæ gallinæ, sed illa tibi imperitet, et in te regnum exerceat: si gallinaceus ergò plurium fœminarum rex est, tu gallinæ mancipium tuæ, non gallinaceum te, sed stercorarium quendam esse gallum, oportet. Pro libris certè nemo te majora edit sterquilinia, et gallicinio tuo stercoreo omnes obtundis; hoc unicum galli gallinacei habes. Jam ego multa hordei grana daturum me tibi promitto, si, totum hoc vertendo sterquilinium tuum, vel unam mihi gemmam ostenderis. Sed quid ego tibi hordeum? qui non hordeum, ut Æsopicus ille, simplex et frugi gallus, sed aurum, ut Plautinus ille nequam, scalpturiendo quæsîsti; quamvis exitu adhuc dispari; tu enim centum Jacobæos aureos inde reperisti, cum Euclionis fuste potiùs, quo misellus ille Plautinus, obtruncari dignior sis. Sed pergendum est. "Eadem utilitatis et incolumitatis omnium ratio naturalis postulat, ut qui semel ad gubernandum constitutus est, conservetur." Quis negat, quatenus ejus conservatio cum incolumitate omnium consistit? ad perniciem autem omnium conservari unum, quis non videt alienissimum à natura esse? At "malum etiam regem conservari, immo pessimum" omnino vis, "eò quod non tantum mali civitati procurat malè gubernando, quantum creatur cladium ex seditionibus, quæ ad eum tollendum suscitantur." Quid hoc ad jus regum naturale? An, si natura me monet, ut latronibus diripiendum me permittam, ut captum me totis facultatibus redimam potiùs, quàm ut dimicare de vita cogar; latronum tu inde jus naturale constitues? Suadet natura populo, ut tyrannorum violentiæ nonnunquam cedat, cedat temporibus; tu ista populi necessitate ac patientia jus etiam naturale tyrannorum fundabis? Quod illa jus populo sui conservandi causâ dedit, tu illam tyranno, perdendi populi causâ, jus idem dedisse affirmabis? Docet natura, ex duobus malis eligendum esse minus; et quàndiu necesse est tolerandum: an tu hinc tyranno, utpote minori fortasse interdum malo, jus impunè malefaciendi exoriri naturale statues? Recordare saltem ea, quæ jam pridem ipse de episcopis contra Loiolitam scripsisti, à me suprà tertio capite recitata his planè contraria; Illic "seditiones, dissentiones, discordias optimatium et populi, longè levius esse malum," affirmas, "quàm sub uno monarcha tyranno certam miseriam ac perniciem." Et vera tu quidem affirmabas; nondum enim insaniebas, nondum Carolinis Jacobæis delinitus et deauratus in morbum regium incideras. Diceram fortasse, nisi is esses qui es, pudeat te tandem prævaricationis tuæ turpissimæ; tibi verò dirumpi facilius est quàm erubescere, qui, ut rem faceres, pudorem jamdiu amisisti. Annon ipse memineras Romanos florentissimam et gloriosissimam rempub. post exactos reges habuisse? potuit fieri ut Batavorum obliviscere? quorum respub. Hispaniarum rege pulso post bella diutina, feliciter tamen gesta, libertatem fortiter et gloriosè consequuta est, teque grammaticastrum equitem stipendio alit suo, non ut juventus Batavica te prævaricatore et sophista tam nihil sapere discat, ut ad servitutem Hispanicam redire mallet, quàm paternæ libertatis ac gloriæ hæres esse; istam doctrinæ pestem ad Riphæos ultimos, et glacialem oceanum, quò te in malam rem abire par est, tecum auferas licebit: Exemplo denique sunt Angli, qui Carolum tyrannum bello captum, et insanabilem, obtruncârunt. At "insulam beatam sub regibus, et luxu affluentem, discordiis deformârunt." Immo luxu penè perditam, quò tolerantior servitutis esset, extinctis deinde legibus, et mancipata religione, servientem liberarunt. En autem Epicteti cum Simplicio editorem, Stoïcum gravissimum, cui "luxu affluens insula" beata esse videtur! Ex porticu Zenonis nunquam tale, sat scio, documentum prodiit. Quid refert, an te doctore quicquid libet regibus licebit, tibi ipsi non licebit lupi domino ex lupanari tuo, tanquam ex novo quodam lyceo,

quamcunque libet emittere philosophiam? Sed resume nunc quam suscepisti personam. "Nunquam sub ullo rege tantum cruoris haustum est, tot familiæ desolatæ;" Hoc totum Carolo imputandum est, non Anglis; qui exercitum Hibernicorum priùs in nos paraverat, omnes Hibernos conjurare contra Anglos suo ipse diplomate jusserat; per illos ducena circiter millia Anglorum una in provincia Ultonia occiderat; de reliquis nihil dico: binos exercitus in exitium parlamenti Anglicani urbisque Londini sollicitaverat; multa alia hostiliter fecerat, priusquam à populo aut magistratibus, tuendæ reipub. causâ, vel unus miles conscriptus esset. Quæ doctrina, quæ lex, quæ unquam religio, sic homines instituit, ut otio consulendum, ut pecuniæ, ut sanguini, ut vitæ, potiùs parcendum esse ducerent, quàm hosti obviàm eundum? Nam externo an intestino, quid interest? cum interitus reipub. sive ab hoc, sive ab illo, funestus æquè et acerbus impendeat. Vidit totus Israël non posse se sine multo sanguine Levitæ uxorem stupro enectam ulcisci; an igitur quiescendum sibi esse duxit, an bello civili, quamvis truculentissimo, supersedendum? an unam igitur muliérculam mori inultam est passus? Certè si natura nos docet quamvis pessimi regis dominatum potiùs pati, quàm, in recuperanda libertate, plurimorum civium salutem in discrimen adducere, doceret eadem non regem solùm perferre, quem tamen solum perferendum esse contendis, sed optimatium, sed paucorum, quoque potentiam; latronum etiam nonnunquam et servorum rebellantium multitudinem. Non Fulvius aut Rupilius ad bellum servile post cæsos exercitus prætorios, non Crassus in Spartacum post deleta consularium castra, non Pompeius ad piraticum bellum, exiisset. Romani vel servis, vel piratis, ne tot civium sanguis effunderetur, hortante scilicet natura, succubuissent. "Hunc" itaque "sensum," aut hujusmodi ullum "gentibus impressisse naturam" nusquam ostendis: et tamen non desinis malè ominari, et vindictam divinam, quam in te augurem tuique similes avertat Deus, nobis denuntiare; qui nomine tantùm regem, re hostem acerbissimum, debito supplicio ulti sumus; et innumerabilem bonorum civium cædem authoris pœnâ expiavimus. Nunc magis naturalem esse monarchiam ex eo probari ais, quod "plures nationes et nunc et olim regium statum receperint, quàm optimatem et popularem." Respondeo primùm neque Deo neque natura suadente id factum esse; Deus, nisi invitus, populum suum sub regio imperio esse noluit; natura quid suadeat et recta ratio, non ex pluribus, sed ex prudentissimis nationibus, optimè perspicitur. Græci, Romani, Itali, Carthaginienses, multique alii, suopte ingenio, vel optimatium vel populi imperium regio prætulerunt; atque hæ quidem nationes cæterarum omnium instar sunt. Hinc Sulpitius Severus, "regium nomen cunctis ferè liberis gentibus semper invisum" fuisse, tradit. Verùm ista non jam huc pertinent, nec quæ sequuntur multa, inani futilitate à te sæpius repetita: ad illud festino, ut quod rationibus firmavi, id exemplis nunc ostendam, esse vel maximè secundùm naturam, tyrannos quoquo modo puniri; id omnes gentes, magistrâ ipsâ naturâ, sæpiùs fecisse; ex quo impudentia tua prædicanda, et turpissima mentiendi licentia, omnibus innotescere dehinc poterit. Primos omnium inducis Ægyptios; et certè quis te per omnia Ægyptizare non videat? "Apud hos," inquis, "nusquam mentio extat ullius regis à populo per seditiones occisi, nullum bellum illatum, aut quicquam factum à populo, quo è solio dejiceretur?" Quid ergò? Osiris rex Ægyptiorum fortasse primus, annon à fratre Typhone, et viginti quinque aliis conjuratis, interemptus est? quos et magna pars populi secuta magnum cum Iside et Oro, regis conjuge et filio, prælium commisit? Prætereo Sesostrin à fratre per insidias penè oppressum; Chemmin etiam et Cephrenem, quibus populus meritò infensus, quos vivos non poterat, mortuos se discerpturum minatus est. Qui reges optimos obtruncare sunt ausi, eosne putas, naturæ lumine aut religione aliqua retentos, à pessimis regibus manus abstinuisse? qui reges mortuos, et tum demùm innocuos, sepulchro eruituros se minitabantur, ubi etiam pauperculi cujusque corpus inviolatum esse solet, vivosne illi et nocentissimos propter naturæ legem punire, si modò viribus valerent, vererentur? Affirmares hæc, scio, quamlibet absurda; at enim ego, ne affirmare audeas, elinguem te reddam. Scito igitur, multis ante Cephrenem sæculis, regnâsse apud Ægyptos Ammosin; et tyrannum, ut qui maximè, fuisse; eum Ægyptii æquo animo pertulerunt. Lætaris; hoc enim est quod vis. At reliqua audi, vir optime et veracissime; Diodori enim verba sunt quæ recito; *μέχρι μέν τινος ἐκαρτέρυν οὐ δυνάμενοι*, &c. tolerabant aliquandiu oppressi, quia resistere potentioribus nullo modo poterant. Quamprimùm verò Actisanes, Æthiopum rex, bellum gerere cum eo cœpit, nacti occasionem plerique defecerunt, eoque facilè subacto, Ægyptus regno Æthiopum accessit. Vides hìc Ægyptios, quamprimùm poterant, arma contra tyrannum tulisse, copias cum externo rege conjunxisse, ut regem suum ejusque posteros regno privarent, bonum et moderatum regem, qualis erat Actisanes, maluisse externum, quàm tyrannum domesticum. Iidem Ægyptii, consensu omnium maximo, Apriem tyrannum suum, conductitiis copiis præsidentem, duce Amasi, prælio victum strangulârunt; Amasi viro nobili regnum dederunt. Hoc etiam adverte; Amasis captum regem ad tempus in ipsa regia honestè asservabat: incusante demùm populo, injustè eum facere qui suum et ipsorum hostem aleret, tradidit populo regem; qui eum prædicto supplicio affecit. Hæc Herodotus et Diodorus. Quid amplius tibi quæris? ecquam tyrannum censes non maluisse vitam securi quàm laqueo finire? Postea sub Persarum imperium "redacti Ægyptii fideles," inquis, "exstitere;" quod falsissimum est; in fide enim Persarum nunquam permansere; sed quarto post anno quàm subacti à Cambyse fuerant, rebellârunt. Domiti deinde à Xerxe, haud multò pòst ab ejus filio Artaxerxe defecerunt, regem Inarum quendam sibi adsciverunt. Quo occiso iterum fidem mutant, et, constituto rege Tacho, Artaxerxi Mnemoni bellum indicunt. Sed, neque suo regi fideliores, ablatum patri regnum filio Nectanebo tradunt: donec tandem ab Artaxerxe Ocho in ditionem Persarum rediguntur. Sub Macedonum etiam imperio, quantum in se erat, tyrannos coërcen-

dos esse factis indicârunt; statuas et imagines Ptolemæi Physconis dejecerunt, ipsum mercenario exercitu præpollentem interficere nequiverunt. Alexander, ejus filius, ob cædem matris concursu populi in exilium agitur: filium item ejus Alexandrum, insolentiùs dominantem, Alexandrinus populus vi abreptum ex regia in gymnasio publico interfecit: Ptolemæum denique Auleten ob multa flagitia regno expulit. Hæc tam nota cùm non possit nescire vir doctus, non debuerit qui hæc docere profiteatur, qui fidem tantis in rebus haberi sibi postulet; quis non pudendum et indignissimum esse dicat, hunc, vel tam rudem et indoctum, tanta cum infamia bonarum literarum, pro doctissimo circumferre se tumidum, et stipendia regum et civitatum ambire, vel tam improbum et mendacem, non insigni aliqua ignominia notatum, ex omnium communitate et consortio tum doctorum tum bonorum exterminari. Postquam Ægyptum lustravimus; ad Æthiopes jam proximos visamus. Regem à Deo electum, ut credunt, quasi Deum quendam adorant: quoties tamen eum sacerdotus damnant, ipse mortem sibi consciscit. Sic enim, Diodoro teste, omnes alios maleficos puniunt; non ipsi morte afficiunt, sed ipsos reos lictore misso mori jubent. Ad Assyrios deinde et Medos et Persas, regum observantissimos, accedis: "jus illic regium summa cum licentia quidlibet faciendi conjunctum fuisse" contra omnium historicorum fidem affirmas. Narrat imprimis Daniel ut regem Nebuchadnezzarem, plus nimio superbientem, homines à se depulerint, et ad bestias ablegaverint. Jus eorum non regium, sed Medorum et Persarum, id est populi jus, appellatur; quod cùm irrevocabile esset, reges etiam obligavit. Darius itaque Medus eripere manibus satraparum Danielem, quanquam id maximè agebat, non potuit. "Populi," inquis, "nefas esse tum credebant regem repudiare, quòd illo jure abuteretur." Inter ipsa tamen hæc verba adeò miserè obtorpes, ut dum istorum populorum obedientiam et modestiam laudas, ereptum Sardanapalo regnum ab Arbace tua sponte commemores. Eripuit autem is non solus, sed partim à sacerdotibus juris peritissimis, partim à populo, adjutus, atque hoc præsertim nomine eripuit, quòd is jure regio, non ad crudelitatem, sed ad luxuriam tantummodò et mollitiem, abuteretur. Percurre Herodotum, Ctesiam, Diodorum, intelliges omninò contrà esse quàm dicis, "à subditis ut plurimùm ea regna destructa fuisse, non ab externis:" Assyrios reges à Medis, Medos à Persis, utrisque tum subditis, sublatos fuisse. "Cyrum" ipse "rebellâsse, et arreptas tyrannides in diversis imperii locis" fateris. Hoccine est jus regium apud Medos et Persas, et observantiam eorum in reges, quod instituisti, asserere? Quæ te Anticyra tam delirum sanare potest? "Persarum reges quali jure regnàrint ex Herodoto," inquis, "liquet." Cambyses, cùm sororem in matrimonio habere cuperet, judices regios consulit, delectos "ex populo viros," legum interpretes, ad quos omnia referri solebant. Quid illi? negant se invenire legem, quæ jubeat fratrem secum in matrimonium sororem jungere; aliam tamen invenisse, qua liceat Persarum regi facere quæ libeat. Primùm si rex omnia pro suo jure poterat, quid alio legum interprete quàm ipso rege opus erat? supervacanei isti judices ubivis potiùs quàm in regia mansissent. Deinde si regi Persarum quidvis licuit, incredibile est id adeò nescivisse Cambysem, dominationis cupidissimum, ut quid licitum esset judices illos percontaretur. Quid ergò? vel "gratificari" volentes "regi," ut fateris ipse, vel à tyranno sibi metuentes, ut aït Herodotus, facilem quandam se reperisse legem simulant, palpum regi obtrudentes: quod in judicibus et legum peritis, hac etiam ætate, novum non est. At verò "Artabanus Persa dixit ad Themistoclem, nullam legem apud Persas esse meliorem illâ quâ sancitum fuerat, regem esse honorandum et adorandum." Præclaram tu quidem legem de adoratione regum introducis, etiam à patribus antiquis damnatam; præclarum etiam legis commendatorem Artabanum, qui ipse haud multò postea sua manu Xerxem regem suum trucidavit. Probos regem defensores regicidas nobis adfers: suspicor te regibus insidias quasdam moliri. Claudianum citas poëtam, Persarum obedientiæ testem. At ego te ad res eorum gestas et annales revoco, defectionibus Persarum, Medorum, Bactrianorum, Babyloniorum, etiam cædibus regum, refertissimos. Proximus tibi author est Otanes Persa, ipse etiam Smerdis interfector sui regis, qui cum odio potestatis regiæ, injurias et facinora regum exponat, violationes legum, cædes indemnatorum, stupra, adulteria, hoc tu jus regium vis appellari, et Samuelis iterum calumniandi in mentem tibi venit. De Homero, qui reges esse ab Jove cecinit, supra respondi: Philippo regi, jus regium interpretanti, tam credam quàm Carolo. Ex Diogenis deinde Pythagoræi fragmento quædam producis, at quali is de rege dicat taces. Accipe igitur quo ille usus est exordio; ad quod referri quæ sequuntur cuncta debent. Βασιλεὺς κ' ἔιη ὁ δικαιότατος, &c. "Rex ille fuerit, qui justissimus est, justissimus autem, qui maximè legitimus;" nam sine justitia nullus "rex esse poterit, neque justitia sine lege." Hæc cum jure tuo regio è regione pugnant. Eadem abs te recitatus Ecphantas philosophatur. Δεῖ δὲ και τον εἰς ἀυτὰν καταςάντα, &c. "oportet qui regnum suscipit purissimum et lucidissimum naturà esse:" et infra, ὁ κατ' ἀρετὰν ἐξάρχων, &c. "ille qui imperat secundùm virtutem, nominatur rex, et est." Quem tu igitur regem vocas, Pythagoreorum judicio rex non est. Jam tu vicissim Platonem audi in epistola octava, ἀρχὴ γιγνέσθω ὑπεύθυνος βασιλική, &c.; "sit regia potestas reddendæ rationi obnoxia; leges dominentur et aliis civibus et ipsis etiam regibus, si quid præter leges fecerint." Addo Aristotelem Polit. 3. ἐν μέν τοι ὁμοίοις και ἴσοις οὔτε συμφέρον ἐστίν, &c. "inter similes et æquales neque utile est neque justum, esse unum omnium dominum, neque ubi leges non sunt, neque ut ipse lex sit, neque ubi sunt leges; neque bonum bonorum, neque non bonum non bonorum dominum esse." Et lib. quinto, "Quem populus non vult, statim is non rex, sed tyrannus est," c. 10. Hem tibi etiam Xenophontem in Hierone, ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αἱ πόλεις ἀυτοῖς, &c. "tantum abest ut tyrannorum necem civitates ulciscantur, ut magnis honoribus afficiant eum, qui tyrannum interfecerit, imagines etiam tyrannicidarum in templis statuunt." Testem occulatum adjiciam Marcum Tullium

pro Milone. "Græci homines deorum honores tribuunt iis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt: quæ ego vidi Athenis, quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ, quas res divinas talibus institutas viris, quos cantus, quæ carmina? prope ad immortalitatem, et religionem, et memoriam consecrantur." Polybius denique, author gravissimus, Historiarum 6to. τότε δὲ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἑπόμενοι, &c. "cum principes," inquit, "cupiditatibus obsequi cœperunt, tum de regno facta est tyrannis, et conspiratio in caput dominantium inibatur; cujus quidem authores erant non deterrimi civium, sed generosissimi quique et maximi animi." Longè plura cùm mihi suppeterent, hæc pauca delibavi: obruor enim copiâ. A philosophis ad poëtas jam provocas; eò te libentissimè sequimur. "Potestatem nullis legibus, nullis judiciis, obnoxiam in Græcia reges obtinuisse vel unus," inquis, "Æschylus potest docere; qui in tragœdia, Supplices, regem Argivorum ἄκριτον πρύτανιν vocat, non judicabilem rectorem." Verum tu scito, (præcipitem enim te et nullius judicii esse, quocunque te vertis, eò magis perspicio,) scito, inquam, non quid poëta, sed quis apud poëtam quidque dicat, spectandum esse: variæ enim personæ inducuntur, nunc bonæ, nunc malæ, nunc sapientes, nunc simplices, non semper quid poëtæ videatur, sed quid cuique maximè conveniat, loquentes. Danai filiæ quinquaginta, ex Ægypto profugæ, ad Argivorum regem supplices pervenerant; orant uti se contra vim Ægyptiorum, classe insequentium, defendat; respondet rex non posse se, nisi rem priùs cum populo communicet.

> Ἐγὼ δ' ἂν οὐ κραίνοιμ' ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος
> Ἀστῶν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσδε κοινώσας πέρι.

Mulieres peregrinæ et supplices, incerta populi suffragia veritæ, regem denuò blandiùs compellant.

> Σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δήμιον,
> Πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὤν.
> "Tu instar urbis es et populi, prætor injudicatus."

Rursus rex,

> Εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρὶν, ὀυκ ἄνευ δήμου τάδε
> Πράξαιμ' ἂν οὐδέπερ κρατῶν.
> "Dixi antea, non sine populo hæc faciam, ne si possem quidem."

De re itaque tota ad populum refert,

> Ἐγὼ δὲ λάους συγκαλῶν ἐγχωρίους
> Πείσω τὸ κοινόν.

Populus itaque decernit opem Danai filiabus ferendam; unde illa senis Danai lætantis.

> Θαρσεῖτε παῖδες, ευ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
> Δήμου δέδοκται παντελῆ ψηφίσματα.
> "Bono estote animo filiæ, benè decreverunt
> "Indigenarum, in conventu populari, perfectissima suffragia."

Hæc nisi protulissem, quàm temere statuisset sciolus iste de jure regio apud Græcos ex ore mulierum, et peregrinarum, et supplicum; cùm et ipse rex, et ipsa res gesta, longè aliud nos doceat. Idem etiam docet Euripidis Orestes, qui, mortuo patre, Argivorum ipse rex, ob cædem matris à populo in judicium vocatus, ipse causam dixit, et suffragiis populi capite damnatus est. Athenis regiam potestatem legibus obnoxiam fuisse testatur idem Euripides etiam in Supplicibus, ubi hæc Theseus Athenarum rex—

> οὐ γὰρ ἄρχεται
> Ἑνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρα πόλις,
> Δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει—
> "non regitur
> "Ab uno viro, sed est libera hæc civitas,
> "Populus autem regnat—"

Sic ejus filius Demophoon, rex item Atheniensium, apud eundem poëtam in Heraclidis.

> Οὐ γὰρ τυραννίδ' ὥστε βαρβάρων ἔχω,
> Ἀλλ' ἢν δίκαια δρῶ, δίκαια πείσομαι.
> "Non enim iis tyrannicè tanquam barbaris impero,
> "Sed si facio justa quæ sunt, justa mihi rependentur."

Non aliud Thebis jus regium antiquitùs fuisse testatur Sophocles in Œdipo tyranno, unde et Tiresias et Creon Ædipo ferociter responsant, ille

> οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος
> "Non servus tibi sum."

Hic, Κἀμοὶ πόλεως μέτεστι τῆς, δ' οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ.
"Est et mihi jus in hac civitate non tibi solùm."

Et Æmon Creonti in Antigone.

> Πόλις γὰρ ὀυκ ἔσθ', ἥτις ἀνδρὸς ἔσθ' ἑνός.
> "Non est civitas, quæ unius est viri."

Jam verò Lacedæmoniorum reges in judicium sæpe adductos, et interdum morte multatos, nemo ignorat. Atque hæc quidem antiquum in Græcia jus regium quale fuerit satis declarant. Ad Romanos veniamus. Tu ad illud imprimis recurris non Sallustianum, sed C. Memmii apud Sallustium, "impunè quidvis facere:" cui suprà responsum est. Sallustius ipse disertis verbis author est, "Romano imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium, habuisse:" quod cum "se in dominationem convertit," ut nôsti, expulerunt. Sic M. Tullius in Pisonem, "ego consulem esse putem, qui senatum esse in repub. non putavit? et sine eo consilio consulem numerem, sine quo Romæ ne reges quidem esse potuerunt?" Audin' regem Romæ sine senatu nihil fuisse? "At Romulus, ut libitum, Romanis imperitaverat, ut aït Tacitus." Nondum enim fundata legibus, colluvies potiùs convenarum quàm respub. erat: omnes olim mortales sine legibus vivebant, cùm respublicæ nondum essent. Post Romulum autem, authore Livio, etsi regem omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experta, "Populo tamen summa potestas permissa est, ut non plus darent juris quàm detinerent; jus illud" à Cæsaribus "vi ademptum fuisse" idem aït. Servius Tullius dolo primùm, quasi Tarquinii Prisci vicarius, regnabat; postea verò ad populum ipse retulit, "vellent juberentne se regnare;" tandem ut aït Tacitus, "sanctor legum fuit, queis etiam reges obtemperarent." Fecissetne hanc sibi et posteris injuriam, si supra leges priùs fuisse jus

regium sensisset? Ultimus illorum regum Tarquinius Superbus "morem de omnibus senatum consulendi primus solvit;" ob hæc et alia flagitia populus L. Tarquinio regi imperium abrogavit; exulemque esse cum conjuge ac liberis jussit. Hæc ferè ex Livio et Cicerone; quibus alios juris regii apud Romanos haud tu interpretes attuleris meliores. Ad dictaturam quod attinet, temporaria tantùm fuit, nunquam adhibita ni difficillimis reipub. temporibus, et intra sex menses deponenda. Jus autem imperatorum quod vocas, non jus illud, sed vis, planè erat; imperium nullo jure prætorquàm armis partum. At "Tacitus," inquis "qui sub imperio floruit," ista scripsit. "Principi summum rerum arbitrium dii dederunt, subditis obsequii gloria relicta est." Nec dicis quo loco; tibi conscius nimirum insigniter lectoribus imposuisse; quod mihi quidem statim suboluit, quamvis locum illum non statim reperi. Non enim Taciti hæc verba sunt, scriptoris boni, et tyrannis adversissimi, sed apud Tacitum M. Terentii cujusdam equitis Romani, qui capitis reus, inter alia, quæ metu mortis ab eo dicta sunt, sic Tiberium adulatur, annalium 6to. "Tibi summum rerum judicium dii dederunt, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est." Hanc tu quasi Taciti sententiam profers, qui sententias tibi commodas non ex pistrina solùm, aut tonstrina, sed ex ipsa carnificina, oblatas non respueres: ita omnia vel ostentationis causâ, vel imbecillitatis conscientiâ, undecunque corradis. Tacitum ipsum si legere maluisses, quàm alicubi decerptum negligentiùs transcribere, docuisset te is, jus illud imperatorum unde ortum sit. "Post Actiacam victoriam, verso civitatis statu, nihil usquam prisci aut integri moris; omnes exuta æqualitate jussa principis aspectare;" docuisset idem, annalium 3tio, unde tuum omne jus regium; "Postquam exui æqualitas, et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, provenêre dominationes; multosque apud populos æternùm mansere." Idem ex Dione poteras didicisse, si innata levitas et inconstantia tua quicquam te altius percipere pateretur. Narrat enim is l. 53. abs te citato, ut partim armis, partim dolo et simulatione Octaviani Cæsaris, effectum sit, ut imperatores legibus soluti essent; dum enim pro concione pollicetur se principatu abiturum, legibus et imperiis etiam aliorum obtemperaturum, per causam belli in provinciis suis gerendi, retentis apud se semper legionibus, dum simulatè renuit imperium, sensim invasit. Non est hoc legibus ritè solutum esse, sed legum vincula, quod gladiator ille Spartacus potuit, vi solvere; nomen deinde principis aut imperatoris et αὐτοκράτορος sibi arrogare, quasi Deus aut natura lex omnes et homines et leges illi subjecisset. Vis altiùs paulò juris Cæsarei originem cognoscere? Marcus Antonius, jussu Cæsaris, qui, armis in rempublicam nefariè sumptis, tum plurimum poterat, consul factus, cùm Lupercalia Romæ celebrarentur, ex composito, ut videbatur, diadema capiti Cæsaris cum gemitu et plangore populi imposuit: ascribi deinde jussit in fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæsari Antonium consulem, jussu populi, regnum detulisse. Qua de re Cicero in secunda Philippica; "Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Spurius Cassius, Sp. Melius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post sæculis à M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romæ constitueretur?" Tu verò omni malo cruciatu atque infamia sempiterna etiam ipso Antonio dignior es; quanquam tu hinc noli superbire, non enim te, hominem despicatissimum, ulla re alia quàm scelere cum Antonio conferendum putem, qui, in hisce tuis Lupercalibus nefandis, non uni tantùm, sed omnibus tyrannis, diadema cunctis legibus solutum, nullâ solvendum, imponere studuisti. Certè si ipsorum Cæsarum oraculo credendum est, sic enim appellant Christiani imperatores Theodosius et Valens edictum suum, cod. l. 1. tit. 14. de authoritate juris imperatorum pendet authoritas. Majestas ergò regnantis, vel ipsorum Cæsarum sive judicio sive oraculo, submittenda legibus est, de quibus pendet. Hinc, adulta jam potestate imperatoria, ad Trajanum Plinius in Panegyrico; "Diversa sunt naturâ dominatio et principatus. Trajanus regnum ipsum arcet ac summovet, sedemque obtinet principis, ne sit domino locus." Et infrà, "omnia, quæ de aliis principibus à me dicta sunt, eò pertinent ut ostendam, quàm longa consuetudine corruptos, depravatosque, mores principatûs parens noster reformet, et corrigat." Quod depravatos principatûs mores Plinius, id tene pudet jus regium perpetuò vocitare? Verùm hactenùs de jure regio apud Romanos breviter. Quid illi in tyrannos suos, sive reges, sive imperatores, fecerint, vulgò notum est. Tarquinium expulerunt. Sed "quomodo," inquis, "expulerunt; an in jus vocarunt? nequaquam; portas venienti clauserunt." Ridiculum caput! quidni clauderent advolanti cum parte copiarum? quid refert exulare jussus fuerit an mori, modò pœnas dedisse constat? Ca. Cæsarem tyrannum excellentissimi ejus ætatis viri in senatu interfecerunt; id factum M. Tullius et ipse vir optimus, et pater patriæ publicè dictus, miris laudibus, cùm alibi passim, tum in 2da Philippica, celebravit. Pauca recitabo. "Omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt; aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio, defuit, voluntas nemini." Et infrà. "Quæ enim res unquam, proh sancte Jupiter, non modò in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta major, quæ gloriosior, quæ commendatior hominum memoriæ sempiternæ? in hujus me consilii societatem, tanquam in equum Trojanum, includi cum principibus non recuso." Illud Senecæ tragici et ad Græcos referri potest, et ad Romanos:

> ——Victima haud ulla amplior
> Potest, magisque opima mectari Jovi,
> Quàm rex iniquus.——

Nam si ad Herculem spectes, cujus hæc sententia inducitur, quid senserint illa ætate Græcorum summi viri ostendit: si ad poëtam, qui sub Nerone floruit (et sensum ferè suum poëtæ personis optimis affingere solent) significabat et quid ipse, et quid omnes viri boni, ætate etiam Neronis, faciendum tyranno censuerint; quamque pium, quamque diis gratum, esse duxerint tyrannicidium. Sic optimi quique Romanorum, quantum in se erat, Domitianum occiderunt. Palàm hoc profitetur Plinius secundus in illo ad Trajanum imperatorem Panegyrico. "Juvabat illidere solo superbissimos vultus, instare ferro, sævire securibus, ut si singulos ictus sanguis dolorque sequeretur: nemo tam temperans gaudii, quin instar ultionis videretur cernere lace-

ros artus, truncata membra, postremò truces horrendasque imagines abjectas excoctasque flammis." Et deinde, "non satis amant bonos principes, qui malos satis non oderint." Tum inter flagitia Domitiani ponit, quòd is Epaphroditum, Neronis utcunque interfectorem, trucidaverit. "An excidit dolori nostro modò vindicatus Nero, permitteret credo famam vitamque ejus carpi, qui mortem ulciscebatur?" Planè quasi sceleri proximum esse judicaret, non interfecisse Neronem, scelus gravissimum vindicâsse interfectum. Ex his manifestum est, Romanorum præstantissimos quosque viros non solum tyrannos quoquo modo, quoties poterant, occidisse, sed factum illud, ut Græci olim, in maxima laude posuisse: vivum enim tyrannum quoties judicare non poterant viribus inferiores, mortuum tamen et judicabant, et lege Valeria damnabant. Valerius enim Publicola, Junii Bruti collega, cum videret non posse stipatos suis militibus tyrannos ad judicium perduci, legem tulit, qua indemnatum quovis modo occidere liceret; deinde facti rationem reddere. Hinc C. Caligulam, quem Cassius ferro, omnes votis interfecerunt; Valerius Asiaticus, vir consularis, cùm non adesset, ad milites tamen ob necem ejus tumultuantes exclamat, "utinam ego interfecissem;" senatus eodem tempore abolendam Cæsarum memoriam, ac diruenda templa, censuit; tantum abfuit ut Cassio irasceretur; Claudium, à militibus imperatorem mox salutatum vetant per tribunum plebis principatum capescere; vis autem militum vicit. Neronem senatus hostem judicavit, et, ut puniretur more majorum quærebat; id genus pœnæ erat, ut nudi cervix insereretur furcæ, corpus virgis ad necem cæderetur. Vide quantò mitiùs et moderatiùs Angli cum tyranno egerint suo, qui multorum judicio plus ipso Nerone sanguinis fundendi author fuerat. Sic Domitianum mortuum senatus damnavit; quod potuit, imagines ejus coràm detrahi, et solo affligi, jussit. Commodus à suis interfectus, non vindicatus à senatu aut populo, sed hostis judicatus est, qui etiam cadaver ejus ad supplicium quærebant. Ea de re senatusconsultum extat apud Lampridium; "Hosti patriæ honores detrahantur, parricida trahatur, in spoliario lanietur, hostis deorum, carnifex senatûs unco trahatur," &c. Iidem Didium Julianum imperatorem frequentissimo senatu capitis damnârunt; et, misso tribuno, occidi in palatio jusserunt. Iidem Maximino imperium abrogârunt, hostemque judicârunt. Juvat ipsum senatusconsultum ex Capitolino recitare. "Consul retulit; Patres Conscripti, de Maximinis quid placet?" responsum est, "hostes, hostes; qui eos occiderit, præmium merebitur." Vis scire populus Romanus et provinciæ Maximino imperatori an senatui paruerint? audi eundem Capitolinum. "Literas mittit senatus" ad omnes provincias, ut communi saluti libertatique subveniant; quæ auditæ sunt ab omnibus. Ubique amici, administratores, duces, tribuni, milites, Maximini interfecti sunt: paucæ civitates fidem hosti publico servaverunt. Eadem tradit Herodianus. Quid plura de Romanis? Jam apud finitimas nationes quale jus regum illa ætate fuerit videamus. Apud Gallos rex eorum Ambiorix "sua ejusmodi esse imperia" fatetur, "ut non minus haberet in se juris multitudo, quàm ipse in multitudinem." Judicabatur ergò non minùs quam judicabat. Rex item Vercingetorix proditionis insimulatus est à suis; tradit hæc Cæsar, bellum Gallicum scribens. Nec "Germanorum regibus infinita aut libera potestas" erat; "de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes. Rex aut princeps auditur authoritate suadendi magis quàm jubendi potestate; si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur." Hæc Tacitus. Tu verò, quod inauditum prorsus esse modò exclamabas, nunc sæpiùs factum concedis, "quinquaginta" nimirum "Scotorum reges aut expulsos, aut incarceratos, aut necatos, quosdam etiam in publico capitali supplicio affectos." Quod in ipsa Britannia factitatum est, cur tu, tyrannorum vespillo, infandum, inauditum, esse tanta ejulatione vociferaris? Pergis Judæorum et Christianorum erga tyrannos suos religionem extollere, et mendacia ex mendaciis serere, quæ jam toties refutavimus. Modò Assyriorum et Persarum obedientiam latè prædicabas, nunc eorum rebelliones enumeras; et quos nunquam rebellâsse paulò ante dixeras, nunc cur iidem toties rebellaverint multas causas affers. Ad narrationem deinde sumpti de rege supplicii, tamdiu intermissam, revertis, ut, si tunc fortè satìs sedulò ineptus et ridiculus non eras, nunc esses. "Per aulæ suæ membra ductum" narras. Quid per aulæ membra intelligas scire gestio. Romanorum calamitates ex regno in rempub. verso recenses, in quo te tibimet turpissimè mentiri suprà ostendimus. Qui ad Loiolitam, "seditiones tantùm sub optimatibus et populo, certam sub tyranno perniciem esse," demonstrabas, nunc, hominum vanissime et corruptissime, "ob reges olim ejectos seditionum illa mala tanquam supplicia illos hausisse" audes dicere? scilicet quia centum Jacobæis donavit te postea rex Carolus, idcirco reges expulsos luent Romani. At malè cessit Julii Cæsaris interfectoribus. Sanè si cui unquam tyranno, huic parcitum vellem; quamvis enim regnum in repub. violentiùs invadebat, erat tamen regno fortasse dignissimus: nec ideo quenquam magis putem interfecti Cæsaris pœnas pependisse, quàm deleti Catilinæ Caium Antonium Ciceronis collegam: quo postea de aliis criminibus damnato, ut inquit Cicero pro Flacco, "sepulchrum Catilinæ floribus ornatum est." Fautores enim Catilinæ tunc exultabant, "justa Catilinæ tum facta esse dictitabant," ad invidiam cæteris conflandam, qui Catilinam sustulerant. Hæ sunt improborum artes, quibus viros præstantissimos à supplicio tyrannorum, et puniendis etiam sæpe facinorosissimis, deterreant. Dicerem ego contrà, quod facile esset, quoties bene cessit et prosperè tyrannorum interfectoribus, si quid certi de eventu rerum colligere quis posset. Objectas, quòd "regem hæreditarium Angli non illo affecerint supplicio, quo tyranni solent mactari, sed eo, quo latrones et proditionis rei." Primùm hæreditas ad maleficiorum impunitatem quid conferat nescio: conferre quicquam ut credat sapiens, fieri vix potest. Quod tu deinde ad "immanitatem" refers, in eo lenitas potiùs Anglorum, et moderatio, prædicanda erat; qui, cùm tyrannum esse omnes in patriam impietates, latrocinia, proditiones, perduelliones, in se complectatur, satis habebant supplicium haud gravius de tyranno sumere, quàm de

simplici latrone quovis, aut proditore vulgari, sumere solebant. Speras "exorituros esse aliquos Harmodios et Thrasybulos, qui, nostrorum cæde, tyranni manibus parentent." At tu citiùs animum despondebis, et vitam de dignam, omnibus bonis execrandus, antè suspendio finieris, quàm Harmodios Harmodiorum sanguine litantes tyranno videas. Tibi enim illud accidere verisimillimum est, deque te tam scelerato quis augurari rectiùs possit: alterum est impossibile. Tyrannorum triginta mentionem facis qui sub Gallieno rebellârunt. Quid si tyrannus tyrannum oppugnat, an omnes ergò qui oppugnant tyrannum, aut tollunt, tyranni erunt ipsi? haud tu id persuaseris, mancipium equestre; neque is qui author tibi est, Trebellius Pollio, historicorum propè ignobilissimus. "Si qui hostes," inquis, "à senatu judicati sunt, factio id fecit, non jus." Nobis in memoriam revocas quid fecit imperatores; factio nempe, et vis, et, ut planiùs dicam, furor Antonii, non jus, fecit, ut contra senatum populumque Romanum ipsi priùs rebellarent. "Dedit," inquis, "pœnas Galba, qui contra Neronem insurrexit." Dic etiam quas pœnas dedit Vespasianus, qui contra Vitellium. "Tantum," inquis, "abfuit Carolus à Nerone, quantum isti laniones Anglicani à senatoribus illius temporis Romanis." Trifurcifer, à quo laudari vituperium est, vituperari laus magna: paucis modò periodis interpositis, hac ipsa de re scribens, "senatum sub imperatoribus togatorum mancipiorum consessum fuisse" aïebas, nunc eundem "senatum" aïs "consessum regum fuisse:" hoc si ita est, quid obstat quin reges, te authore, togata mancipia sint? Beatos hoc laudatore reges! quo inter homines nihil nequius, inter quadrupedes nihil amentius: nisi si hoc illi peculiare dicam esse, quòd nemo literatiùs rudit. Senatum Angliæ Neroni vis esse similiorem quàm senatui Romano: cogit me cacoëthes hoc tuum ineptissimas conglutinandi similitudines, ut corrigam te; et quàm similis Neroni fuerit Carolus, ostendam. "Nero," inquis, "matrem suam" ferro "necavit." Carolus et patrem et regem veneno; nam, ut alia omittam indicia, qui ducem veneficii reum legibus eripuit, fieri non potuit quin ipse reus quoque fuerit. Nero multa millia Christianorum occidit, Carolus multo plura. Non defuerunt, teste Suetonio, qui Neronem mortuum laudarent, qui desiderarent, qui per longum tempus, "vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent," ejus inimicis omnia mala ominarentur: non desunt qui Carolum eadem insaniâ desiderent, et summis laudibus extollant, quorum tu, patibularis eques, chorum ducis. "Milites Angli molossis suis ferociores novum et inauditum tribunal instituerunt." En acutissimum Salmasii sive symbolum sive adagium, jam sexies inculcatum, "Molossis suis ferociores;" adeste rhetores, vosque ludimagistri, delibate, si sapitis, flosculum hunc elegantissimum, qui tam Salmasio in deliciis est; codicillis vestris et capsulis mandate copiosissimi hominis pigmentum, ne intereat. Adeone etiam verba tua consumpsit rabies, ut, cuculi in modum, eadem identidem occinere cogaris? Quid hoc monstri esse dicam? Rabies, ut fabulantur, vertit Hecubam in canem, te S[ti] Lupi dominum vertit in cuculum. Jam novas exordiris repugnantias: supra p. 113. affirmaveras "Principem legibus solutum esse, non cogentibus" solùm, sed "dirigentibus, nullas esse omninò quibus teneatur;" nunc dicturum te aïs "infrà de regum differentia, quatenus potestate, alii minore, alii majore, in regnando fuerunt." Vis probare, "reges non potuisse judicari, nec damnari à subjectis suis argumento," ut ipse aïs, "firmissimo," revera stolidissimo; "nihil," inquis, "aliud inter judices et reges discrimen fuit: atqui Judæi judicum tædio odioque adducti reges postulabant." An quia judices illos magistratum malè gerentes judicare et damnare poterant, ideone putas tædio odioque eorum adductos postulâsse reges, quos jura omnia violantes punire, aut in ordinem cogere, non poterant? quis, excepto te uno, tam fatuè ratiocinari solet? Aliud igitur quiddam erat cur regem peterent, quàm ut haberent dominum legibus superiorem; de quo nunc divinare nihil attinet: quicquid erat, haud prudenti consilio factum et Deus et propheta ejus testatus est. Iterum rabbinis tuis, ex quibus probâsse te suprà asserebas regem Judæorum non judicari, nunc litem acerrimam intendis, quòd regem et judicari et verberari posse tradiderint: quod idem planè est acsi faterere ementitum te tunc esse, quod ex rabbinis probâsse dixeras. Eo demùm descendis ut de numero equilium Solomonis, quot "is equorum præsepia habuerit," oblitus regiæ defensionis, controversias putidulas concites. Tandem ab agasone ad equitem redis aretalogum et tautologum, vel potiùs ad id monstri quod priùs eras, cuculum rabiosum. Quereris enim "postremis" hisce "sæculis disciplinæ vigorem laxatum, regulam corruptam;" quòd uni scilicet tyranno, cunctis legibus soluto, disciplinam omnem laxare, mores omnium corrumpere, impunè non liceat. Hanc doctrinam "Brunistas inter reformatos" introduxisse aïs. Ita Lutherus, Calvinus, Zuinglius, Bucerus, et Orthodoxorum quotquot celeberrimi theologi fuere, tuo judicio Brunistæ sunt. Quo æquiore animo tua maledicta perferunt Angli, cùm in ecclesiæ doctores præstantissimos, totamque adeò ecclesiam reformatam, iisdem propè contumeliis debacchari te audiant.

CAPUT VI.

Post legem Dei et naturæ agitatam abs te frustra, et pessimè tractatam, unde nihil præter ignorantiæ simul et improbitatis ignominiam retulisti, quid deinde, in hac causa regia, præter nugas agere possis, non video. Cùm autem omnibus et bonis et doctis viris huic etiam causæ nobilissimæ abunde me satisfecisse sperem, etiamsi hoc loco finem respondendi facerem, tamen ne interea videar aliis varietatem potiùs et acumen tuum, quàm immodicam loquacitatem, defugisse, quò voles usque progrediar: eâ tamen brevitate, ut facilè appareat, me his omnibus perfunctum, si minùs quæ dignitas, at saltem quæ necessitas, causæ requirebat, nunc hominum quorumvis expectationi, vel etiam curiositati, morem gerere. "Hinc alius," inquis, "et major

argumentorum mihi surget ordo." An major eo argumentorum ordine quem lex Dei et naturæ suppeditabat? Fer opem, Lucina; parturit Mons Salmasius; non de nihilo nupsit uxori; fœtum aliquem ingentem exspectate, mortales. "Si is, qui rex est ac dicitur, postulari posset apud aliam potestatem, eam omnino regiâ majorem esse oporteret; quæ autem major statuetur, hanc verò regiam dici, et esse, necesse esset. Sic enim definienda potestas regia: quæ summa est in repub. et singularis, et supra quam nulla alia agnoscitur." O murem verè montanum et ridiculum! Succurrite, grammatici, grammatico laboranti; actum est non de lege Dei aut naturæ, sed de glossario. Quid si sic responderem tibi? cedant nomina rebus, non est nostrûm nomini cavere, qui rem sustulimus; curent id alii quibus cordi sunt reges; nos nostra utimur libertate: responsum sanè haud iniquum auferres. Verùm ut me per omnia ex æquo et bono tecum agere intelligas, non ex mea solùm, sed ex optimorum olim et prudentissimorum virorum sententia, respondebo, qui et nomen et potestatem regiam cum potestate legum et populi majore posse optimè consistere judicârunt. Lycurgus imprimis, vir sapientia clarissimus, cùm vellet maximè potestati regiæ consulere, ut author est Plato, nullam aliam ejus conservandæ rationem invenire potuit, quàm ut senatûs et ephororum, id est, populi potestatem regiâ majorem in sua patria constitueret. Idem sensit Theseus Euripidæus, qui cùm Athenarum rex esset, populo tamen Atheniensi in libertatem cum magna sua gloria vindicato, et potestatem popularem extulit supra regiam, et regnum nihilo secius in illa civitate suis posteris reliquit. Unde Euripides in Supplicibus ita loquentem inducit.

Δῆμον κατέστησ' αὐτὸν εἰς μοναρχίαν
'Ελευθερώσας τήνδ' ἰσόψηφον πόλιν.

"Populum constitui ipsum in monarchiam,
Liberans hanc urbem æquale jus suffragii habentem."

Et rursus ad præconem Thebanum.

Πρῶτον μὲν ἤρξω τοῦ λόγȣ ψευδῶς, ξένε,
Ζητῶν τύραννον ἐνθάδ', οὐ γὰρ ἄρχεται
'Ενὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρα πόλις,
Δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει.——

"Primùm incœpisti orationem falsò, hospes,
Quærens tyrannum hìc, non enim regitur
Ab uno viro, sed est libera hæc civitas,
Populus autem regnat.——

Hæc ille; cùm tamen rex in illa civitate et esset, et dictus esset. Testis est etiam divinus Plato in epistola octava, "Induxit Lycurgus senatum et ephororum potestatem, *τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον*, potestati regiæ maximè salutarem, quæ hac ratione per tot sæcula magna cum laude conservata est; postquam lex domina rex facta est hominum." Lex autem rex esse non potest, nisi sit qui in regem quoque, si usus venerit, lege possit agere. Sic temperatam potestatem regiam Siciliensibus commendat, *ἐλευθερία γιγνέσθω μετὰ βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς*, &c. "sit libertas cum regia potestate; sit regia potestas *ὑπεύθυνος* reddendæ rationi obnoxia; dominetur lex etiam regibus, siquid præter legem fecerint." Aristoteles denique, Politicorum tertio, "In repub. Spartanorum videtur," inquit, "regnum esse maximè, eorum regnorum quæ sunt secundùm legem:" omnes autem regni species secundùm legem fuisse aït, præter unam, quam vocat *παμβασιλείαν*, neque talem usquam extitisse meminit. Tale itaque regnum maximè omnium propriè et dici et esse regnum sensit Aristoteles, quale apud Spartanos fuit; talem proinde regem non minùs propriè et dici et esse regem, ubi tamen populus supra regem erat, negare non potuit. Cùm tot tantique authores et nomen et rem regiam sua fide salvam regi præstiterent, etiam ubi populus penès se summam potestatem, tametsi exercere non solet, tamen, quoties opus est, obtinet, noli tam angusto animo summæ rerum grammaticalium, hoc est vocabulorum, sic timere, ut potiùs quàm glossarii tui ratio turbetur, aut detrimenti quid capiat, prodere libertatem omnium, et rempub. velis. Scito etiam dehinc, nomina rebus servire, non res nominibus; ita plus sapies, nec "in infinitum," quod metuis, "ibis. Frustrà ergò Seneca tria illa genera statuum ita describit." Frustretur Seneca, nos liberi simus; et nisi fallor, non ii sumus quos flores Senecæ in servitutem reducant. Seneca autem, si summam in uno potestatem esse dicit, "populi," tamen "eam" dicit "esse," commissam videlicet regi ad salutem omnium, non ad perniciem; nec mancipio, sed usu duntaxat, à populo datam. "Non jam ergò per Deum reges regnant, sed per populum." Quasi verò Deus non ita regat populum, ut cui Deus vult, regnum tradat populus; cum in ipsis institutionibus imperator Justinianus palàm agnoscat, exinde Cæsares regnâsse, ex quo "lege regia populus iis et in eos omne imperium suum, et potestatem, concessit." Sed quousque ista recoquemus, quæ jam toties refutavimus? Rursùs, quod ingenium tuum importunum et agreste, mores odiosissimos indicat, in nostra repub. quæ ad te nihil pertinet, alienigena et peregrinus curiosum te infers. Accede igitur, ut te tanto ardelione dignum est, cum insigni solœcismo. "Quicquid," inquis, "illi perditi homines dicunt, ad populum decipiendum pertinent." O scelerate! hoccine erat, quòd diminutus capite grammaticus in nostram rempub. te ingerere cupiebas, ut solœcismis nos tuis et barbarismis oppleres? Verùm tu dic, populum quo modo decepimus? "Forma regiminis quam introduxere non popularis est, sed militaris." Ista scilicet grex ille perfugarum mercedulâ conductum jussit te scribere: non tibi igitur, qui ea blatis, quorum nihil intelligis, sed iis qui te pretio conduxerunt, respondebitur. Quis "ordinem. procerum è parlamento ejecit? an populus?" Immo populus; eoque facto servitutis jugum à cervicibus suis haud ferendum dejecit. Ipsi milites, à quibus hoc factum dicis, non exteri, sed cives, et magna pars populi fuere; idque cætero ferè consentiente populo et cupiente, nec sine parlamenti etiam authoritate, fecerunt. "An populus," inquis, "plebeium ordinem domûs inferioris mutilavit, alios fugando, &c." Populus inquam; quod enim senatûs pars potior, id est sanior, fecit, in quo vera populi potestas residebat, quid ni id populum fecisse dicam? Quid si servire, quid si venum rempub. dare, in senatu

plures maluerint, annon id impedire, et libertatem retinere, si in manu est sua, paucioribus licebit? "At duces hoc fecerunt cum militibus suis." Habenda igitur gratia est ducibus, quòd operas et tabernarios Londinenses, qui paulò antè, veluti fæx illa Clodiana, ipsam curiam obsederant, ferocientes repulerint, reipub. non defuerint. Tune idcirco jus parlamenti primarium ac proprium, ut libertati imprimis populi sive pace sive bello prospiciat, "militarem dominationem" appellabis? Verùm hoc à perduellibus dici, qui tibi ista dictârunt, non est mirum; sic enim perditissima olim Antoniorum factio senatum Romanum, contra hostes patriæ ad saga euntem, "Castra Pompeii" appellare solebat. Jam verò fortissimo nostri exercitûs ductori Cromuello, quòd is amicorum læto agmine stipatus, non sine favore populi secundo, votis etiam bonorum omnium prosequentibus, in bellum Hibernicum Deo gratissimum proficisceretur, invidisse tuos gaudeo; auditis enim postea tot ejus victoriis, jam arbitror eos livore contabuisse. Multa præterea, quæ de Romanis militibus prolixè nugaris: quod sequitur à veritate remotissimum esse quis non videt? "Populi," inquis, "potestas esse desinit, ubi regis esse incipit." Quo tandem jure? cùm satis constet, omnes ferè ubique gentium reges sub certis conditionibus traditum sibi regnum à populo accipere: quibus si rex non steterit, cur illa potestas, quæ fiduciaria tantùm fuit, ad populum redire non debeat, tam à rege quàm à consule, vel ab alio quovis magistratu, tu velim doceas: nam quòd "salutem reipub. id" aïs "postulare," ineptias dicis; cùm salutis ratio eadem omninò sit, sive à rege, sive ab optimatibus, sive à triumviris, imperio sibi tradito perperam utentibus, "potestas illa ad populum revertatur;" posse autem à magistratibus quibuscunque, prœterquam à rege solo, ad populum reverti ipse concedis. Sanè si neque regi, neque ullis magistratibus, imperium in se populus mentis compos dederit, nisi tantummodò communis omnium salutis causâ, nihil potest obstare quo minùs, ob causas planè contrarias, ne interitus omnium sequatur, haud secus regi quàm aliis magistratibus, quod dedit imperium adimere possit: quid quòd uni etiam faciliùs quàm pluribus ademerit? et potestatem in se plusquam fiduciariam cuiquam mortalium tradere summæ esset insaniæ: neque credibile est ullum ab orbe terrarum condito populum, qui quidem suæ spontis esset, adeò miserè desipuisse, ut vel omnem prorsus potestatem ab se alienaret, aut suis magistratibus concreditam, sine causis gravissimis, ad se revocaret. Quod si discordiæ, si bella intestina, indè oriantur, regium certè jus nullum indè oritur illius potestatis per vim retinendæ, quam populus suam sibi vendicat. Ex quo efficitur, quod ad prudentiam populi, non ad jus regis, referendum est, quodque nos non negamus, "rectorem non facilè mutandum esse:" nunquam ergò aut nulla prorsus de causa, nullo modo sequitur: neque tu adhuc quicquam allegâsti, neque jus ullum regis exprompsisti, quo minùs liceat consentienti populo regem haud idoneum regno privare; siquidem id, quod etiam in Gallia tua sæpiùs factum est, sine tumultu ac civili bello fieri possit. Cùm itaque salus populi suprema lex sit, non salus tyranni, ac proinde populo in tyrannum, non tyranno in populum, prodesse debeat, tu, qui tam sanctam legem, tam augustam, tuis præstigiis pervertere es ausus, qui legem inter homines supremam, et populo maximè salutarem, ad tyrannorum duntaxat impunitatem valere voluisti, tu inquam scito, quandoquidem Angli "enthusiastæ, et enthei, et vates," toties tibi sumus, me vate scito, Deum tibi atque homines tanti piaculi ultores imminere: quanquam universum genus humanum subjicere tyrannis, id est, quantum in te fuit, ad bestias damnare, hoc ipsum scelus tam immane qua partim in te ultio est, suis te furiis quocunque fugis terrarum, atque oberras, vel citiùs vel seriùs insequetur; et pejore etiam eâ, quam nunc insanis, insaniâ agitabit. Venio nunc ad alterum argumentum tuum, prioris haud dissimile; si populo resumere liceret potestatem suam, "nihil tum esset discriminis inter popularem et regalem statum, nisi quòd in hoc singuli rectores constituuntur, in illo plures:" quid si nihil aliud interesset, numquid indè respub. detrimenti caperet? Ecce autem aliæ differentiæ à temetipso allatæ, "temporis" nimirum "et successionis; cùm populares magistratus annui ferè sint," reges, nisi quid committant, perpetui; et in eadem plerunque familia. Differant ergò inter se aut non differant, de istis enim minutiis nihil laboro, in hoc certè conveniunt, quod utrobique populus, quoties id interest reipub., potest quam alteri potestatem, salutis publicæ causâ, tradiderat, eam ad se rursus nec injuriâ, eandem ob causam, revocare. "At lege regia Romæ sic appellata, de qua in institutis, populus Romanus principi, et in eum, omne imperium suum et potestatem concessit." Nempe vi Cæsarum coactus, qui honesto legis titulo suam tantummodo violentiam sanxerunt; de quo suprà, id quod ipsi jurisconsulti in hunc locum non dissimulant. Quod igitur legitimè, et volente populo, concessum non est, id revocabile quin sit non dubitamus. Veruntamen rationi maximè consentaneum est, populum Romanum non aliam potestatem transtulisse in principem, atque priùs concesserat suis magistratibus; id est imperium legitimum et revocabile, non tyrannicum et absurdum; quocirca et consularem et tribunitiam potestatem Cæsares recepêre; dictatoriam nemo post Julium; populum in circo adorare etiam solebant, ut ex Tacito Claudiano suprà meminimus. Verùm ut "multi olim privati se in servitutem alteri vendiderunt, sic potest populus universus." O equitem ergastularium et mangonem, patriæ etiam tuæ æternum opprobrium! quem servitutis tam fœdum procuratorem ac lenonem publicum etiam servitia infima cujusvis catastræ abhorrere atque conspuere deberent! Sanè si populus hunc in modum se regibus mancipâsset, posset et reges eundem populum alteri cuivis domino mancipare, aut pretio addicere; et tamen constat regem ne patrimonium quidem coronæ posse alienare. Qui igitur coronæ, quod aïunt, et patrimonii regii, usum fructum solùm à populo concessum habet, is populi ipsius manceps erit? Non si pertusis auribus utrisque perforatus eques, non si gypsatis pedibus cursitares, tam esses omnium servorum vilissimus, quam nunc es, hujus tam pudendæ author sententiæ. Perge pœnas tuorum scelerum invitus, quod nunc facis, de temetipso sumere. Multa

postremò de jure belli balbutis, quæ hìc locum non habent; nam neque Carolus nos bello vicit, et majores ejus, etsi maximè vicissent, isti tamen juri sæpiùs renuntiaverant; nec verò tam unquam victi fuimus, ut nos in eorum nomen, illi in nostras leges, non vicissim jurarent; quas cùm Carolus insigniter violâsset, vel olim victorem, vel nunc regem perjurum, priùs ab ipso lacessiti armis debellavimus: ex tua autem sententia "quod armis quæritur, transit in ejus dominium qui acquisivit." Sis itaque deinceps hac in parte quàm voles verbosus, sis, quod in Solino dudùm fuisti, exercitator Plinianus, blateronum omnium verbosissimus, quicquid exinde argutaris, quicquid turbas, quicquid rabbinicaris, quicquid rauces, ad finem usque hujus capitis, id totum non jam pro rege devicto, sed pro nobis divina ope victoribus, contra regem desudare te scias.

CAPUT VII.

Propter duo incommoda sanè maxima, et pro tuo pondere gravissima, potestatem populi esse regiâ majorem proximo capite negâsti: quippe, si concederes, quærendum regi aliud nomen esset, translato in populum regis vocabulo; et partitiones quædam politicæ conturbarentur: quorum alterum vocabularii dispendium foret, alterum tuorum crux politicorum. Ad ea sic à nobis responsum est, ut primum salutis et libertatis nostræ, deinde etiam nomenclaturæ tuæ et politices, habita nonnulla ratio esset. Nunc "aliis rationibus evincendum esse" aïs, "regem à sibi subjectis judicari non posse, quarum hæc erit maximè potens et valida, quòd rex parem in suo regno non habeat." Quid aïs? non habet rex in suo regno parem? quid ergò illi duodecim vetustissimi Franciæ pares? an fabulæ sunt et nugæ? an frustra et ad ludibrium sic nominati? Cave istam viris Galliæ principibus contumeliam dixeris. An quia inter se pares? quasi verò nobilitatis totius Gallicæ duodenos tantùm inter se pares esse, aut dicendos idcirco Franciæ pares, existimandum sit. Quod nisi revera sint regis Franciæ pares, quòd cum eo rempub. pari jure atque consilio administret, vide ne in Franciæ regno potiùs quàm in nostra repub. quod unicum tua interest, glossario illudatur. Age verò, fac planum, non esse regi in regno suo parem. "Quia," inquis, "populus Romanus post reges exactos, duos constituit consules, non unum; ut si unus peccaret, coërceri à collega posset." Vix fingi quicquam potuit ineptius: cur igitur unus duntaxat consulum fasces apud se habuit, non uterque, si ad alterutrum coërcendum alter datus erat? quid si etiam uterque contra rempub. conjurâsset, an meliore loco res fuisset, quàm si collegam alteri nullum dedissent? Constat autem et ambos consules, et magistratus omnes, obtemperare senatui semper debuisse, quoties id è repub. esse patribus et plebi visum est. Hujus rei Marcum Tullium in oratione pro Sestio locupletissimum testem habeo: à quo simul brevissimam Romanæ civitatis descriptionem accipe; quam is et "sapientissimè constitutam," et omnes bonos cives nosse eam oportere, dicebat, quod idem et nos dicimus. "Majores nostri, cùm regum potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut consilium senatûs reipub. præponerent sempiternum: deligerentur autem in id consilium ab universo populo; aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret: senatum reipub. custodem, præsidem, propugnatorem, collocaverunt: hujus ordinis authoritate uti magistratus, et quasi ministros gravissimi consilii esse, voluerunt." Exemplo illustri esse poterunt Decemviri; qui cùm potestate consulari et summa præditi essent, eos tamen omnes simul, etiam renitentes, patrum authoritas in ordinem coëgit; consules etiam nonnullos, antequam magistratum deposuerant, hostes judicatos et contra eos sumpta arma esse legimus: hostilia enim facientem, esse consulem nemo putabat. Sic bellum contra Antonium consulem senatûs authoritate est gestum: in quo victus pœnas capitis dedisset, nisi Octavianus Cæsar, regnum affectans, evertendæ reipub. consilium cum eo iniisset. Jam quòd "hoc proprium esse" aïs "majestatis regalis, ut imperium penès unicum sit," haud minùs lubricum est, et à te quidem ipso statim refellitur: "Judices," enim "Hebræorum et singuli, et toto vitæ spatio, imperium obtinebant; scriptura quoque reges eos vocat; et tamen à synedrio magno" judicabantur. Ita fit, dum dixisse omnia vis videri, ut nihil ferè nisi pugnantia loquaris. Quæro deinde qualem tu formam regiminis esse dicas, cùm Romanum imperium duo simul tresve imperatores habuerunt; an imperatores tibi, id est reges, an optimates, an triumviri, videntur fuisse? An verò dices Romanum imperium sub Antonio et Vero, sub Diocletiano et Maximiano, sub Constantino et Licinio, non unum imperium fuisse? Jam ista tua "statuum tria genera" tuismet ipsius argutiis periclitantur, si reges isti non fuere: si fuere, non est ergò proprium imperii regii. ut penès unicum sit. "Alter," inquis, "horum si deliquat, potest alter de eo referre ad populum vel ad senatum, ut accusetur et condemnetur." Annon ergò judicat vel populus vel senatus ad quos alter ille refert? Si quid igitur ipse tribuis tibi, collegâ opus non erat ad judicandum collegam. Heu te defensorem, nisi execrabilis potiùs esses, planè miserandum! undiquaque ictibus adeò opportunum, ut si fortè per lusum destinare quis vellet quovis te loco punctim ferire, vix esse credo ubi temere possit aberrare. "Ridiculum" esse statuis, "regem in se judices dare velle, à quibus capite damnaretur." Atqui ego non ridiculum, sed optimum, tibi oppono imperatorem Trajanum; qui præfectum prætorio Saburanum, cùm ei insigne potestatis, uti mos erat, pugionem daret, crebrò sic monuit: "Accipe hunc gladium pro me, si rectè agam, sin aliter, in me magis, quòd moderatorem omnium vel errare minùs fas sit." Hæc Dion et Aurelius Victor. Vides ut judicem in se statuerit imperator egregius quamvis non parem. Hoc idem Tiberius per simulationem et vaniloquentiam fortasse dixisset; Trajanum autem virum optimum et sanctissimum non id ex animo dixisse quod verum,

quod jus et fas, esse sentiebat, scelestus penè sit qui arbitretur. Quanto justiùs ergò senatui, cùm viribus superior potuerit non parere, planè ex officii ratione paruit; et jure superiorem est fassus. De quo Plinius in panegyrico. "Senatus ut susciperes quartum consulatum et rogavit et jussit; imperii hoc verbum, non adulationis esse, obsequio tuo crede:" et paulò pòst, "hæc nempe intentio tua, ut libertatem revoces ac reducas." Quod Trajanus de se, idem senatus de Trajano sensit, suamque authoritatem revera esse supremam; nam qui imperatorem jubere potuit, potuit eundem et judicare. Sic Marcus Aurelius imperator, cùm præfectus Syriæ Cassius regnum ei eripere conaretur, obtulit se in judicium vel senatui vel populo Romano; paratus regno cedere, siquidem iis ita videretur. Jam verò quis rectiùs aut meliùs de jure regio existimare et statuere queat, quàm ex ore ipso regum optimorum. Profectò, jure naturali, rex quisque bonus vel senatum vel populum habet sibi semper et parem et superiorem: Tyrannus autem cùm natura infimus omnium sit, nemo non illi par atque superior existimandus est, quicunque viribus plus valet. Quemadmodum enim à vi olim ad leges, duce naturâ, deventum est, ita, ubi leges pro nihilo habentur, necessariò, eâdem etiam duce, ad vim est redeundum. "Hoc sentire," inquit Cicero pro Sestio, "prudentiæ est; facere, fortitudinis; et sentire verò et facere, perfectæ cumulatæque virtutis." Maneat hoc igitur in natura, nullis parasitorum artibus concutiendum, rege sive bono, sive malo, vel senatum vel populum esse superiorem. Quod et ipse confiteris, cùm potestatem regiam à populo in regem transiisse dicis. Quam enim regi potestatem dedit, eam naturâ, ac virtute quadam, vel ut ita dicam virtualiter, etiam cum alteri dederit, tamen in se habet: Quæ enim causæ naturales isto modo per eminentiam quandam quidvis efficiunt, plus semper suæ retinent virtutis quàm impertiunt; nec impertiendo se exhauriunt. Vides, quò propiùs ad naturam accedimus, eò evidentiùs potestatem populi supra regiam eminere. Illud etiam constat, populum, modò id ei liberum sit, potestatem regi suam simpliciter et mancipio nunquam dare, neque naturâ posse dare; sed tantum salutis et libertatis publicæ causâ, quam cùm rex procurare destiterit, intelligitur populum nihil dedisse; quia certo fini tantummodò dedit, monente ipsa natura; quem finem si neque natura, neque populus assequitur, non erit magis ratum quod dedit, quàm pactum quodvis aut fœdus irritum. His rationibus firmissimè probatur superiorem rege esse populum; unde argumentum hoc tuum, "maximè potens et validum, non posse regem judicari, quia parem in suo regno non habet, nec superiorem," diluitur. Id enim assumis, quod nullo modo concedimus. "In populari statu," inquis, "magistratus, à populo positus, ab eodem ob crimen plecti potest; in statu aristocratico optimates, ab iis quos habent collegas; sed pro monstro est, ut rex in regno suo cogatur causam capitis dicere." Quid nunc aliud concludis, quàm miserrimos esse omnium et stultissimos, qui regem sibi constituunt? Sed quamobrem, quæso, non poterit populus tam regem punire reum, quàm popularem magistratum, aut optimates? An putas omnes populos, qui sub regibus vivunt, amore servitutis usque eò deperiisse, ut, liberi cùm essent, servire maluerint, seque omnes, seque totos, in unius dominium viri sæpe mali sæpe stulti ita tradere, ut contra dominum, si sors ferat, immanissimum, nullum in legibus, nullum in natura ipsa, præsidium salutis, aut perfugium, sibi reliquerint? Cur ergò regibus primò regnum ineuntibus conditiones ferunt; cur leges etiam dant regnandi? an ut sperni se eò magis atque irrideri paterentur? adeone populum universum se abjicere, se deserere, sibi deesse, spem omnem in uno homine, eoque ferè vanissimo, collocare? Cur item jurant reges nihil se contra legem facturos? ut discant nempe miseri mortales, suo maximo malo, solis licere regibus impunè pejerare. Id quod hæc tua nefanda consectaria demonstrant. "Si rex qui eligitur, aliqua vel cum sacramento promiserit, quæ nisi promisisset, fortasse nec sumptus esset, si stare nolit conventis, à populo judicari non potest. Immò si subditis suis juraverit in electione, se secundùm leges regni justitiam administraturum, et nisi id faciat, eos sacramento fidelitatis fore solutos, et facto ipso abiturum esse potestate, à Deo non ab hominibus pœna in fallentem exposcenda est." Descripsi hæc, non ob elegantiam, sunt enim incultissima; nec quòd amplius refutationis indigeant, etenim ipsa se refutant, se explodunt, se damnant apertissima falsitate sua, atque turpitudine; sed eò feci, ut ob merita tua egregia commendarem te regibus: qui inter officia aulæ tam multa aliquem dignitatis locum, aut munus idoneum tibi, prospiciant: cum enim alii sint à rationibus, alii à poculis, alii à voluptatibus, tu iis commodissimè sanè eris à perjuriis; tu regiæ non elegantiæ, nam inscitus nimiùm es, sed perfidiæ, summus arbiter eris. Verùm ut summam in te stultitiam summa improbitate conjunctam esse omnes fateantur, expendamus paulo accuratiùs præclara illa, quæ proximè affirmâsti: "Rex," inquis, "etsi subditis juraverit in electione, se secundum leges regnaturum," et ni faciat, "eos sacramento fidelitatis solutos fore, et se facto ipso abiturum potestate," abdicari tamen aut puniri ab iis non poterit. Quî minùs, quæso, rex quàm popularis magistratus? quia in eo regimine populus non omnem transfundit potestatem suam ad magistratum. An hic igitur in regem? cui regnum in se non diutius tradunt, quàm id benè gesserit. Tam itaque rex, juratus in leges, reus abjici aut puniri poterit, quàm popularis magistratus. Nam argumento illo pancratico omnis in regem translatæ potestatis ampliùs uti non potes, quod tuis ipse machinis imprudens arietâsti. Cognoscite nunc "aliam potentissimam et invictam ejus rationem cur subditi regem "judicare nequeant "quia legibus solutus est, quia leges solus rex omnes fert;" quæ cum falsissima esse jam toties probaverim, hæc etiam invicta tua ratio cum priore ad nihilum recidit. Cæterùm rex ob delicta quævis privata, utpote stuprum, adulterium, et similia, si raro plectitur, non tam justitia quàm æquitate id fit, ne plus turbarum ex morte regis, et rerum mutatione, populo eveniat, quàm boni ex uno atque altero vindicato. Ex quo verò omnibus gravis et intolerandus esse incipit, tum quidem, quoquo possunt modo, judicatum vel injudicatum omnes nationes tyrannum occidere fas

esse semper credidere. Unde Marcus Tullius in secunda Philippica de Cæsaris interfectoribus. "Hi primi cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem, impetum fecerunt: quod cum ipsum factum per se præclarum atque divinum est, tum est positum ad imitandum." Quàm hujus tu dissimilis! "Homicidium, adulterium, injuria, non hæc crimina regia sunt, sed privata." Euge, parasite, lenones jam omnes et propudia aulica hac voce demeruisti; O quàm lepidè simul et parasitaris, et eâdem operâ lenocinaris! "Rex adulter benè potest regnare, et homicida, ideoque vitâ privari non debet, quia cum vita regno quoque exueretur; at nunquam hoc fuit probatum legibus divinis aut humanis, ut duplex vindicta de uno crimine sumeretur." Os impurum et infame! eadem ratione nec populares magistratus, nec optimates, ne duplici pœna afficerentur, ne judex quidem, aut senator, flagitiosus pœnas capite ullas persolvere debebit; cum vita enim et ipsi suo magistratu privarentur. Ut potestatem, sic majestatem etiam, populo adimere et in regem conferre studes; vicariam si vis et translatitiam, primariam certè non potes, uti nec potestatem. "Crimen," inquis, "majestatis non potest committere rex adversùs populum suum; potest autem populus adversus regem." Et tamen rex propter populum duntaxat rex est, non populus propter regem. Populus igitur universus, aut pars major, plus semper rege debet posse: negas, et calculos ponis, "plus potest quàm singuli, bini, terni, deni, centeni, milleni, decies milleni." Esto. "Plus quàm dimidia pars populi." Non repugno. "Quid si alterius dimidiæ pars altera accedat, annon adhuc plus poterit?" Minimè. Progredere; quid aufers abacum, peritissime logista, an progressionem arithmeticam non calles? Vertit rationes, et "annon rex cum optimatibus plus potestatis habeat," quærit; iterum nego, Vertumne, si pro optimatibus proceres intelligas; quoniam accidere potest, ut nemo inter eos optimatis nomine sit dignus: fit etiam sæpiùs, ut multò plures de plebe sint, qui virtute et sapientia proceres antecellant; quibus cùm pars populi major vel potior accedit, eos universi populi instar esse haud verear dicere. "At si plus quàm universi non potest, ergò rex erit tantùm singulorum, non omnium universim sumptorum:" rectè; nisi ipsi voluerint. Rationes jam subducito; comperies te imperitè supputando sortem perdidisse. "Dicunt Angli penès populum jus majestatis ex origine et natura residere, hoc verò est omnium statuum eversionem inducere." Etiamne aristocratiæ, et democratiæ? Credibile sanè narras: quid si etiam gynæcocratiæ, sub quo statu ferunt te domi propemodùm vapulare, annon bearent te Angli, O perpusilli homo animi? sed hoc frustra speraveris; æquissimè enim est comparatum, ut qui tyrannidem foris imponere omnibus cupias, ipse domi tuæ servitutem servias turpissimam, et minimè virilem. "Doceamus te oportet," inquis, "quid nomine populi intelligi velimus." Permulta sunt, quæ te doceri potiùs oporteret; nam quæ te propiùs attingunt, videris ea penitùs nescire, et præter literulas nihil unquam didicisse, ne percipere quidem potuisse. Hoc tamen scire te putas, nos populi nomine plebem solùm intelligere quòd "optimatum consessum abrogavimus." At illud est ipsum, quod demonstrat nos populi vocabulo omnes ordinis cujuscunque cives comprehendere; qui unam tantummodo populi curiam supremam stabilivimus, in qua etiam proceres, ut pars populi, non pro sese quidem solis, ut antea, sed pro iis municipiis, à quibus electi fuerint, suffragia ferendi legitimum jus habent. Inveheris deinde in plebem, "cæcam" eam et "brutam, regendi artem non habere; nil plebe ventosius, vanius, levius, mobilius:" Conveniunt in te optimè hæc omnia; et de infima quidem plebe sunt etiam vera, de media non item; quo ex numero prudentissimi ferè sunt viri, et rerum peritissimi: cæteros hinc luxus et opulentia, inde egestas et inopia, à virtute et civilis prudentiæ studio plerunque avertit. "Plures" nunc esse "modos" asseris "regum constituendorum, qui nihil populo debent hoc nomine," et imprimis illi, "qui regnum habent hæreditarium." At verò servæ sint istæ nationes oportet, et ad servitutem natæ, quæ talem agnoscant dominum, cui se sine assensu suo hæreditate obvenisse credant: pro civibus certè, aut ingenuis et liberis, haberi non possunt; nec rempub. habere ullam censendæ; quinimmò inter facultates, et possessiones quasi heri sui, et herilis filii, numerandæ sunt: nam quod ad jus dominii, quid distent à servitiis et pecoribus non video. Secundò, "qui armis sibi regnum fecit, populum," inquis, "non potest authorem agnoscere imperii prolati vel usurpati." At nobis non de victore, sed de subacto rege, sermo nunc est; quid victor possit aliàs disputabimus; tu hoc age. Quod autem regi jus patrisfamilias antiquum toties attribuis, ut inde "absolutæ potestatis in regibus exemplum" petas, dissimillimum id esse jam sæpiùs ostendi: Aristoteles etiam ille, quem crepas, vel initio politicorum, si legisses, idem te docuisset: ubi aït malè eos judicare, qui inter patrem familias et regem parum interesse existimant; "regnum enim à familia, non numero solùm, sed specie differre." Postquam enim pagi in oppida et urbes crevere, evanuit paulatim jus illud regale familiæ, et agnosci desitum est. Hinc scribit Diodorus, l. 1. regna antiquitùs dari non regum filiis, sed iis quorum maxima in populum beneficia extiterunt. Et Justinus, "Principio rerum, gentium nationumque imperium penès reges erat; quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis, non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio, provehebat." Unde perspicuum est, in ipso gentium principio, imperium paternum et hæreditarium virtuti et populari statim juri cessisse. Quæ origo imperii regii et ratio et causa maximè naturalis est. Ob eam enim ipsam causam primò homines in unum convenere, non ut unus omnes insultaret, sed ut, quocunque alterum lædente, ne lex deesset, neve judex inter homines, quo læsus aut defendatur aut saltem vindicetur. Dispersos olim homines et dispalatos disertus aliquis, et sapiens, ad vitam civilem traduxit: tu "hoc maximè consilio," inquis, "ut in congregatos imperium haberet." Nimbrotum fortasse intelligis, qui tyrannorum primus fuisse dicitur: vel hæc tua solius malitia est, quæ in illos olim magnos et excelsi animi viros cadere non potuit; tuum solius commentum, à nemine, quod sciam, ante te traditum; cum utilitatem et salutem generis humani,

non sua commoda, suumque dominatum, respexisse illos primos urbium conditores antiquorum omnium monumentis proditum sit. Unum prætereire non possum, quo tu veluti emblemate quodam exornare credo cætera hujus capitis voluisti: si "consulem," inquis, in judicium venire oportuisset, priusquam magistratu abîsset, dictator ad hoc creandus fuisset," cum initio dixeris, "ideo collegam ei fuisse datum." Sic tua semper inter se congruunt, et quid de quaque re dicas, quidve scribas, quàm nullius momenti sit, paginis ferè singulis declarant. "Sub antiquis regibus Anglosaxonicis plebem," aïs, "ad comitia regni nunquam vocari solitam esse." Si quis nostrorum hoc affirmâsset, possem eum haud multo negotio erroris arguere; tua ista peregrina affirmatione res nostras hallucinante minùs moveor. Et de communi regum jure quæ habuisti hæc ferè sunt. Reliqua multa, nam et sæpissimè devius esse soles, prætermitto, vel quæ fundamento nituntur nullo, vel quæ extra causam posita sunt: non enim id operam do, ut tibi par esse loquacitate videar.

CAPUT VIII.

Si de communi regum jure, Salmasi, quæ sentires, ea sine contumelia cujusquam protulisses, quamvis in hac rerum apud Anglos mutatione, tamen, cùm libertate scribendi uterere tuâ, neque erat cur quisquam Anglorum tibi succenseret, neque in asserenda, quam tueris, sententia minus effecisses. Nam si hoc et Mosis et Christi præceptum est, "omnes regibus suis tam bonis quàm malis subjici, sive Hispanos, sive Gallos, sive Italos, sive Germanos, sive Anglos, sive Scotos," quod suprà (p. 127.) affirmabas, quid attinebat te, exterum et ignotum, jura nostra balbutire, eaque velle nobis è cathedra quasi schedulas tuas, et miscellanea, prælegere, quæ utcunque legibus divinis debere cedere multis antea verbis docueras. Nunc satis constat non tam tuopte ingenio ad causam regiam adjecisse te animum, quàm partim pretio, pro ejus, qui te conduxit, copia maximo, partim spe præmii cujusdam majoris, conductum fuisse, ut Anglos vicinorum nemini molestos, rerum tantummodò suarum arbitros, libello infami lacerares. Hoc nisi esset, quenquamne tantâ credibile est impudentiâ esse aut insaniâ, ut longinquus et extraneus immergere se gratìs in res nostras, ad partes etiam se adjungere, non dubitaret? Nam quid tua, malum, refert, quid rerum Angli inter se gerant? Quid tibi vis, Ole, quid tibi quæris? nihilne domi habes quod ad te pertinet? Utinam eadem haberes, quæ habuit ille notissimus in epigrammate Olus; et fortasse habes; dignus profectò es. An uxor tua stimulatrix illa, quæ ut in gratiam exulis Caroli hæc scriberes, etiam currentem incitâsse fertur, ampliores fortè in Anglia professiones, et honoraria nescio quæ, redeunte Carolo, ominata tibi est? At scitote, fœmina virque, non esse locum in Anglia neque lupo neque lupi domino. Unde mirum non est te toties in molossos nostros tantam rabiem effudisse. Quin redis ad illustres illos in Gallia titulos tuos, et imprimis ad famelicum illum lupi dominatum, deinde ad consistorium illud regis Christianissimi sacrum; nimis longo intervallo consiliarius peregrè abes à patria. Verùm illa, quod planè video, neque te desiderat neque consilia tua; ne cùm redires quidem paucis ab hinc annis, et culinam cardinalitiam olfacere et sectari cœpisses: sapit mehercule, sapit, teque oberrare semivirum Gallum cum uxore viro, et refertissimis inaniarum scriniis, facilè sinit; donec stipem sive equiti grammatistæ, sive illustri Hippocritico, satìs largam alicubi gentium inveneris; si cui fert animus regi vel civitati, doctorem erraticum et venalem mercede maxima liceri. Sed eccum tibi licitatorem; vendibilis necne sis, et quanti, jam statim videbimus. "Pertendunt," inquis, "parricidæ, regni Anglicani statum mixtum esse, non merè regium." Pertendit idem sub Edvardo 6to Smithus noster, jurisconsultus idem bonus, et politicus, quem fuisse parricidam non dices, ejus libri ferè initio, quem de repub. Anglicana scripsit; neque id de nostra solùm, sed de omni penè repub. idque ex Aristotelis sententia verum esse affirmat; neque aliter ullam rempub. stare posse. At enim, quasi piaculum esse crederes quicquam dicere sine repugnantiis, ad priores illas et jam tritissimas fœdè revolveris. "Nullam gentem" aïs "esse, nec fuisse unquam, quæ regis appellatione non intellexerit eam potestatem quæ solo Deo minor est, quæque solum Deum judicem haberet;" et tamen paulo post fateris, "nomen regis datum vel olim fuisse ejusmodi potestatibus et magistratibus, qui plenum et liberum jus non haberent, sed à populi nutu dependens," ut "suffetes Carthaginiensium, judices Hebræorum, reges Lacedæmoniorum," et postremo "Arragonensium." Satisne bellè tibi constas? Tum quinque monarchiæ species ex Aristotele recenses, quarum una tantùm jus illud obtinuit, quod tu regibus commune omnibus esse dicis. De qua haud semel jam dictum est, nullum ejus exemplum vel ab Aristotele allatum, vel usquam extitisse: quatuor reliquas, et legitimas, et legibus fuisse minores, dilucidè ostendit. Primum horum erat regnum Laconicum, et maximè quidem, ejus sententiâ, regnum eorum quatuor quæ legitima erant. Secundum erat barbaricum, hoc solo diuturnum quia legitimum, et volente populo: nolente autem, omnis rex continuò non erit rex sed tyrannus, si invito populo regnum retinuerit, eodem teste Aristotele, l. 5. Idem de tertia regum specie dicendum est, quos ille æsymnetas vocat, electos à populo, et ad certum plerunque tempus, certasque causas, quales ferè apud Romanos fuere dictatores. Quarta species eorum est, qui heroïcis temporibus regnabant, quibus ob egregia merita regnum ultro à populo delatum erat, sed legitimum tamen; neque verò hi nisi volente populo regnum tenebant, nec alia re magìs differre has quatuor regni species à tyrannide aït, quàm quòd illic volente, hîc invito, populo regnetur. Quinta denique regni species, quæ παμβασιλεία dicitur, et est cum summa potestate, quale tu jus regum omnium esse vis, à philosopho planè damnatur, ut neque utile, neque justum, neque naturale, nisi sit ut populus ferre possit istiusmodi regnum, iisque deferat qui virtute aliis omnibus longè præluceant. Hæc, 3tio politicorum, cuivis obvia sunt. Verùm

tu, credo, ut vel semel ingeniosus et floridus esse viderere, "has quinque monarchiæ species quinque zonis" mundi assimilare gestiebas; "Inter duo extrema potentia regalis tres aliæ species interpositæ magis temperatæ videntur, ut inter zonas torridam et frigidam, quæ mediæ jacent." Festivum caput! quàm pulchras nobis similitudines semper concinnas! Tu igitur, quò regnum "absolutæ potestatis" ipse damnas, ad zonam frigidam hinc ocyùs amolire; quæ post adventum illic tuum plus duplo frigebit: nos interim à te novo Archimede sphæram illam, quam describis, mirabilem expectamus, in qua duæ sint extremæ zonæ, una torrida, altera frigida, tres mediæ temperatæ. "Reges," inquis, "Lacedæmoniorum in vincula conjici fas erat, morte multari fas non erat." Quare? an quia damnatum capite Agidem lictores et peregrini milites, rei novitate perculsi, regem ducere ad mortem non esse fas existimabant? Et populus quidem Spartanus ejus mortem ægrè tulit, non quòd rex capitali supplicio affectus fuerit, sed quòd bonus, et popularis, factione divitum judicio illo circumventus esset. Sic itaque Plutarchus, "primus rex Agis ab ephoris est morte multatus;" quibus verbis non quid fas, sed quid factum sit, tantummodò narrat. Nam qui regem in jus ducere, vel etiam in vincula possunt, illos non posse eundem supplicio ultimo afficere, puerile est credere. Accingeris jam tandem ad jus regum Anglicorum. "Rex," inquis, "in Anglia unus semper fuit." Hoc eo dicis, quia modò dixeras, "rex non est nisi unus sit et unicus." Quid si ita est, aliquot sanè quos credebam Angliæ reges fuisse, non erant: nam ut multos omittam Saxonicorum, qui consortes imperii vel filios vel fratres habuere, constat Henricum 2dum è stirpe Normanica cum filio regnâsse. "Ostendant," inquis, "aliquod regnum sub unius imperio, cui non potestas absoluta adjuncta fuerit, in quibusdam tamen magis remissa, in aliis magis intenta." Ostende tu potestatem absolutam remissam, asine; annon absoluta est summa? Quomodo ergò summa et remissa simul erit? quoscunque fateberis reges cum remissa potestate esse, eos non esse cum absoluta facilè vincam; inferiores proinde esse populo naturâ libero, qui et suus ipse legislator est, et potestatem regiam vel intendere, vel remittere, potest. Britannia an tota olim regibus paruerit, incertum: verisimilius est, prout tempora ferebant, nunc hanc, nunc illam, reipub. formam adhibuisse. Hinc Tacitus, "Britanni olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur." Deserti à Romanis, XL circiter annos sine regibus fuere: "regnum" itaque "perpetuum," quod affirmas, antiquitùs non fuit; fuisse autem hæreditarium præcisè nego; quod et regum series, et mos creandi, eorum demonstrat: disertis enim verbis petuntur populi suffragia. Postquam enim rex consuetum juramentum dedit, accedens archiepiscopus ad quatuor partes exstructi suggesti, toties rogat populum universum his verbis, "Consentire vultis de habendo ipsum regem?" planè ac si Romano more dixisset, Vultis, jubetis, hunc regnare? quod opus non foret, si regnum jure esse hæreditarium; verùm apud reges usurpatio pro jure sæpissimè obtinet. Tu Caroli bello toties victi jus regium jure belli fundare adniteris: Gulielmus scilicet cognomento "Conquæstor" nos subjugavit. At sciunt qui in nostra historia peregrini non sunt, Anglorum opes uno illo prælio Hastingensi non adeò attritas fuisse, quin bellum facilè instaurare potuissent. Sed regem accipere, quàm victorem et tyrannum pati, malebant. Dant itaque jusjurandum Gulielmo, se fidem ei servaturos: dat pariter Gulielmus juramentum illis, admotus altari, se omnia, quæ per est bonum regem, iis esse vicissim præstiturum. Cum falleret fidem, et rursus Angli arma caperent, diffisus ipse suis viribus, juravit denuò, tactis Evangeliis, antiquas se leges Angliæ observaturum. Si postea igitur Anglos miserè afflixit, non id jure belli, sed jure perjurii, fecit. Certum est, præterea, jam multis ab hinc sæculis victos et victores in unam gentem coaluisse; ut jus illud belli, si quod unquam fuit, antiquari jamdiu necesse sit. Ipsius verba morientis, quæ ex libro Cadomensi fide dignissimo descripta reddimus, omnem dubitationem tollunt. "Neminem," inquit, "Anglici regni constituo hæredem." Qua voce jus illud belli, simulque illud hæreditarium, cum ipso mortuo Gulielmo conclamatum atque sepultum est. Video nunc aliquam te in aula dignitatem, quod prædixi fore, esse adeptum; summus nimirum aulicæ astutiæ quæstor regius et procurator es factus. Unde hoc quod sequitur videris ex officio scribere, vir magnifice. "Siquis prædecessorum regum factionibus procerum, vel seditionibus plebis, coactus, aliquid de suo jure remiserit, id non potest successori obesse, quin id iterum sibi vindicet." Rectè mones: itaque si quo tempore majores nostri aliquid de jure suo per ignaviam amisere, an id oberit nobis, eorum posteris? Pro se illi quidem servitutem spondere, si vellent, pro nobis certè non poterant; quibus idem semper jus erit nosmet liberandi, quod illis erat in servitutem se cuilibet tradendi. Miraris "quid faciat," ut "rex Britanniæ hodie debeat haberi pro magistratu tantum regni, qui autem alia regna in Christianitate obtinent, plena et libera potestate polleant." De Scotia remitto te ad Buchananum, de Gallia etiam tua, ubi hospes esse videris, ad Francogalliam Hotomani, et Girardum Franciæ historicum, de cæteris ad alios, quorum nulli quod sciam independentes erant: ex quibus de jure regio longè alia poteras didicisse, quàm quæ doces. Cùm jure belli tyrannidem regibus Angliæ asserere nequiveris, facis jam periculum in jure parasitico. Edicunt reges se regnare "Dei gratiâ:" quid si Deos se esse edixissent? te, credo, flaminem facilè erant habituri: sic pontifex Cantuariensis "Dei providentia" archiepiscopari præ se tulit. Tune ista fatuitate papam non vis esse regem in ecclesia, ut regem constituere plusquam papam in repub. possis? At in regni statutis appellatur "rex dominus noster." Mirus tu quidem statutorum nostrorum nomenculator repentè evasisti; nescis tamen multos dici dominos qui non sunt; nescis quàm iniquum sit ex titulis honorariis, ne dicam adulatoriis, de jure et veritate rerum statuere. Eodem refer quod "parlamentum regis" dicitur: nam et frænum regis vocatur; adeoque non magis rex parlamenti est dominus, quam equus est sui dominus fræni. At "cur non regis parlamentum, cum ab eo convocetur." Dicam tibi, quia convocatur etiam senatus à

consule, neque proptcrea dominus illius concilii erat. Quòd itaque rex parlamentum convocat, id facit pro officio suo ac munere, quod à populo accepit, ut etiam, quos convocat, eos de arduis regni negotiis consuleret, non de suis: aut siqua dici sua possunt, de iis postremo semper loco agi solitum erat; ad arbitrium etiam parlamenti, non suum. Nec verò ignorant, quorum id interest scire, parlamentum sive vocatum, sive non vocatum, bis intra vertentem annum antiquitùs ex lege potuisse convenire. At "regis etiam leges nuncupantur." Sunt istæ quidem ad regem phaleræ; rex autem Angliæ legem ferre per se potest nullam; neque enim ad leges ferendas, sed ad custodiendas à populo latas, constitutus erat. Tuque hìc fateris "congregari" idcirco "parlamentum, ut leges conderet." Quapropter et lex terræ vocatur, et lex populi: unde Ethelstanus rex in præfatione legum, ubi omnes alloquitur, "vobis," inquit, "lege vestrà" omnia largitus sum: et in formula juramenti, quo reges Angliæ antequam crearentur obstringere se solebant, sic populus à rege stipulatur. "Concedis justas leges quas vulgus elegerit?" respondet rex, "Concedo." Erras etiam totâ Angliâ, "qui regem, quo tempore parlamentum non habetur, plenè planèque totum regni statum regio jure gubernare" aïs. Nam neque de bello, neque de pace, quod magni sit momenti, quicquam decernere, ne in jure quidem dicundo curiarum decretis intercedere potest. Jurant itaque judices nihil se in judiciis exercendis nisi ex lege facturos, etiamsi rex ipse dicto, aut mandato, vel etiam literis proprio annulo obsignatis, aliter imperaret. Hinc sæpius in nostro jure rex "infans" dicitur; nec sua jura aut dignitates, nisi pueri aut pupilli in modum, possidere. Spec. Just. c. 4. sect. 22. Hinc etiam illud apud nos crebrò dici solitum, "rex non potest facere injuriam." Quod tu hoc modo sceleratè interpretaris, "non est injuria quam facit rex, quia in eo non punitur." Admirabilem hominis impudentiam et improbitatem vel hoc solo interpretamento quis non perspiciat? "Capitis est imperare," inquis, "non membrorum; rex parlamenti caput est." Siccine nugarere, si cor tibi saperet? erras iterum (sed quis finis errorum est tuorum?) in quo regis consiliarios à parlamenti ordinibus non distinguis; nam neque illos quidem omnes, horum verò nullos reliquis non probatos, eligere debebat rex; in plebeium autem ordinem ut quenquam eligeret, id sibi ne sumebat quidem unquam. Quibus id muneris populus delegabat, per municipia singuli suffragiis omnium eligebantur; notissima loquor, eoque brevior sum. "Falsum" autem "esse" aïs, "quod sanctæ independentiæ cultores asserunt, parlamentum à populo fuisse institutum." Video jam quid sit cur papatum tanto impetu evertere contendas: alium ipse papatum in alvo, quod aïunt, gestas: quid enim aliud uxor uxoris, lupus ex lupa gravidus, nisi aut portentum, aut papatum aliquem novum, parturire te oportebat? certè papa germanus quasi jam esses, sanctos et sanctas pro arbitrio facis; reges etiam omni peccato absolvis, et, quasi strato jam hoste, ejus exuviis opimum te ornas. Verùm, quia papa nondum per te planè cecidit, dum libri illius tui "de primatu," secunda et tertia, et fortasse quarta et quinta, pars prodierit, qui multos mortales tædio priùs enecabit, quàm tu papam eo libro subegeris, sit satis interea, quæso, ad antipapatum saltem aliquem posse ascendere; est altera, quam tu, præter illam independentiam abs te irrisam, sanctorum in numerum seriò retulisti, tyrannis regia: sanctæ ergò tyrannidis regiæ tu pontifex eris maximus; et nequid desit tibi ad papales titulos, "servus etiam servorum" eris, non Dei, sed aulæ; quoniam illa Chenaani maledictio adhæsisse tibi ad præcordia videtur. "Bestiam" appellas "populum." Quid interim es ipse? Non enim sacrum illud consistorium, neque sanctus ille lupus, te dominum suum aut populo exemerit aut vulgo; neque effecerit, quin, sicuti es, teterrima ipse bestia sis. Certè libri sacri prophetici magnorum regum monarchiam et dominationem immanis bestiæ nomine ac specie adumbrare solent. "Sub regibus ante Gulielmum," inquis, "nulla parlamenti mentio exstat." De vocabulo Gallicano altercari non libet: res semper fuit: et Saxonicis temporibus "Concilium Sapientum" vocari solitum concedis. Sapientes autem tam sunt plebis quàm procerum ex numero. At "in statuto Mertonensi, vigesimo Hen. tertii, comitum et baronum tantum fit mentio." Ita te semper nomina decipiunt, qui tantùm in nominibus ætatem omnem contrivisti; nobis enim satis constat, et Quinque-portuum curatores, et decuriones urbicos, nonnunquam et mercatores, illo sæculo baronum nomine appellatos fuisse; neque dubium omnino est, quin parlamenti quosque senatores, quantumvis plebeios, ætas illa jure multò potiore barones nuncupaverit: nam et anno ejusdem regis 52 tam nobiles, quàm plebeios, fuisse convocatos, Marlbrigii statutum, sicut et reliqua fere statuta omnia, disertis verbis testantur: quos etiam plebeios comitatuum magnates Edouardus tertius in præfatione Statuti Stapli, quam perdoctè pro me recitas, vocavit; eos nimirum "qui de singulis civitatibus pro toto comitatu venerant;" qui quidem plebeium ordinem constituebant, neque erant proceres, aut esse poterant: Tradit etiam liber statutis illis vetustior, qui inscribitur, "Modus habendi parlamenta," licere regi cum plebe sola parlamentum habere, legesque ferre, quamvis comites et episcopi non adsint; non itidem licere regi cum comitibus et episcopis, si plebs non aderit. Hujus rei ratio quoque adjicitur; quia cum nondum comites aut episcopi constituti essent, reges cum populo tamen parlamenta et concilia peragebant: deinde comites pro se tantùm veniunt; plebeii pro suo quisque municipio. Ex quo iste ordo universi populi nomine adesse intelligitur; eoque nomine et potiorem, et nobiliorem, ordine patricio, omnique ex parte anteponendum esse. Sed "judicandi potestas," inquis, "penès domum plebeiam nunquam fuit." Neque penès regem Angliæ fuit unquam: illud tamen memineris, principio omnem potestatem à populo fluxisse, et etiamnum proficisci. Quod et Marcus Tullius de lege agraria pulcherrimè ostendit. "Cum omnes potestates, imperia, curationes, ab universo populo proficisci convenit, tum eas profectò maximè, quæ constituuntur ad populi fructum aliquem, et commodum; in quo et universi deligant, quem populo maximè consulturum putent, et unusquisque studio et suffragio suo viam sibi ad bene-

ficium impetrandum munire possit." Vides parlamentorum veram originem, illis Saxonicis archivis longè vetustiorem. Dum in hac luce veritatis et sapientiæ versari licebit, frustra nobis obscuriorum ætatum tenebras offundere conaris. Quod non eò dici à me quisquam existimet, quasi ego de authoritate et prudentia majorum nostrorum detrahi quicquam velim; qui in legibus bonis ferendis plus sanè præstiterunt, quàm vel illa sæcula, vel illorum ingenium et cultus, tulisse videatur: et quamvis leges raró non bonas irrogarent, ignorantiæ tamen, et imbecillitatis humanæ, sibi conscii, hoc veluti fundamentum legum omnium posteris tradi voluerunt, quod et nostri jurisperiti omnes agnoscunt, ut si qua lex aut consuetudo legi divinæ aut naturali, aut rationi denique, repugnaret, ea ne pro lege sancitâ habeatur. Unde tu, etiamsi edictum fortasse aliquod aut statutum in jure nostro, quo regi tyrannica potestas attribuatur, invenire posses, id, cùm et divinæ voluntati, et naturæ, et rationi, contrarium sit, intelligito, ex generali et primaria ista lege nostra quam attuli, rescindi apud nos, et ratum non esse; verùm tu jus nullum tale regium apud nos invenies. Cum enim judicandi potestas primitùs in ipso populo fuisse constet, Anglos autem eam ab se in regem nulla lege regia unquam transtulisse, (neminem enim judicare aut solet aut potest rex Angliæ, nisi per leges provisas jam et approbatas: Fleta l. 1. c. 17.) sequitur eandem adhuc integram atque totam in populo sitam esse; nam parium domui aut nunquam traditam, aut recuperari jure posse, non negabis. At, "regis est," inquis, "de vico municipium," de eo "civitatem facere; ergò illos creat qui constituunt domum inferiorem." At inquam, oppida et municipia regibus antiquiora sunt; etiam in agris populus est populus. Jam Anglicismis tuis magnopere delectamur; Countie Court, The Turn, Hundreda; mira nempe docilitate centenos Jacobæos tuos Anglicè numerare didicisti.

"Quis expedivit" Salmasio suam Hundredam,
Picamque "docuit nostra verba conari?"
"Magister artis venter," et Jacobæi
Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.
"Quòd si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,"
Ipse Antichristi qui modò primatum papæ
Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,
"Cantabit" ultrò cardinalitium "melos."

Longam deinde de comitibus et baronibus dissertationem subtexis; ut ostendas regem esse eorum omnium creatorem, quod facilè concedimus, eoque nomine regibus plerunque serviebant; ideoque ne gentis liberæ deinceps judices essent rectè providimus. "Potestatem convocandi parlamentum quoties libet, et quando vult dissolvendi, ex omni temporis memoria penès regem esse" affirmas. Tibine igitur, balatroni mercenario et peregrino, perfugarum dictata exscribenti, an disertis legum nostrarum verbis, fides habenda sit, infrà videbimus. "At," inquis, "reges Angliæ parlamento majus imperium habuisse alio argumento probatur, eoque invincibili; regis potestas perpetua est et ordinaria, quæ per se sine parlamento regnum administrat; parlamenti extraordinaria est authoritas, et ad certas tantùm res, nec sine rege quicquam validi statuere idonea." Ubinam dicamus vim magnam latere hujus argumenti? an in "ordinaria et perpetua?" Atqui minores multi magistratus habent potestatem ordinariam et perpetuam, quos irenarchas vocamus; an summam ergò habent? Suprà etiam dixi potestatem regi idcirco traditam à populo fuisse, ut videret authoritate sibi commissa ne quid contra legem fiat; utque leges custodiret nostras, non ut nobis imponeret suas: regis proinde potestatem, nisi in regni curiis et per eas, esse nullam: immo populi potius ordinaria est omnis, qui per duodecim viros de omnibus judicat. Atque hinc est quòd interrogatus in curia reus, "Cui te permittis judicandum?" respondet semper ex more atque lege, "Deo et populo," non Deo et regi, aut regis vicario. Parlamenti autem authoritas, quæ, re et veritate, summa populi potestas in illum senatum collata est, si extraordinaria est dicenda, id tantùm propter ejus eminentiam dicitur; alioqui, ut notum est, ipsi ordines appellantur, non extra ordinem ergò; et si non actu, quod aïunt, virtute tamen, perpetuum habent in omnes curias et potestates ordinarias jus atque authoritatem; idque sine rege. Offendunt nunc limatulas, opinor, aures tuas nostrorum barbaræ locutiones: cujus ego, si vacaret, aut operæ pretium esset, tot barbarismos hoc uno libro notare possem, quot, si pro merito lueres, profectò omnes puerorum ferulas in te frangi oporteret, nec tot aureos tibi dari, quot illi quondam pessimo poëtæ; colaphos longè plures. "Prodigium esse" aïs, "omnibus portenti sopinionum monstrosius, quòd fanatici personam regis à potestate ejus sejungant." Equidem dicta singulorum non præstitero: personam autem si pro homine vis dici, separari à potestate ejus nec absurdè posse Chrysostomus, haud fanaticus, docere te potuit; qui præceptum Apostoli de potestatibus ita explanat, ut potestatem ibi et rem, non hominem, intelligi asserat. Quidni dicam regem, qui contra leges quid facit, id agere ut privatum vel tyrannum, non ut regem legitima potestate præditum? Tu si uno in homine posse plures esse personas, easque ab ipso homine sensu et cogitatione separabiles, non intelligis, et sensûs communis et latinitatis planè expers es. Sed hoc eò dicis, ut reges peccato omni absolvas, utque erepto papæ primatu indutum te esse existimemus: "Rex," inquis, "non posse peccare intelligitur, quia peccatum ejus pœna non consequitur." Quisquis ergò non punitur, non peccat; non furtum, sed pœna, facit furem; Salmasius grammaticus non facit solœcismos, quia manum ferulæ subduxit: post eversum à te papam sint isti sanè pontificatûs tui canones, vel certè indulgentiæ tuæ, sive sanctæ tyrannidis, sive sanctæ servitutis, pontifex dici mavis. Congesta extremo capite maledicta tua in "Anglicanæ reipub. et ecclesiæ statum" prætereo: hoc enim habent tui similes, homo contemptissime; ut quidque plurima dignum est laude, id solent per calumniam maximè vituperare. Sed de jure regio apud nos, seu potiùs de jure populi in regem, ne quid temere affirmâsse videar, proferre ex ipsis monumentis non gravabor, quamvis pauca quidem de multis, ea tamen quibus liquidò satis constabit, Anglos ex lege et instituto, et more etiam majorum suorum, regem nuper judicavisse. Post Romanorum

ex insula discessum, sui juris Britanni circiter annos 40, *sine regibus fuere*; quos primos creârunt, eorum nonnullos supplicio affecere. Britannos eo nomine Gildas, contrà quàm tu facis, reprehendit, non quòd reges necavere, sed quòd injudicatos, vel ut ejus verbis utar, "non pro veri examinatione." Vortigernus ob incestas cum filia nuptias, teste Nennio historicorum nostrorum post Gildam antiquissimo, damnatur "à beato Germano, et omni concilio Britonum," ejusque filio Guorthemiro regnum traditur. Haud multò hæc post Augustini obitum gesta sunt: unde vanitas tua facilè redarguitur, qui suprà asseruisti, primum omnium papam, et nominatim Zachariam, docuisse, judicari reges posse. Circa annum Christi 600, Morcantius, qui tunc temporis in Cambria regnabat, propter cædem patrui ab Oudoceo Landaviæ episcopo in exilium damnatur; quanquam is exilii sententiam, latifundiis quibusdam ecclesiæ donatis, redemit. Ad Saxones jam veniamus; quorum jura cum reperientur, facta prætermittam. Saxones Germanis oriundos memineris; qui nec infinitam aut liberam potestatem regibus dedere, et de rebus majoribus consultare omnes solebant; ex quibus intelligere est, parlamentum, si solum nomen excipias, etiam apud Saxonum majores summa authoritate viguisse. Et ab iis quidem concilium sapientum passim nominatur; ipsis Ethelberti temporibus, quem "decreta, judiciorum juxta exempla Romanorum, cum concilio sapientum constituisse" memorat Beda; sic Edwinus Northanymbrorum, Inas occidentalium Saxonum, rex, "habito cum sapientibus et senioribus concilio," novas leges promulgavit; alias Aluredus edidit "ex concilio" item "prudentissimorum; atque iis," inquit, "omnibus placuit edici earum observationes." His atque aliis multis hujusmodi locis luce clarius est, delectos etiam ex plebe conciliis maximis interfuisse; nisi siquis proceres solos sapientes esse arbitratur. Extat etiam apud nos perantiquus legum liber, cui titulus "Speculum Justiciariorum," in quo traditur primos Saxones, post Britanniam subactam, cùm reges crearent, ab iis jusjurandum exigere consuevisse, se, ut quemvis alium è populo, legibus ac judiciis subjectos fore, cap. 1. sect. 2. Ibidem ait jus esse et æquum ut rex suos in parlamento habeat pares, qui de injuriis, quas vel rex vel regina fecerit, cognoscerent; regnante Aluredo sancitum legibus fuisse, ut singulis annis parlamentum bis Londini, vel eo sæpiùs, si opus esset, haberetur. Quæ lex cùm pessimo juris neglectu in desuetudinem abiisset, duabus sub Edouardo 3[tio] sanctionibus renovata est. In alio etiam antiquo manuscripto, qui "Modus Parlamenti" inscribitur, hæc legimus; si rex parlamentum priùs dimiserit, quàm ea omnia transigantur quorum causâ concilium indictum erat, perjurii reus erit; et juramentum illud, quod regnum initurus dederat, violâsse censebitur. Quomodo enim, quod juratus est, justas leges concedit, quas populus elegerit, si earum eligendi facultatem petenti populo non dat, vel rariùs parlamentum convocando, vel citiùs dimittendo, quàm res populi ferunt? Jus autem illud jurandum, quo rex Angliæ se obligat, nostri jurisperiti pro sanctissima lege semper habuere. Quod autem maximis reipub. periculis remedium inveniri potest (qui solus convocandi parlamenti finis erat) si conventus ille magnus et augustissimus ad regis libitum stultissimi sæpè et pervicacissimi dissolvetur? Posse à parlamento abesse, proculdubiò minus est, quàm parlamentum dissolvere: at rex per leges nostras, illo Modorum libro traditas, abesse à parlamento, nisi planè ægrotaret, neque potuit, neque debuit: et ne tum quidem nisi inspecto ejus corpore à duodecim regni paribus, qui de adversa regis valetudine testimonium perhibere in senatu possent: solentne servi cum domino sic agere? Contrà verò plebeius ordo, sine quo parlamentum haberi non potest, etiam à rege convocatus potuit non adesse, et secessione facta, de repub. malè gesta cum rege expostulare: quod et prædictus liber testatur. Verùm, quod caput est, inter leges Edouardi regis vulgò Confessoris, una est eximia, quæ de regis officio tractat; cui rex officio si desit, "nomen regis in eo non constabit." Hoc quid esset, ne non satis intelligeretur, Chilperici Francorum regis exemplum subnectit, cui idcircò regnum à populo abrogatum erat. Puniri autem malum regem ex legis hujus sententia oportere, significabat ille S. Edouardi gladius, cui nomen Curtana erat, quem in regum creatione et pompa gestare comes palatii solebat; "in signum," inquit noster Matthæus Paris, "quòd et regem, si oberret, habeat de jure potestatem cohibendi:" gladio autem nemo ferè nisi capite punitur. Hanc legem, cum aliis boni illius Edouardi, Gulielmus ipse conquæstor, anno regni quarto, ratam habuit: et frequentissimo Anglorum concilio prope Verulamium religiosissimè juratus confirmavit: quo facto non solùm jus omne belli, si quod in nos habuit, ipse extinxit, sed etiam hujus legis judicio atque sententiæ se subjecit. Ejus etiam filius Henricus cum in omnes Edouardi leges, tùm in hanc quoque, juravit; atque iis duntaxat conditionibus, vivente adhuc fratre Roberto natu majore, in regem est electus. Jurârunt eadem omnes deinceps reges, antequam insignia regni acciperent. Hinc celebris ille et antiquus noster jurisconsultus Bractonus, l. 1. c. 8. "Non est rex, ubi dominatur voluntas, et non lex." Et l. 3. c. 9. "rex est dum benè regit; tyrannus, dum populum sibi creditum violenta opprimit dominatione." Et ibidem, "exercere debet potestatem juris, ut vicarius et minister Dei: potestas autem injuriæ diaboli est, non Dei: cum declinat ad injuriam rex, diaboli minister est." Eadem ferme habet vetustus alter jurisconsultus, libri illius author qui Fleta inscribitur, memor nempe uterque et legis illius Edvardinæ, verè quidem regiæ, et regulæ illius in jure nostro primariæ, à me suprà dictæ, qua nihil Dei legibus et rationi contrarium haberi pro lege potest; uti nec tyrannus pro rege, nec minister diaboli pro ministro Dei. Cum itaque lex maximè ratio recta sit, siquidem regi, siquidem Dei ministro, obediendum est; eadem prorsùs et ratione et lege, tyranno et diaboli ministro erit resistendum. Et quoniam de nomine sæpius quàm de re ambigitur, tradunt iidem, regem Angliæ, etiamsi nomen regis nondum perdiderit, judicari tamen, ut quilibet è vulgo, et posse et debere. Bracton. l. 1. c. 8. Fleta, l. 1. c. 17. "non debet esse rege major quisquam in exhibitione juris; minimus autem esse

debet in judicio suscipiendo, si peccat," alii legunt, "si petat." Judicari igitur cùm debeat rex noster, sive tyranni sub nomine, sive regis, quos habeat item judices legitimos dictu difficile non debet esse. Eosdem consulere authores haud pejus erit. Bracton. l. 2. c. 16. Fleta. l. 1. c. 17. "In populo regendo rex habet superiores, legem, per quam factus est rex, et curiam suam, videlicet comites et barones: comites dicuntur quasi socii regis, et qui habet socium, habet magistrum; et ideo si rex fuerit sine fræno, id est sine lege, debent ei frænum ponere." Baronum autem nomine plebeium ordinem comprehendi suprà ostendimus; quin et pares etiam parlamenti eosdem fuisse dictos, libri legum nostrarum antiqui passim tradunt: et imprimis liber ille, cui titulus Parlamenti Modus; "Eligentur" inquit "de omnibus regni paribus 25," quorum erunt "quinque milites, quinque cives," id est urbium delegati, "quinque municipes: et duo milites pro comitatu majorem vocem habent in concedendo et contradicendo quàm major comes Angliæ;" et meritò quidem; illi enim pro tota aliqua provincia aut municipio suffragia ferunt, isti pro se quisque duntaxat. Comites autem illos "codicillares," quos vocas, et "rescriptitios," cum feudales jam nulli sint, ad judicandum regem a quo creabantur minimè omnium idoneos esse, quis non videt? Cùm itaque jus nostrum sit, ut est in illo speculo antiquo, regem habere pares, qui in parlamento cognoscant et judicent, "si quid rex in aliquem populi sui peccaverit," si notissimum sit licere apud nos cuivis e populo in minoribus quibusque curiis injuriarum actionem regi intendere; quantò justius est, quantoque magis necessarium, si rex in universos peccaverit, ut habeat qui eum non refrænare solum et coërcere, sed judicare et punire, possint. Pessimè enim et ridiculè institutam esse eam necesse est rempub. in qua de minimis regum injuriis etiam privato cuivis cautum sit, de maximis nihil in commune provisum, nihil de salute omnium, quo minùs liceat ei universos sine lege perdere, qui ne unum quidem lædere per legem poterat. Comites autem esse regis judices, cum ostensum sit neque decere neque expedire, sequitur judicium illud totum ad plebeium ordinem, qui et pares regni, et barones, et populi totius potestate sibi delegata præditi sunt, jure optimo pertinere. Cùm enim, (ut in nostro jure scriptum est, quod suprà attuli,) plebs sola cum rege sine comitibus aut episcopis parlamentum constituat, quia rex cum sola plebe, etiam ante comites aut episcopos natos, parlamenta peragere solebat, eadem prorsus ratione plebs sola supremam et sine rege, et regem ipsum judicandi, potestatem habebit, quòd etiam ante ullum regem creatum, ipsa universi populi nomine concilia et parlamenta peragere, judicare, ferre leges, ipsa reges creare, solita erat; non ut populo dominarentur, sed ut rem populi administrarent. Quem si rex contra injuriis afficere, et servitute opprimere, conatus fuerit, ex ipsa legis nostræ sententia nomen regis in eo non constat, rex non est; quòd si rex non sit, quid est quod ei pares ampliùs quæramus? Tyrannum enim jam re ipsa ab omnibus bonis judicatum nulli non satis pares atque idonei sunt, qui supplicio mactandum esse pro tribunali judicent. Hæc cum ita sint, tot testimoniis, tot legibus prolatis, abundè hoc demùm, quod erat propositum, evicisse arbitror, cum judicare regem penès plebem jure optimo sit, cumque plebs regem de repub. deque ecclesia, sine spe ulla sanitatis, pessimè meritum supplicio ultimo affecerit, rectè atque ordine, exque repub. suaque fide, dignitate, legibus denique patriis, fecisse. Neque possum hìc non gratulari mihi de majoribus nostris, qui non minore prudentia ac libertate, quàm Romani olim, aut Græcorum præstantissimi, hanc rempub. instituerunt; neque poterunt illi, siquid nostrarum rerum sentiunt, non sibi etiam gratulari de posteris suis; qui tam sapientèr institutam, tanta libertate fundatam, ab impotenti regis dominatione, cùm redacti penè in servitutem essent, tam fortiter, tamque prudenter, vindicàrunt.

CAPUT IX.

Satis jam arbitror palàm esse, regem Angliæ etiam Anglorum legibus judicari posse; suos habere judices legitimos; quod erat probandum. Quid tu porrò? (nam quæ tu repetis, ad ea non repetam mea:) "ex rebus nunc ipsis propter quas comitia indici solent, proclive," inquis, "est ostendere regem esse supra parlamentum." Sit sanè proclive quantum voles, in quo præcipitem te dari jam statim senties. "Parlamentum," inquis, "congregari solet ad majoris momenti negotia, in quibus regni salus et populi versatur." Si rex parlamentum convocat ad procurandas res populi, non suas, neque id nisi assensu eorum atque arbitrio quos convocat, quid aliud est, obsecro, nisi minister populi et procurator? cùm, sine suffragiis eorum quos populus mittit, ne tantillum quidem, neque de aliis, neque de seipso, decernere possit. Quod etiam argumento est, officium esse regis, toties parlamentum convocare, quoties populus id petit: quandoquidem et res populi, non regis, iis comitiis tractantur, idque populi arbitrio. Quamvis enim regis quoque assensus honoris causà peti soleret, quem in rebus minoris momenti ad privatorum duntaxat commoda spectantibus poterat non præbere, poterat pro illa formula dicere, "rex deliberabit," de iis tamen, quæ ad salutem omnium communem et libertatem pertinebant, prorsus abnuere nullo modo poterat; cum id et contra juramentum regium esset, quo veluti lege firmissima tenebatur, et contra præcipuum Magnæ Chartæ articulum, c. 29. "Non negabimus, non differemus, cuiquam jus aut justitiam." Non negabit rex justitiam, negabit ergò justas leges? non cuiquam, an ergò omnibus? ne in curia quidem ulla minori, an ergo in senatu supremo? an verò rex ullus tantum sibi arrogabit, ut quid justum sit, quid utile, se unum universo populo scire melius existimet? Cùm "ad hoc creatus et electus sit, ut justitiam faciat universis," Bracton. l. 3. c. 9. per eas nimirum leges "quas vulgus" elegerit. Unde illud in archivis nostris 7. H. 4. Rot. Parl. num. 59. "non est ulla regis prærogativa, quæ ex justitia et æquitate quicquam derogat." Et reges olim acta parlamenti confirmare recusantes, Char-

tam videlicet Magnam et hujusmodi alia, majores nostri sæpenumerò armis coëgere; neque propterea minùs valere illas leges, aut minùs legitimas esse, jurisperiti nostri statuunt: quandoquidem assensum rex iis decretis coactus præbuit, quibus jure atque sponte assentiri debebat. Tu dum contendis aliarum etiam gentium reges in potestate vel synedrii vel senatûs, vel concilii sui æquè fuisse, non nos in servitutem asseris, sed eas in libertatem: in quo idem facere pergis, quod ab initio fecisti, quodque faciunt pragmaticorum stultissimi, ut incauti seipsos in lite sæpius contra veniant. At nos scilicet fatemur "regem, ubicunque absit, in parlamento tamen censeri præsentem vi potestatis: ergò quodcunque illic agitur à rege ipso actum intelligi." Tum quasi bolum aliquem nactus esses aut mercedulam, illorum recordatione Caroleorum delinitus, "accipimus," inquis, "quod dant:" accipe igitur, quo dignus es, magnum malum; non enim damus, quod sperabas, inde sequi "curiam illam non alia potiri potestate quàm à rege delegata." Si enim dicitur, potestas regis, quæcunque ea sit, à parlamento abesse non potest, an suprema continuò dicitur? annon potiùs transferri in parlamentum potestas regia videtur, utque minor majore contineri? sanè si parlamentum potest, nolente et invito rege, acta ejus et privilegia quibusvis data revocare atque rescindere, si ipsius regis prærogativas, prout videtur, circumscribere, si proventus ejus annuos et impensas aulæ, si famulitium ipsum, si totam denique rem domesticam regis moderari, si vel intimos ejus consiliarios atque amicos amovere, vel etiam è sinu abripere ad supplicium, potest, si cuivis denique de plebe à rege ad parlamentum quacunque de re provocatio est lege data, non itidem a parlamento ad regem, quæ omnia et posse fieri, et fuisse sæpiùs facta, cùm monumenta publica, tum legum nostrarum consultissimi testantur, neminem esse arbitror, modò mens ei sana sit, qui parlamentum supra regem esse non fateatur. Nam in interregno etiam parlamentum viget; et quod historiis nostris testatissimum est, nulla hæreditatis ratione habita, sæpe, quem sibi visum est, suffragiis liberrimis regem creavit. Ut summatim dicam quod res est, parlamentum est supremum gentis concilium, ad hoc ipsum à populo planè libero constitutum, et potestate plena instructum, ut de summis rebus in commune consulat; rex ideo erat creatus, ut de consilio et sententia illorum ordinum consulta omnia exequenda curaret. Quod cum parlamentum ipsum edicto nuper suo publicè declararet, neque enim pro æquitate sua recusabat vel externis gentibus actionum suarum rationem ultrò ac sponte reddere, ecce tibi, è gurgustio nullius homo authoritatis, aut fidei, aut rei, Burgundus iste Verna, qui summum Angliæ senatum, jus patrium atque suum scripto asserentem, "detestandæ et horribilis imposturæ" insimulat. Patriam mehercule tuam pudebit, verbero, se tantæ impudentiæ homuncionem genuisse. Sed habes fortasse quæ salutariter monitos nos velis; agedum, auscultamus. "Quas," inquis, "leges sancire potest parlamentum, in quo nec præsulum ordo comparet?" Tunc ergo, furiose, præsules ex ecclesia extirpatum ibas, ut in parlamenta induceres? O hominem impium, et Satanæ tradendum, quem neque ecclesia non ejicere hypocritam et atheum, neque ulla respub. recipere communem libertatis pestem atque labem, deberet; qui etiam, quod nequit ex Evangelio, id ex Aristotele et Halicarnassæo, deinde ex statutis papisticis pravissimorum temporum, probare adnititur, regem Angliæ caput esse Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, ut episcopos, compransores suos et necessarios nuper factos, quos ipse Deus exturbavit, novos iterum prædones et tyrannos, pro virili sua parte, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ imponat; quorum universum ordinem, tanquam religioni Christianæ perniciosissimum, eradicandum esse stirpitùs, editis antea libris clamosè contenderat. Quis unquam apostata, non dico à sua, quæ nulla certa est, sed à Christiana doctrina, quam ipse asseruerat, defectione tam fœda atque nefaria descivit? "Episcopis de medio sublatis, qui sub rege, et ex ejus arbitrio de causis ecclesiæ cognoscebant," quæris "ad quos redibit ea cognitio." O perditissime, verere tandem vel conscientiam tuam; memineris dum licet; nisi si hoc serò nimis te moneo, memineris quàm non impunè tibi erit, quàm inexpiabile demùm sit, sanctum Dei spiritum sic illudere. Subsiste aliquando, et pone aliquem furori modum, ne te accensa ira numinis repentè corripiat; qui Christi gregem, unctosque Dei minimè tangendos, iis hostibus et sævissimis tyrannis obterendos iterum et persultandos tradere cupis, à quibus elata modò et mirifica Dei manus eos liberavit: tuque ipse, nescio eorumne ad fructum ullum, an ad perniciem et obdurationem tuam, liberandos esse docuisti. Quòd si jus nullum dominandi in ecclesiam est episcopis, certè multo minùs est regibus; quicquid hominum statuta edicunt. Sciunt enim, qui labris aliquanto plusquam primoribus evangelium gustârunt, ecclesiæ gubernationem divinam esse totam ac spiritualem, non civilem. "In secularibus" autem, quòd aïs "supremam jurisdictionem habuisse regem Angliæ," id falsum esse jura nostra ubertim declarant. Curias omnes ubi judicia exercentur, non rex, sed parlamenti authoritas, vel constituit, vel tollit; in quibus tamen minimo cuivis è plebe licebat regem in jus vocare; neque raró judices contra regem pronuntiare solebant; id si rex vel interdicto, vel mandato, vel scriptis literis, impedire conaretur, ex juramento et lege non parebant judices, sed ejusmodi mandata rejiciebant, et pro nihilo habebant: non poterat rex quenquam in vincula conjicere, aut ullius bona in publicum addicere; poterat neminem supplicio punire, nisi in aliquam curiam priùs citatum, ubi non rex sed consueti judices sententias tulere; idque sæpe, ut suprà dixi, contra regem. Hinc noster Bractonus, l. 3. c. 9. "regia potestas juris est, non injuriæ; et nihil aliud potest rex, nisi id solùm quod de jure potest." Aliud tibi suggerunt causidici tui, qui nuper solum verterunt; ex statutis nempe quibusdam haud antiquis sub Edvardo 4to, Henrico 7timo, Edvardo 6to, promulgatis: neque viderunt, quamcunque regi potestatem statuta illa concedunt, eam à parlamento concessam esse omnem et quasi precariam; quam et eadem authoritas poterat revocare. Cur sic passus es nasuto tibi imponi, ut quo maximè argumento regis potestatem ex decretis parlamenti pendere demonstratur, eo absolutam esse et supremam probare te crederes? Nam et

monumenta nostra sanctiora testantur, reges nostros non hæreditati, non armis, non successioni, sed populo, suam omnem potestatem debere. Talis potestas regia Henrico quarto, talis ante eum Richardo secundo, à plebeio ordine concessa legitur; Rot. Parlament. 1 Hen. 4. num, 108. haud secùs atque rex aliquis præsidibus suis præfecturas et provincias edicto et diplomate solet concedere. Id nempe literis publicis consignari disertè jussit communium domus, "concessisse se regi Richardo, ut tali bonâ libertate" frueretur, "qualem ante eum reges Angliæ habuere;" qua cum rex ille "contra fidem sacramenti sui" ad eversionem legum abuteretur, ab iisdem orbatus regno est. Iidem etiam, quod et eadem rotula testatur, in parlamento edicunt, se, prudentia et moderatione Henrici 4ti confisos, "velle ac jubere ut in eadem magna libertate regia sit, quam ejus progenitores obtinuere." Illa autem nisi fiduciaria planè fuisset, quemadmodum hæc fuit, necesse est profectò et parlamenti illius ordines, qui concederent quod suum non erat, ineptos ac vanos, et reges illos qui, quod suum jam erat, concessum ab aliis vellent accipere, et sibi et posteris injurios nimis fuisse: quorum utrumvis credibile non est. "Tertia pars," inquis, "regiæ potestatis versatur circa militiam; hanc partem reges Angliæ sine pari et æmulo tractârunt." Neque hoc verius quàm cætera quæ perfugarum fide scripsisti. Primum enim pacis et belli arbitrium penès magnum regni senatum semper fuisse, et historiæ passim nostræ, et exterorum, quotquot res nostras paulò accuratiùs attigere, testantur. Sancti etiam Edvardi leges, in quas jurare nostri reges tenebantur, certissimam fidem faciunt, capite de heretochiis, "fuisse quasdam potestates per provincias et singulos comitatus regni constitutas, qui heretoches vocabantur, latinè ductores exercitûs," qui provincialibus copiis præerant, non "ad honorem coronæ" solùm, sed "ad utilitatem regni." Isti vero eligebantur "per commune concilium, et per singulos comitatus in pleno conventu populari, sicut et vicecomites eligi debent." Ex quo facilè perspicitur, et copias regni et copiarum ductores in potestate populi, non regis, et antiquitus fuisse, et esse oportere: illamque legem æquissimam nostro in regno haud minus valuisse, quàm olim in populari Romanorum statu valebat. De qua et M. Tullium audire non abs re fuerit. Philipp. 10. "Omnes legiones, omnes copiæ quæ ubique sunt, Populi R. sunt. Neque enim legiones, quæ Antonium consulem reliquerunt, Antonii potiùs quàm reipub. fuisse dicuntur." Sancti autem Edouardi legem illam, cum aliis illius legibus Gulielmus ille conquæstor dictus, populo sic volente ac jubente, juratus confirmavit; sed et hanc insuper adjecit, c. 56. "Omnes civitates, burgos, castella, singulis noctibus ita custodiri, prout vicecomes, et aldermanni, cæterique præpositi per commune concilium ad utilitatem regni, meliùs providebunt;" et lege 62, "ideo castella, burgi, civitates ædificatæ sunt ad tutionem gentium et populorum regni, idcirco et observari debent cum omni libertate, integritate, et ratione." Quid ergo? custodientur arces et oppida in pace contra fures et maleficos non nisi per commune concilium ejusdem loci, non custodientur in maximo belli metu contra hostes sive externos sive intestinos, per commune concilium totius gentis? sanè illud nisi concedatur, neque "libertas," neque "integritas," nec "ratio" denique, in iis custodiendis ulla esse poterit; neque earum rerum quicquam assequemur, quarum causâ fundari primùm urbes et arces lex ipsa dicit. Majores certè nostri quidvis potiùs regi quàm sua arma et oppidorum præsidia tradere solebant; idem esse rati ac si libertatem ipsi suam ferocitati regum et impotentiæ proditum irent. Cujus rei exempla in historiis nostris uberrima cum sint, et jam notissima, inserere huic loco supervacaneum esset. At "protectionem rex debet subditis; quomodo eos protegere poterit, nisi arma virosque habeat in sua potestate?" At, inquam, habebat hæc omnia ad utilitatem regni, ut dictum est, non ad civium interitum et regni disperditionem: quod, et Henrici 3tii temporibus, prudenter Leonardus quidam vir doctus, in episcoporum conventu, respondit Rustando papæ nuntio et regis procuratori: "omnes ecclesiæ sunt domini papæ, ut omnia principis esse dicimus, ad tuitionem, non ad fruitionem vel proprietatem," quod aïunt; ad defensionem, "non ad dispersionem:" eadem et prædictæ legis Edouardi sententia erat; quid est hoc aliud nisi potestate fiduciaria; non absoluta? qualem cum imperator bellicus ferè habeat, id est delegatam, non planè propriam, non eò segniùs populum, à quo eligitur, sive domi sive militiæ defendere solet. Frustra autem parlamenta, et impari sane congressu de legibus sancti Edouardi et libertate olim cum regibus contendissent, si penès regem solum arma esse oportere existimâssent; nam et leges quamlibet iniquas ipse dare si voluisset, frustra se "chartâ" quantumvis "magnâ" contra ferrum defendissent. "At quid proderit," inquis, "parlamento militiæ magisterium habere, cùm ne teruncium quidem ad eam sustinendam queat, nolente rege, de populo cogere." Ne sit ea tibi cura: primùm enim hoc falsò ponis, parlamenti ordines "non posse sine rege tributa populo imponere," à quo et ipsi missi sunt, et cujus causam suscipiunt. Deinde non potest te fugere, tam sedulum de alienis rebus percontatorem, sua sponte populum, vasis aureis atque argenteis conflatis, magnam vim pecuniæ in hoc bellum contra regem impendisse. Amplissimos exinde regum nostrorum annuos reditus recenses: nîl nisi "millies quingenties quadragies" crepas; "ex patrimonio regis maximas largitiones" fieri solitas ab iis "regibus, qui liberalitatis laudibus emicuerunt," avidus audieras: hac te illecebra, veluti Balaamum illum infamem, proditores patriæ ad suam causam perduxere; ut Dei populo maledicere, et divinis judiciis obstrepere, auderes. Stulte; quid tandem regi injusto ac violento tam immensæ opes profuere? Quid etiam tibi? ad quem nihil prorsus eorum, quæ spe ingenti devoraveras, pervenisse audio, præter unam illam crumenulam, vitreis globulis vermiculatam, et centenis aureolis confertam. Cape istam, Balaame, quam adamâsti, iniquitatis mercedem, ac fruere. Pergis enim desipere; "Erectio standardi," id est "vexilli, ad regem solum pertinet." Quapropter? quia

> ——Belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
> Extulit.

Tune verò nescis, grammatice, hoc idem cujusvis imperatoris bellici munus esse? At "aït Aristoteles, necesse est regi præsidium adsistere, quo leges tueri possit; ergò oportet regem plus armis posse quàm populum universum." Tales hic homo consequentias torquere solet, quales Ocnus funes apud inferos; quæ nulli sunt usui, nisi ut comedantur ab asinis: aliud enim est præsidium à populo datum, aliud armorum omnium potestas, quam Aristoteles hoc ipso, quem protulisti, loco à regibus abjudicat. Oportet, inquit, habeat rex tantum circa se manum armatorum, "quanta singulis vel compluribus fortior sit, populo verò minor; εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ὥστε ἑκάστου μὲν καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ συμπλειόνων κρείττω, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἥττω. Polit. l. 3. c. 11. Alioqui sanè, sub specie tuendi, possit statim et populum et leges sibi subjicere. Hoc autem rex et tyrannus interest; rex à senatu, et populo volente ac libente, quid satis est præsidii circa se habet contra hostes et seditiosos: tyrannus, invito senatu ac populo, vel hostium, vel perditorum civium, præsidium sibi quàm maximum comparare studet, contra senatum ipsum et populum. Concessit itaque parlamentum regi, ut alia omnia, sic standardi erectionem;" non ut infesta patriæ signa inferret, sed ut populum contra eos defenderet, quos parlamentum hostes judicat; si secus fuisset, ipse hostis judicandus erat; cum juxta ipsam sancti Edouardi, vel, quod sanctius est, ipsam naturæ legem, nomen regis perdiderit. Unde in prædicta Philippica, "amittit is omne exercitûs et imperii jus, qui eo imperio et exercitu rempub. oppugnat." Neque licebat regi "feudales" illos "equites" ad "bellum" evocare, quod parlamenti authoritas non decrevisset; id quod ex statutis pluribus manifestum est. Idem de vectigalibus et censu navali censendum; quem imperare civibus sine senatusconsulto rex non potuit: atque ita gravissimi legum nostrarum interpretes, annis abhinc plus minus duodecim, tum cùm adhuc firmissimum erat regium imperium, publicè statuerunt. Sic diu ante eos Fortescutius, Henrici 6ti cancellarius, juris nostri consultissimus; rex Angliæ, inquit, neque leges mutare potest, neque tributa, nolente populo, imponere. Sed nec probaverit quisquam ullis testimoniis antiquorum "regni Angliæ statum merè" esse "regalem. Habet rex," inquit Bractonus, "jurisdictionem super omnes." Id est in curia; ubi regis quidem nomine, nostris autem legibus, jus redditur. "Omnis sub rege est;" id est singuli: atque ita se explicat ipse Bractonus locis à me suprà citatis. Ad ea quæ restant, ubi eundem volvis lapidem, in quo vales ipsum, credo, Sisyphum delassare, ex suprà dictis abunde respondetur. De cætero, si quando parlamenta suum regibus bonis obsequium amplissimis verbis citra assentationem et servitutem detulere, id, quasi eodem modo tyrannis delatum esset, intelligi, aut populo fraudi esse, non debet; neque enim justo obsequio libertas imminuitur. Quod autem ex Edvardo Coco et aliis citas, "Angliæ regnum absolutum est imperium," id est si ad ullum regem externum, aut Cæsarem, respicias; vel, ut Cambdenus aït, "quia in imperii clientela non est:" alioqui adjicit uterque imperium hoc consistere non "ex rege" solo, sed "ex corpore politico." Unde Fortescutius, de laud. legum Angl. c. 9. "rex," inquit, "Angliæ" populum gubernat "non mera potestate regia, sed politica: populus enim iis legibus gubernatur, quas" ipse fert. Externos hoc etiam scriptores non latebat. Hinc Philippus Cominæus, author gravissimus, commentariorum quinto; "inter omnia orbis terræ regna, quorum ego notitiam habeo, non est, meâ quidem sententiâ, ubi publicum moderatiùs tractetur, neque ubi regi minus liceat in populum, quàm in Anglia." Postremò "ridiculum est," inquis, "argumentum, quod afferunt, regna ante reges fuisse, quasi dicas lucem ante solem extitisse." At nos, ô bone vir, non regna, sed populum, ante reges fuisse dicimus. Quem interim te magis ridiculum dicam, qui lucem ante solem extitisse, quasi ridiculum, negas. Ita dum in alienis curiosus esse vis, elementa dedidicisti. Miraris denique, "eos qui regem in comitiis regni viderunt solio sedentem, sub aureo et serico cœlo, potuisse in dubium vocare, utrùm penès regem an penès parlamentum majestas sit." Incredulos profectò homines narras, quos tam lucidum argumentum, è cœlo ipso petitum, nihil movit. Quod tu cœlum aureum homo stoïcus adeò es religiosè et unicè contemplatus, ut et cœli Mosaïci et Aristotelici oblitus esse penitus videare: cum in illo "lucem ante solem exstitisse" negaveris, in hoc tres zonas temperatas esse suprà docueris. Quot zonas in illo regis aureo et serico cœlo observaveris, nescio: hoc scio, te zonam unam, centum stellis aureis bene temperatam, ex illa tua cœlesti contemplatione abstulisse.

CAPUT X.

Cum hæc omnis controversia de jure, sive generatim regio, sive separatim regis Angliæ, obstinatis partium contentionibus, quàm ipsâ rei naturâ difficilior facta sit, spero, qui studium veritatis factionibus anteponunt, iis ea me ex lege Dei, jureque gentium, ex institutis denique patriis, copiosè attulisse, quæ regem Angliæ judicari posse, atque etiam capite puniri, indubitatum reliquerint. Cùm cæteris, quorum animos aut superstitio occupavit, aut mentis aciem anticipata regii splendoris admiratio ità perstrinxit, ut nihil in virtute ac libertate vera illustre ac splendidum videre possint, sive ratione et argumentis agamus, sive exemplis, frustra contendimus. Tu verò, Salmasi, ut reliqua omnia, ita hoc etiam absurdè admodum facere videris, qui cùm omnes independentes omnibus probris onerare non desinas, regem ipsum quem defendis, maximè omnium independentem fuisse statuis: neque "regnum populo, sed generi, debuisse: deinde quem "capitis causam dicere coactum" initio graviter dolebas, eum nunc "inauditum periisse" quereris. At verò totam causæ dictionem ejus, fide summa Gallicè editam, inspicere si libet, persuasum tibi aliud fortasse erit. Carolo certè cùm per aliquot dies continuos amplissima loquendi facta copia esset, non ille quidem est eâ usus ad objecta sibi crimina diluendum, sed ad judicium illud, ac ju-

dices, omninò rejiciendum. Qui autem reus aut tacet, aut aliena semper respondet, eum non est injuria, si manifestus criminum sit, vel inauditum condemnari. Carolum si "mortem" aïs "planè egisse vitæ respondentem," assentior: si dicis piè et sanctè et "securè" vitam finiisse, scito aviam ejus Mariam, infamem fœminam, pari in speciem pietate, sanctitate, constantia, in pegmate occubuisse: ne animi præsentiæ, quæ in morte quibusvis è vulgo maleficis permagna sæpè est, nimium tribuas: sæpè desperatio aut obfirmatus animus fortitudinis quandam speciem et quasi personam induit; sæpè stupor tranquillitatis: videri se bonos, intrepidos, innocentes, interdum et sanctos, pessimi quique non minùs in morte quàm in vita cupiunt; inque ipsa scelerum suorum capitali pœna solent ultimam simulationis suæ et fraudum, quàm possunt speciocissimè, pompam ducere; et, veluti poëtæ aut histriones deterrimi, plausum in ipso exitu ambitiosissimè captare. Nunc "ad istam quæstionem pervenisse te" aïs, "quâ tractandum est, quinam fuerint illius regiæ condemnationis præcipui authores." Cùm de te potiùs inquirendum sit, quomodo tu, homo exterus, et Gallicanus erro, ad quæstionem de rebus nostris, tibi jam alienis, habendam perveneris? quo pretio emptus? verum de eo satis constat. Te verò percontantem de rebus nostris quis demùm docuit? ipsi nimirum perfugæ, & perduelles patriæ, qui te hominem vanissimum nacti, mercede ad maledicendum facilè adduxerunt. Data deinde tibi est aliqua aut furibundi cujuspiam sacellani semipapistæ, aut servientis aulici, de statu rerum scriptiuncula; eam ut latinè verteres negotium tibi dabatur: hinc istæ narrationes confectæ, quas, si videtur, paulum excutiamus. "In hanc condemnationem non centena-millesima pars populi consensit." Quid ergò cæteri, qui sese nolentibus tantum facinus fieri sunt passi? an stipites, an trunci hominum, an fortè quales illi in scena Virgiliana,

Purpurea intexti tollunt aulæa Britanni?

Non enim veros tu quidem Britannos, sed pictos nescio quos, vel etiam acupictos, videris mihi velle dicere. Cùm itaque incredibile sit gentem bellicosam à tam paucis, iisque infimis de plebe sua, sub jugum mitti, quod in narratione tua primum occurrit, id esse falsissimum apparet. "Ordo ecclesiasticus erat ab ipso senatu ejectus." Eò miserior itaque tua est insania, necdum enim te sentis insanire, qui eos è parlamento quereris ejectos, quos tute ex ecclesia ejiciendos esse, libro longissimo scribis? "Senatûs alter ordo qui in proceribus consistebat, ducibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, statione sua dejectus est." Et meritò, à nullo enim municipio missi pro se tantùm sedebant, nihil juris in populum habebant, juri tamen ejus et libertati, suo quodam instituto, refragari in plerisque consueverant; erant à rege constituti, ejus comites, et famuli, et quasi umbræ, quo amoto, ipsi necesse est ad plebem, unde orti sunt, redigerentur. "Una et deterrima portio parlamenti potestatem sibi vindicare non debuit reges judicandi." At plebeius ordo, quod te suprà docui, non solùm parlamenti pars erat potissima, etiam sub regibus, sed per se ipse parlamentum omnibus numeris absolutum et legitimum, etiam sine comitibus, nedum ecclesiasticis, constituebat. Atqui "ne tota quidem hæc ipsa pars ad sententiam de regis capite ferendam admissa est." Pars illa nempe non admissa, quem verbo regem, re hostem toties judicaverat, ad eum animis atque consiliis palàm defecerat. Parlamenti ordines Anglicani cum iis qui à Scotiæ itidem parlamento missi erant legati, idibus Januarii 1645, rescripserant regi, dolosas inducias et habenda secum Londini colloquia petenti, non posse se eum in urbem admittere, donec is de bello civili tribus jam regnis ejus opera excitato, de cædibus tot civium ejus jussu factis reipub. satisfecisset; deque pace firma atque sincera iis conditionibus cavisset, quas ei utriusque regni parlamenta et tulerant sæpiùs, et latura essent: ipse è contrario postulata eorum æquissima jam septies humillimè oblata, responsionibus aut surdis repudiaverat, aut ambiguis eluserat. Ordines tandem post tot annorum patientiam ut ne fraudulentus rex, quam debellare rempub. in acie non valebat, eam in vinculis per dilationes everteret, et jucundissimum ex nostris dissidiis fructum capiens, de victoribus etiam suis restituris hostis insperatum sibi triumphum ageret, decernunt, se regis deinceps rationem non habituros, nullas se ei postulationes ampliùs esse missuros, aut ab eo accepturos: post hæc tamen decreta reperti sunt ex ipso ordinum numero, qui invectissimi exercitûs odio, cujus maximis rebus gestis invidebant, quemque, post ingentia merita, dimittere cum ignominia cupiebant, et ministris aliquot seditiosis, quibus miserè serviebant, morem gerentes, opportunum sibi tempus nacti, cum eorum multi, quos à se longè dissentire sciebant, ad sedandos presbyterianorum gliscentes jam tumultus, missi ab ipso ordine, in provinciis abessent, mira levitate, ne dicam perfidia, decernunt, inveteratum hostem, verbotenùs duntaxat regem, nulla penè ab eo satisfactione priùs accepta, aut cautione facta, ad urbem esse reducendum; in summam dignitatem atque imperium æquè esse restituendum, ac si de repub. præclarè meritus esset. Ita religioni, libertati, fœderi denique illi à se toties jactato regem præponebant. Quid illi interea qui integri tam pestifera agitari consilia videbant? An ideo deesse patriæ, saluti suorum non prospicere debuerant, eo quod istius mali contagio in ipsorum ordinem penetraverat? At quis istos exclusit malè sanos? "Exercitus," inquis, "Anglicanos," id est, non externorum, sed fortissimorum et fidissimorum civium; quorum tribuni plerique senatores ipsi erant, quos illi boni exclusi patria ipsa excludendos, et in Hiberniam procul ablegandos esse censuerant; dum Scotia interim dubia jam fide quatuor Angliæ provincias suis finibus proximas magnis copiis insidebant, firmissima earum regionum oppida præsidiis tenebant, regem ipsum in custodia habebant: dum ipsi etiam factiones suorum atque tumultus, parlamento plusquam minaces, et in urbe et in agris passim fovebant, qui tumultus paulò pòst in bellum non civile solùm, sed et Scoticum illud erupere. Quòd si privatis etiam consiliis aut armis subvenire reipublicæ laudatissimum semper fuit, non est certè cur exercitus reprehendi possit, qui parlamenti authoritate ad urbem accersitus imperata

fecit; et regiorum factionem atque tumultum ipsi curiæ sæpiùs minitantem facilè compescuit. In id autem discrimen adducta res erat, ut aut nos ab illis, aut illos à nobis opprimi necesse esset. Stabant ab illis Londinensium plerique institores atque opifices, et ministrorum factiosissimi quique; à nobis exercitus magna fide, modestia, virtute cognitus. Per hos cum retinere libertatem, rempub., salutem liceret, an hæc omnia per ignaviam et stultitiam prodenda fuisse censes? Debellati regiarum partium duces arma quidem inviti, animum hostilem non deposuerant: omnibus belli renovandi occasionibus intenti ad urbem se receperant. Cum his, quamvis inimicissimis, quamvis sanguinem eorum avidè sitientibus, presbyteriani, postquam non permitti sibi in omnes tam civilem quàm ecclesiasticam dominationem viderunt, clandestina consilia, et prioribus tum dictis tum factis indignissima consociare cœperant: eoque acerbitatis processere, ut mallent se regi denuò mancipare, quàm fratres suos in partem illam libertatis, quam et ipsi suo sub sanguine acquisiverant, admittere; mallent tyrannum tot civium cruore perfusum, ira in superstites, et concepta jam ultione ardentem rursus experiri dominum, quàm fratres, et amicissimos æquo jure ferre sibi pares. Soli independentes qui vocantur, et ad ultimum sibi constare, et sua uti victoria sciebant: qui ex rege hostem se fecerat, eum ex hoste regem esse amplius, sapienter, meo quidem judicio, nolebant: neque pacem idcircò non volebant, sed involutum pacis nomine aut bellum novum, aut æternam servitutem prudentes metuebant. Exercitum autem nostrum quo fusiùs infamare possis, narrationem quandam rerum nostrarum inconditam et strigosam exordiris: in qua tametsi multa falsa, multa frivola reperio, multa abs te vitio data, quæ laudi ducenda essent, huic tamen alteram ex adverso narrationem opponere nihil arbitror attinere. Rationibus enim hìc non narrationibus certatur; atque illis utrobique, non his fides habebitur. Et sanè sunt ejusmodi res istæ, ut nisi justa historia dici pro dignitate nequeant. Melius itaque puto, quod de Carthagine Sallustius, silere tantis de rebus, quàm parùm dicere. Neque committam ut non solùm virorum illustrium, sed Dei præcipuè maximi laudes, in hac rerum seri mirabili sæpissimè iterandas, tuis hoc libro intexam opprobriis. Ea igitur duntaxat, quæ argumenti habere speciem videntur, pro more decerpam. "Anglos et Scotos" quòd aïs "solenni conventione promisisse, se regis majestatem conservaturos," omittis quibus id conditionibus promisere; si salva nimirum religione et libertate id fieri posset: quibus utrisque ad extremum usque spiritum iniquus adeò et insidiosus rex iste erat, ut, vivente illo, et religionem periclitaturam, et libertatem interituram esse, facilè appareret. Sed redis jam ad illos regii supplicii authores. "Si res ipsa ponderibus suis et momentis rectè æstimetur, exitus facti nefandi ita independentibus imputari debet, ut principii et progressûs gloriam presbyteriani sibi possent vindicare." Audite, presbyteriani, ecquid nunc juvat, ecquid confert ad innocentiæ et fidelitatis opinionem vestræ, quòd à rege puniendo abhorrere tantopere videremini? Vos isto regis actore verbosissimo, accusatore vestro, "plusquam dimidium itineris confecistis;" vos "ad quartum actum et ultra in dramate hoc desultando frigultientes spectati estis:" vos "meritò regis occisi crimine notari debetis; ut qui viam ad ipsum occidendum muniistis;" vos "nefariam illam securim cervicibus ejus inflixistis, non alii." Væ vobis imprimis, si unquam stirps Caroli regnum posthac in Anglos recuperabit: in vos, mihi credite, cudetur hæc faba. Sed Deo vota persolvite, fratres diligite liberatores vestros, qui illam calamitatem atque certam perniciem ab invitis etiam vobis hactenus prohibuere. Postulamini vos item, quòd "aliquot annos antè per varias petitiones jus regis imminuere moliti estis, quòd voces contumeliosas regi illis ipsis libellis quos nomine senatûs regi porrexistis, insertas publicastis;" videlicet "in illa declaratione dominorum et communium, Maii 26, 1642, apertè quid sensistis de regis authoritate aliquot perduellionem spirantibus et insanis positionibus fassi estis. Hullæ oppidi portas Hothamus, tali mandato à senatu accepto, venienti regi occlusit;" vos "quid rex pati posset, hoc primo rebellionis experimento cognoscere concupivistis." Quid hoc dici potuit accommodatiùs ad conciliandos inter se Anglorum animos, atque à rege penitus abalienandos? cum intelligere hinc possint, si rex revertatur, se non solùm regis mortem, sed etiam petitiones quondam suas, et frequentissimi parlamenti acta de liturgia et episcopis abolendis, de triennali parlamento, et quæcunque summo populi consensu ac plausu sancita sunt, tanquam seditiosas atque "insanas presbyterianorum positiones" luituros. Sed repentè mutat animum homo levissimus; et quod modò "rem ipsam rectè æstimanti" sibi videbatur solis presbyterianis deberi, id nunc "rem" eandem "ab alto revolventi" independentibus totum deberi videtur. Modò presbyterianos "vi aperta atque armis contra regem grassatos esse," eumque ab iis "bello victum, captum, in carcerem conjectum" affirmabat, nunc omnem "hanc rebellionis doctrinam" independentium esse scribit. O hominis fidem et constantiam! quid aliam jam opus est narrationem comparare contra tuam, quæ ipsa sibi tam turpiter decoxit? Verùm de te siquis dubitat, albusne an ater homo sis, tua legat quæ sequuntur. "Tempus est," inquis, "pandere unde et quando proruperit inimica regibus secta: belli isti sanè puritani sub regno Elisabethæ prodire tenebris Orci, et ecclesiam inde turbare primùm cœperunt, immo rempub. ipsam: non enim sunt minores reipub. pestes quàm ecclesiæ." Nunc te verè Balaamum vox ipsa sonat; ubi enim virus omne acerbitatis evomere cupiebas, ibi insciens atque invitus benedixisti. Hoc enim tota Anglia notissimum est, si qui ad exemplum ecclesiarum vel Gallicarum vel Germanicarum, aut quasque reformatiores esse judicabant, puriorem cultûs divini rationem sequi studebant, quam penè omnem episcopi nostri cæremoniis et superstitionibus contaminaverant, si qui tandem pietate erga Deum, aut vitæ integritate cæteris præstabant, eos ab episcoporum fautoribus puritanos fuisse nominatos. Hi sunt quorum doctrinam regibus inimicam esse clamitas; neque hi solùm, nam "plerique reformatorum," inquis, "qui in alios disciplinæ ejus articulos non jurarunt, hunc tamen unum videntur approbasse, qui regiæ ad-

versatur dominationi." Ita independentes, dum gravissimè insectaris, laudas; qui eos ab integerrima Christianorum familia deducis; et quam doctrinam independentium esse propriam ubique asseris, eam nunc "reformatorum plerosque approbasse" confiteris; eò usque demùm audaciæ, impietatis, apostasiæ provectus es, ut etiam episcopos, quos tanquam pestes et Antichristos ex ecclesia radicitùs evellendos, atque exterminandos esse nuper docuisti, eos nunc "à rege tuendos fuisse" affirmas, ne quid "sacramento" scilicet "inaugurationis derogatum iret." Nihil est ulterius jam sceleris aut infamiæ quò possis procedere, quàm, quod solum superest, ut reformatam, quam polluis, religionem quamprimùm ejures. Quòd autem nos aïs "omnes sectas et hæreses tolerare," id noli accusare; quandiu te impium, qui Christianorum sanctissimos, et plerosque etiam reformatos tibi adversos "è tenebris Orci prodire" audes dicere, te vanum, mendacem, et conductitium calumniatorem, te denique apostatam ecclesia tamen toleret. Tuas autem exinde sycophantias, quibus magnam reliqui capitis partem insumis, et quæ monstrosa dogmata independentibus, ad cumulandam iis invidiam, affingis, quidni omittam? cùm neque ad causam hanc regiam omninò pertineant, et ea ferè sint quæ risum potius aut contemptum cujusvis quàm refutationem mereantur.

CAPUT XI.

AD undecimum hoc caput videre mihi, Salmasi, quamvis nullo cum pudore, cum aliqua tamen conscientia futilitatis tuæ accedere. Cùm enim hoc loco perquirendum tibi proposueris "qua authoritate" pronuntiatum de rege fuerit, subjungis, quod à te nemo expectabat; "frustra id quæri;" scilicet "quæstioni huic vix locum reliquit qualitas hominum qui id fecere." Cùm igitur, quàm es importunitatis et impudentiæ in hac causa suscipienda compertus, tam sis nunc etiam loquacitatis tibi conscius, eò à me brevius responsum feres. Quærenti jam tibi "qua authoritate" ordo plebeius vel judicavit ipse regem, vel aliis id judicium delegavit, respondeo suprema: supremam quemadmodum habuerit, docebunt te ea quæ tunc à me dicta sunt, cùm te suprà hac ipsa de re graviter ineptientem redarguerem. Quòd si tibi saltem crederes, posse te ullo tempore quod satis est dicere, non eadem toties cantare odiosissimè soleres. Aliis autem delegare suam judicandi potestatem ordo plebeius eadem sanè ratione potuit, qua tu regem, qui et ipse omnem potestatem à populo accepit, eandem aliis delegare potuisse dicis. Unde in illa solenni conventione, quam nobis objecisti, cùm Angliæ tum Scotiæ summi ordines religiosè profitentur ac spondent, ea se supplicia de perduellibus esse sumpturos, "quibus utriusque gentis potestas judiciaria suprema, aut qui ab ea delegatam potestatem accepturi erant," plectendos judicarent. Audis hic utriusque gentis senatum una voce testantem se posse suam authoritatem judiciariam, quam "supremam" ipsi vocant, aliis delegare: vanam ergò et frivolam de ista potestatis delegatione controversiam moves. At "cum his," inquis, "judicibus è domo inferiori selectis juncti etiam judices fuere ex cohortibus militaribus sumpti; nunquam autem militum fuit civem judicare." Paucissimis te retundam; non enim de cive nunc, sed de hoste memineris nos loqui: quem si imperator bellicus cum tribunis militaribus suis, bello captum, et è vestigio, si ita videretur, occidendum, pro tribunali judicare voluerit, an quicquam præter jus belli aut morem censebitur fecisse? qui autem hostis reipublicæ, et bello captus est, ne pro cive quidem is, nedum pro rege in ea repub. haberi potest. Hanc ipsa lex regis Eduardi sacrosancta sententiam tulit; quæ negat malum regem aut esse regem, aut oportere regis nomine appellari. Ad illud autem quod aïs non "integram" plebis domum, sed "mancam et mutilam de regis capite judicasse," sic habeto; eorum, qui regem plectendum esse censebant, longè majorem fuisse numerum, quàm qui res quascunque in parlamento transigere, etiam per absentiam cæterorum, ex lege debebant: qui cum suo vitio atque culpa abessent (defectio enim animorum ad communem hostem pessima absentia erat) nullam iis, qui in fide permanserant, afferre moram conservandæ reipub. poterant; quam vacillantem, et ad servitutem atque interitum prope redactam, populus universus eorum fidei, prudentiæ, fortitudini, primò commiserat. Atque illi quidem strenuè rem gessere; exulcerati regis impotentiæ, furori, insidiis sese objecere; omnium libertati atque saluti suam posthabuere; omnia antehac parlamenta, omnes majores suos prudentia, magnanimitate, constantia supergressi. Hos tamen populi magna pars, quamvis omnem illis fidem, operam, atque auxilium pollicita, ingratis animis in ipso cursu deseruit. Pars hæc servitutem et pacem cum ignavia atque luxuria ullis conditionibus volebat: pars altera tamen libertatem poscebat, pacem non nisi firmam atque honestam. Quid hìc ageret senatus? partem hanc sanam, et sibi et patriæ fidelem defenderet, an desertricem illam sequeretur? Scio quid agere oportuisse dices? non enim Eurylochus, sed Elpenor es, id est vile animal Circæum, porcus immundus, turpissima servitute etiam sub fœmina assuetus; unde nullum gustum virtutis et, quæ ex ea nascitur, libertatis habes; omnes esse servos cupis, quòd nihil in tuo pectore generosum aut liberum sentis, nihil non ignobile atque servile aut loqueris aut spiras. Injicis porrò scrupulum quòd "et Scotiæ rex erat, de quo statuimus," quasi idcirco in Anglia impune quidvis illi facere liceret. Ut hoc caput denique præ cæteris elumbe atque aridum aliquo saltem facetè dicto queas concludere, "duæ," inquis, "sunt voculæ iisdem ac totidem elementis constantes, solo literarum situ differentes, sed immane quantum significatione differentes, Vis, et Jus." Minimè profectò mirum est, te trium literarum hominem tam scitam ex tribus literis argutiolam exculpere potuisse; hoc magis mirandum est quod toto libro asseris, duas res tam inter se cæteroqui "differentes," in regibus unum atque idem esse. Quæ enim vis est unquam à regibus facta, quam non jus regium tu esse affirmasti? Hæc sunt quæ novem paginis bene longis responsione digna animadvertere

potui; cætera sunt ea, quæ aut identidem repetita haud semel refutavimus, aut ad hanc causam disceptandam nullum habent momentum. Itaque solito nunc brevior si sum, id non meæ diligentiæ, quam in hoc summo tædio languescere non patior, sed tuæ loquacitati, rerum et rationum tam cassæ atque inani, imputandum erit.

CAPUT XII.

VELLEM equidem, Salmasi, ne cui fortè videar in regem Carolum, suo fato atque supplicio defunctum, iniquior esse aut acerbior, ut totum hunc de "criminibus ejus" locum, quod et tibi et tuis consultius fuisset, silentio præteriisses. Nunc verò quoniam id magis placuit, ut de iis præfidenter et verbosè diceres, faciam profectò ut intelligas, nihil à te fieri incogitantiùs potuisse, quàm ut deterrimam causæ tuæ partem, nempe ejus crimina, ad extremum refricanda et accuratiùs inquirenda reservares; quæ, cùm vera et atrocissima ostendero fuisse, et ejus memoriam omnibus bonis ingratam atque invisam, et tui defensoris odium quàm maximum in animis legentium novissimè relinquant. "Duæ," inquis, "partes ejus accusationis fieri possunt; una in reprehensione vitæ versatur, altera in delictis quæ tanquam rex potuit committere. Et vitam quidem ejus inter convivia, et ludos, et fœminarum greges dilapsam facilè tacebo: quid enim habet luxus dignum memoratu? Aut quid hæc ad nos, si tantùm privatus fecisset? postquam voluit rex esse, ut nec sibi vivere, ita ne peccare quidem sibi solùm potuit." Primùm enim exemplo suis vehementissimè nocuit; secundo loco, quod temporis libidinibus et rebus ludicris impendit, quod erat plurimum, id totum reipub., quam susceperat gubernandam, subduxit; postremò immensas opes, innumerabilem pecuniam non suam, sed publicam luxu domestico dilapidavit. Itaque domi rex malus primùm esse cœpit. Verùm ad ea potiùs crimina "quæ malè regnando commisisse arguitur" transeamus. Hìc doles "tyrannum" eum, "proditorem," et "homicidam" fuisse judicatum. Id non injuria factum demonstrabitur. Tyrannum autem prius, non ex vulgi opinione, sed ex Aristotelis et doctorum omnium judicio definiamus. Tyrannus est qui suam duntaxat, non populi utilitatem spectat. Ita Aristoteles ethicorum decimo, et alibi, ita alii plerique. Suane commoda an populi spectarit Carolus, pauca hæc de multis, quæ tantummodò perstringam, testimonio erunt. Cum aulæ sumptibus patrimonium et proventus regii non sufficerent, imponit gravissima populo tributa; iisque absumptis, nova excogitavit; non ut rempub. vel augeret, vel ornaret, vel defenderet, sed ut populi non unius opes vel unam in domum congerendas inferret, vel una in domo dissiparet. Hunc in modum sine lege cum pervolaret omnia, quod unicum sciebat sibi fræno fore, parlamentum aut funditus abolere, aut convocatum haud sæpius quàm id suis rationibus conduceret, sibi soli reddere obnoxium conatus est. Quo fræno sibi detracto, aliud ipse populo frænum injecit: Germanos equites, pedites Hibernos per urbes, perque oppida quasi in præsidiis, cùm bellum esset nullum, collocandos curavit: parumne tibi adhuc tyrannus videtur? In quo etiam, ut in aliis multis rebus, quod suprà per occasionem abs te datam ostendi (quanquam tu Carolum Neroni crudelissimo conferri indignaris) Neroni perquàm similis erat: nam et senatum ille è repub. se sublaturum persæpe erat minatus. Interea conscientiis religiosorum hominum supra modum gravis, ad cæremonias quasdam et superstitiosos cultus, quos è medio papismo in ecclesiam reduxerat, omnes adigebat; renuentes aut exilio aut carcere multabat; Scotos bis eam ob causam bello adortus est. Huc usque simplici saltem vice nomen tyranni commeruisse videatur. Nunc cur adjectum in accusatione proditoris nomen fuerit exponam. Cum huic parlamento sæpiùs pollicitis, edictis, execrationibus confirmasset, se nihil contra rempub. moliri, eodem ipso tempore aut papistarum delectus in Hibernia habebat, aut legatis ad regem Daniæ clanculùm missis, arma, equos, auxilium disertè contra parlamentum petebat, aut exercitum nunc Anglorum nunc Scotorum pretio sollicitabat; illis urbem Londinum diripiendam, his quatuor provincias Aquilonares Scotorum ditioni adjungendas promisit, si sibi ad parlamentum quoquo modo tollendum commodare suam operam vellent. Cùm hæc non succederent, cuidam Dillonio perduelli dat secretiora ad Hibernos mandata, quibus juberentur omnes Anglos ejus insulæ colonos repentè armis adoriri. Hæc ferè proditionum ejus monumenta sunt, non vanis rumoribus collecta, sed ipsis literis ipsius manu subscriptis atque signatis comperta. Homicidam denique fuisse, cujus acceptis mandatis Hiberni arma ceperint, ad quinquies centena millia Anglorum in summa pace nihil tale metuentium exquisitis cruciatibus occiderint, qui etiam tantum reliquis duobus regnis bellum civile conflarit, neminem puto negaturum. Addo enim quod in illo Vectensi colloquio hujus belli et culpam et crimen rex palàm in se suscepit, eoque omni parlamentum notissima confessione sua liberavit. Habes nunc breviter quamobrem rex Carolus et tyrannus et proditor et homicida judicatus fuerit. At "cur non prius," inquis, neque in illo "solenni fœdere," neque postea cùm deditiius esset, vel "à presbyterianis" vel "ab independentibus" sic judicatus est, sed potiùs, "ut regem decuit accipi, omni reverentia est exceptus?" Vel hoc solo argumento persuaderi cuivis intelligenti queat, non nisi serò tandem, et postquam omnia sustinuerant, omnia tentaverant, omnia perpessi erant, deliberatum ordinibus fuisse regem abjicere. Tu id solus malitiosè nimis in invidiam rapis, quod summam eorum patientiam, æquanimitatem, moderationem, fastusque regii tolerantiam nimis fortasse longam apud omnes bonos testabitur. At "mense Augusto qui præcessit ejus supplicium, domus communium, quæ sola jam tum regnabat et independentibus erat obnoxia, scripsit literas ad Scotos, quibus testabatur, nunquam sibi in animo fuisse mutare statum, qui huc usque in Anglia obtinuerat sub rege, domo dominorum et communium." Vide jam quàm non doctrinæ independentium abrogatio regis

attribuenda sit. Qui suam dissimulare doctrinam non solent, etiam potiti rerum profitentur "nunquam sibi in animo fuisse statum regni mutare." Quod si id postmodùm in mentem venit, quod in animo non fuit, cur non licebat quod rectius, et è repub. magis esse videbatur, id potissimum sequi? præsertim cùm Carolus neque exorari, neque flecti ullo modo potuerit, ut justissimis eorum postulatis, quæque semper eadem ab initio obtulerant, assentiretur. Quas initio de religione, quas de jure suo sententias perversissimas tuebatur, nobisque adeò calamitosas, in iisdem permanebat: ab illo Carolo nihil mutatus, qui et pace et bello tanta nobis omnibus mala intulerat. Siquid est assensus, id et invitè facere, et quamprimùm sui juris foret, pro nihilo se habiturum haud obscuris indiciis significabat: idem apertè filius, abducta secum per eos dies classis parte, scripto, idem ipse per literas ad suos quosdam in urbe declarabat. Interea cum Hibernis Anglorum hostibus immanissimis, reclamante parlamento, fœdis conditionibus occultè pacem coagmentaverat, Anglos ad repetita inutiliter colloquia et pacem quoties invitabat, toties contra eos omni studio bellum coquebat. Hic illi quibus concredita respub. erat, quò se verterent? an commissam sibi nostram omnium salutem in manus hosti acerbissimo traderent? An alterum belli propè interneciui septennium, nequid pejus ominemur, gerendum nobis iterum, et exantlandum relinquerent? Deus meliorem illis mentem injecit, ut prioribus de rege non movendo cogitationibus, non enim ad decreta pervenerant, rempub., religionem, libertatem ex ipso illo fœdere solenni anteponerent; quæ quidem stante rege constare non posse, tardiùs illi quidem quàm oportuit, sed aliquando tamen viderunt. Sanè parlamento nunquam non liberum atque integrum esse debet, ex re nata quàm optimè reipub. consulere; neque ita se prioribus addicere sententiis, ut religio sit in posterum, etiamsi Deus dederit, vel sibi, vel reipub. plus sapere. At "Scoti non idem sentiunt, quinimo ad filium Carolum scribentes, sacratissimum regem appellant parentem ejus, et sacerrimum facinus quo necatus est." Cave plura de Scotis, quos non novisti; nos novimus, cum eundem regem "sacerrimum," et homicidam et proditorem; facinus quo tyrannus necaretur, "sacratissimum" appellarent. Nunc regi quam dicam scripsimus, quasi parùm commodè scriptam cavillaris, et "quid opus fuerit ad elogium illud tyranni addere proditoris et homicidæ titulos," quæris: "cùm tyranni appellatio omnia mala comprehendat:" tum quis tyrannus sit grammaticè et glossematicè etiam doces. Aufer nugas istas, literator, quas una Aristotelis definitio modò allata nullo negotio difflabit; quæque te doctorem docebit nomen tyranni, quoniam tua nihil interest præter nomina intelligere, posse citra proditionem et homicidium stare. Atqui "leges Anglicanæ non dicunt proditionis crimen regem incurrere si procuraverit seditionem contra se vel populum suum." Neque dicunt, inquam, parlamentum læsæ majestatis reum esse, si malum regem tollat, aut unquam fuisse, cum sæpius olim sustulerit: posse autem regem suam majestatem lædere atque minuere, immò amittere, clara voce testantur. Quod enim in illa lege sancti Edouardi legitur, "nomen regis perdere," nihil aliud est quàm regio munere ac dignitate privari; quod accidit Chilperico Franciæ regi, cujus exemplum illustrandæ rei causa eodem loco lex ipsa ponit. Committi autem summam perduellionem tam in regnum, quàm in regem, non est apud nos jurisperitus qui inficias ire possit. Provoco ad ipsum, quem profers Glanvillanum. "Siquis aliquid fecerit in mortem regis, vel seditionem regni, crimen proditionis esse." Sic illa machinatio, qua papistæ quidem parlamenti curiam cum ipsis ordinibus uno ictu pulveris nitrati in auras disjicere parabant, non in regem solum, sed in parlamentum et regnum, ab ipso Jacobo et utraque ordinum domo "summa proditio" judicata est. Quid plura attinet in re tam evidenti, quæ tamen facilè possem, statuta nostra allegare? cùm ridiculum planè sit et ratione ipsa abhorrens, committi perduellionem in regem posse, in populum non posse, propter quem et cujus gratia, cujus, ut ita dicam, bona venia, rex est id quod est. Frustra igitur tot statuta nostra deblateras, frustra in vetustis legum Anglicarum libris exerces te atque volutas; ad quas vel ratas vel irritas habendas parlamenti authoritas semper valuit; cujus etiam solius est, quid sit perduellio, quid læsa majestas, interpretari: quam majestatem nunquam sic à populo in regem transiisse, ut non multo celsior atque angustior in parlamento conspiciatur, jam sæpiùs ostendi. Te verò vappam et circulatorem Gallum jura nostra interpretantem quis ferat? Vos verò Anglorum perfugæ, tot episcopi, doctores, jurisconsulti, qui literaturam omnem et eruditionem vobiscum ex Anglia aufugisse prædicatis, adeone ex vestrûm numero nullus causam regiam atque suam defendere satis strenuè satisque latinè sciebat, gentibusque exteris dijudicandam exponere, ut cerebrosus iste et crumenipeta Gallus mercede accersendus in partes necessariò esset, qui regis inopis. tot doctorum et sacerdotum infantia stipati, patrocinium susciperet? magna, mihi credite, infamia etiam hoc nomine apud exteras nationes flagrabitis; et meritò vos utique cecidisse causa omnes existimabunt, quam ne verbis quidem, nedum armis aut virtute sustinere valuistis. Sed ad te redeo, vir bone, dicendi perite, si tute modò ad te rediisti; nam sternentem te tam prope finem et de "morte" voluntaria nescio quid abs re somniantem offendo; tum statim negas "cadere in regem suæ mentis compotem, ut populum seditionibus distrahat, exercitus suos hostibus debellandos tradat, ut factiones contra se suscitet." Quæ omnia cum et alii multi reges, et Carolus ipse fecerit, dubitare non potes, præsertim Stoïcus, quin ut omnes improbi, sic omnes quoque tyranni prorsùs insaniant. Flaccum audi.

> Quem mala stultitia, et quæcunque inscitia veri
> Cœcum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
> Autumat, hæc populos, hæc magnos formula reges,
> Excepto sapiente, tenet.— —

Si igitur insani cujuspiam facti crimen à rege Carolo amovere cupis, debebis improbitatem ab eo priùs amovere quàm insaniam. At enim "rex non potuit proditionem in eos committere, qui vassalli ipsius et subjecti fuere." Primùm, cùm æquè atque ulla gens

hominum liberi simus, nullum barbarum morem fraudi nobis esse patiemur: fac deinde "vassalos" fuisse nos regis, ne sic quidem tyrannum perferre dominum tenemur. Omnis ea subjectio, ut ipsæ leges nostræ loquuntur, "honesto et utili" definita est. Leg. Hen. 1. c. 55. Fidem cùm esse "mutuam," jurisconsulti omnes tradunt, si dominus "ligeam," quod aïunt, "defensionem" præstiterit: sin è contrario nimiùm sævus fuerit, aut atrocem aliquam injuriam intulerit, "dissolvi et penitùs extingui omnem homagii connexionem." Hæc ipsa Bractoni verba et Fletæ sunt. Unde vassallum est ubi lex ipsa in dominum armat; eumque singulari certamine à vassalo, si acciderit, interimendum tradit. Idem si universæ civitati aut nationi in tyrannum non licuerit, deterior liberorum hominum conditio quàm servorum erit. Nunc Caroli homicidia aliorum regum partim homicidiis, partim justè factis excusare contendis. De laniena Hiberniensi "remittis lectorem ad opus illud regium Iconis Basilicæ;" et ego te remitto ad Iconoclastem. "Captam Rupellam," proditos Rupellenses, "ostentatam potiùs quàm datam opem," imputari Carolo non vis: imputetur necne meritò, non habeo dicere; satis superque ab eo peccatum est domi, ne externa persequi curem: omnes interim ecclesias protestantium, quotquot ullo tempore se contra leges religionis hostes armis defenderunt, eodem nomine rebellionis damnas. Quam contumeliam ab alumno suo sibi illatam quanti intersit ad disciplinam ecclesiasticam, suamque tuendam integritatem, non negligere, secum ipsi cogitent: nos etiam Anglos ea expeditione proditos acerbè tulimus. Qui enim regnum Angliæ in tyrannidem convertere diu meditatus erat, non, nisi extincto priùs militari civium robore ac flore, cogitata perficere se posse arbitrabatur. Aliud erat crimen regis quod ex jurejurando à regibus regnum capessentibus dari solito verba quædam ejus jussu erasa fuerint, antequam jurasset. O facinus indignum et execrandum! impium qui fecit, quid dicam qui defendit? nam quæ potuit, per Deum immortalem, quæ perfidia, aut juris violatio esse major? quid illi sanctius post sacratissima religionis mysteria illo jurejurando esse debuit? Quis quæso sceleratior, isne qui in legem peccat, an qui, secum legem ipsam ut peccare faciat, dat operam? aut denique ipsam legem tollit, ne peccasse videatur? Agedum, jus hoc religiosissimè jurandum rex iste violavit; sed ne palàm tamen violasse videretur, turpissimo quodam adulterio per dolum corrupit; et ne pejerasse diceretur, jus ipsum jurandum in perjurium vertit. Quid aliud potuit sperari, nisi injustissimè, versutissimè, atque infelicissimè regnaturum esse eum, qui ab injuria tam detestanda auspicatus regnum est; jusque illud primum adulterare auderet, quod solum impedimento sibi fore, ne jura omnia perverteret, putabat. At enim "sacramentum" illud, sic enim defendis, "non magis obligare reges potest, quàm leges; legibus autem se devinciri velle præ se ferunt, et secundùm eas vivere, cùm tamen re vera iis soluti sint." Quemquamne tam sacrilego tamque incesto ore esse, ut sacramentum religiosissimum, tactis Evangeliis datum, quasi per se leviculum, solvi sine causa posse asserat? Te verò, scelus atque portentum, ipse Carolus redarguit; qui cùm sacramentum illud non esse per se leve quidpiam existimaret, idcircò ejus religionem aut subterfugere, aut fallacia quavis eludere satius duxit, quàm apertè violare; et corruptor jusjurandi hujus et falsarius esse maluit, quàm manifestè perjurus. At verò "jurat quidem rex populo suo, ut populus vicissim regi, sed populus jurat regi fidelitatem, non populo rex." Lepidum sanè hominis commentum! annon qui juratus promittit atque spondet, se quidpiam fideliter præstiturum, fidem suam iis obligat, qui jusjurandum ab eo exigunt? Rex sanè omnis quoad præstanda ea quæ promittit, et "fidelitatem," et "obsequium," et "obedientiam populo" jurat. Hîc ad Gulielmum Conquæstorem recurris, qui ipse, non quod sibi collibitum erat, sed quod populus ab eo et magnates postulabant, id omne haud semel jurare est coactus se præstiturum. Quòd si multi reges "coronam" solenni ritu non "accipiunt," et proinde non jurant, et tamen regnant, idem de populo responderi potest; cujus pars magna fidelitatem nunquam juravit. Si rex ob eam causam solutus erit, erit et populus. Quæ autem pars populi jurabat, non regi solùm, sed regno et legibus jurabat, à quibus rex factus est, et quidem eatenus tantùm regi, quoad is leges observaret, "quas vulgus," id est, communitas sive plebeius ordo "elegerit." Stultior enim sit, qui legum nostrarum loquelam ad puriorem semper latinitatem exigere velit. Hanc clausulam, "quis vulgus elegerit," Carolus, antequam coronam acciperet, ex formula juramenti regii eradendam curavit. At, inquis, "sine regis assensu nullas leges vulgus elegerit;" eoque nomine duo statuta citas, unum anni xxxvii. Hen. 6. c. xv. alterum "decimo-tertio" Edouardi iv. c. viii. Tantum autem abest, quo minùs eorum alterutrum in libro statutorum usquam appareat, ut annis abs te citatis, neque rex iste neque ille ullum omninò statutum promulgaverit. Tu fidem jam perfugarum, statuta tibi dictantium, elusus querere; dum alii tuam admirantur impudentiam simul et vanitatem, quem non pudebat iis in libris versatissimum videri velle, quos inspexisse nunquam, ne vidisse quidem tam facilè argueris. Clausulam autem istam jusjurandi, quam tu perfricti oris balatro "commentitiam" audes dicere, "regis," inquis, "defensores fieri posse aïunt," ut in aliquot antiquis exemplaribus extiterit, "sed in desuetudinem abiise, quòd commodam significationem non haberet. Verùm ob id ipsum majores nostri illam clausulam in hoc regis jurejurando posuere, ut significationem tyrannidi semper non commodam haberet. In desuetudinem autem si abierat, quod tamen falsissimum est, quis neget multò meliori jure revocandam fuisse? frustra, si te audiam: quippe "in regibus" mos ille "jurandi, qui hodie receptus est, cæremonialis est tantùm." Atqui rex, cùm episcopos aboleri oportuit, per illud jusjurandum non licere sibi causatus est. Atque ita sacramentum illud sanctissimum, quoties ex usu est regis, vel solidum quiddam et firmum erit, vel inane tantùm et "cæremoniale." Quod ego vos obtestor, Angli, etiam atque etiam animadvertatis: et qualem estis regem habituri, si redierit, vobiscum reputetis: non enim in mentem venisset unquam huic grammatico sceleroso et extraneo de jure regis

Anglorum velle scribere, aut posse, nisi Carolus ille extorris, disciplina patria imbutus, unaque illi monitores ejus profligatissimi, quid hac de re scribi vellent omni studio suggessissent. Dictabant huic illi, "totum parlamentum proditionis in regem insimulari posse," vel ob hoc solum, quòd "sine assensu regis declaravit omnes esse proditores qui arma contra parlamentum Angliæ sumpserunt; vassallum scilicet regis esse parlamentum;" jusjurandum verò regium "cæremoniale tantùm" esse, quidni "vassallum" etiam? Ita neque legum ulla sanctitas, neque sacramenti ulla fides, aut religio, quicquam valebit ad cohibendam à vita atque fortunis vestrûm omnium vel libidinem effrænati regis, vel ultionem exacerbati: qui ita institutus à pueritia est, ut leges et religionem, ipsam denique fidem vassallari sibi, et servire suis libitis arbitretur debere. Quantò præstabilius esset, vobisque dignius, si opes, si libertatem, si pacem, si imperium vultis, à virtute, industria, prudentia, fortitudine vestra indubitanter petere hæc omnia, quàm sub regio dominatu incassùm sperare? Certè qui sine rege ac domino parari hæc posse non putant, dici non potest, quàm abjectè, quàm non honestè, non dico quàm indignè, de se ipsi statuant: quid enim aliud nisi se inertes, imbecillos, mentis inopes atque consilii, corpore atque animo ad servitium natos, fatentur esse? Et servitus quidem omnis homini ingenuo turpis est; vobis autem post libertatem Deo vindice, vestroque marte recuperatam, post tot fortia facinora, et exemplum in regem potentissimum tam memorabile editum, velle rursus ad servitutem, etiam præter fatum, redire, non modò turpissimum, sed et impium erit, et sceleratum: parque vestrum scelus illorum sceleri erit, qui, servitutis olim Ægyptiacæ desiderio capti, multis tandem cladibus ac variis divinitùs absumpti, liberatori Deo pœnas tam servilis animi dedere. Quid tu interim, servitutis conciliator? "Potuit," inquis, "rex proditionis et delictorum aliorum gratiam facere; quod satis evincit legibus eum solutum fuisse." Proditionis quidem, non quæ in regnum, sed quæ in se commissa erat, poterat rex, ut quivis alius, gratiam facere: poterat et quorundam aliorum fortasse maleficiorum, quanquam non id semper: an ideò qui maleficum servandi nonnunquam jus quoddam habet, idem continuò omnes bonos perdendi jus ullum habebit? Citatus in curiam, eamque inferiorem, respondere non tenetur, nisi per procuratorem, rex, uti nec de populo quidem ullus; an ideo in parlamentum citatus ab universis non veniet? non ipse respondebit? "Conari" nos, aïs, "Batavorum exemplo factum nostrum tueri," atque hinc, stipendio scilicet metuens, quo te Batavi lu~m atque pestem alunt, ne Anglos infamando etiam Batavos altores tuos infamasse videaris, demonstrare cupis quàm "dissimile sit quod hi et quod illi fecerunt." Quam ego collationem tuam, quanquam in ea quædam sunt falsissima, alia, ne salario fortasse tuo non satis litares, palpum olent, omittam. Negant enim Angli opus sibi esse, ut exterorum quorumvis exemplo facta sua tueantur. Habent leges, quas secuti sunt, patrias, hac in parte, sicubi terrarum aliæ sunt, optimas: habent quos imitentur, majores suos, viros fortissimos, qui immoderatis regum imperiis nunquam cessere; multos eorum intolerantiùs se gerentes per supplicium necavere. In libertate sunt nati, sibi sufficiunt, quas volunt leges possunt sibi ferre; unam præ cæteris colunt antiquissimam, à natura ipsa latam, quæ omnes leges, jus omne atque imperium civile, non ad regum libidinem, sed ad bonorum maximè civium salutem refert. Jam præter quisquilias et rudera superiorum capitum restare nihil video; quorum quidem acervum cum satis magnum in fine congesseris, nescio quid aliud tibi volueris, nisi hujus tuæ fabricæ ruinam quasi præsagire. Tandem aliquando post immensam loquacitatem rivos claudis; "Deum testatus, te hanc causam tuendam suscepisse, non tantùm quia rogatus, sed quia meliorem nullam te potuisse defendere, conscientia tibi suggessit." Rogatus tu in res nostras tibi alienissimas, nobis non rogantibus, te interponas? Tu populi Anglicani summos magistratus pro authoritate proque imperio sibi commisso quod suum munus est in sua ditione agentes, nulla injuria lacessitus (neque enim natum te esse sciebant) indignissimis verborum comtumeliis laceres, libroque infami edito proscindas? A quo autem rogatus? An ab uxore, credo, quæ jus regium, ut perhibent, in te exercet; quæque tibi, quoties libet, ut illa Fulvia, cujus, ex epigrammate obscœno, centones modò consuisti (p. 320.) "aut" scribe "aut pugnemus" aït: unde tu, ne signa canerent, scribere malebas. An rogatus fortasse à Carolo minore, et perditissimo illo peregrinantium aulicorum grege, quasi alter Balaamus ab altero Balacco rege accersitus, ut jacentem regis causam, et malè pugnando amissam maledicendo erigere dignarere? Sic sanè fieri potuit; nisi quod hoc ferè interfuit; ille enim vir sagax asino insidens loculuteio ad execrandum venit; tu asinus loquacissimus insessus à fœmina, et senatis, quos vulneraveras, episcoporum capitibus obsitus, apocalypticæ illius bestiæ parvam quandam imaginem exprimere videris. Sed ferunt pœnituisse te hujus libri, pòst paulò quàm scripsisses. Benè profectò habet; tuam itaque ut testere omnibus pœnitentiam, nihil tibi priùs faciendum erit, quàm ut pro libro tam longo unam tantummodò literam adhuc longam ex te facias. Sic enim pœnituit Iscarioten illum Judam, cui similis es; idque novit puer Carolus, qui crumenam idcircò tibi, insigne illud Judæ proditoris, dono misit, quòd primùm audierat, et postmodùm sciebat, te apostatam esse et diabolum. Judas ille Christum prodidit, tu Christi ecclesiam; episcopos Antichristos esse docueras, ad eos defecisti: quos Inferis damnaveras, eorum causam suscepisti: Christus omnes homines liberavit, tu omnes ad servitutem redigere conatus es: ne dubita, postquàm in Deum, in ecclesiam, in omne genus hominum tam impius fuisti, quin te etiam idem exitus maneat, ut desperatione magis quam pœnitentia ductus, tuique pertæsus, ab infelici tandem arbore pendens, sicut et par ille tuus olim, medius crepes; illamque malefidam et fallacem conscientiam, bonorum et sanctorum insectatricem, ad destinatas tibi quandoque supplicii sedes præmittas. Hactenus, quod initio institueram ut meorum civium facta egregia contra insanam et lividissimam furentis sophistæ rabiem, et domi et foris defenderem, jusque populi commune ab injusto regum dominatu assererem, non id quidem

regum odio, sed tyrannorum, Deo bene-juvante videor jam mihi absolvisse: neque ullum sine responso vel argumentum, vel exemplum, vel testimonium ab adversario allatum sciens prætermisi, quod quidem firmitatis in se quidquam, aut probationis vim ullam habere videretur; in alteram fortasse partem culpæ propior, quòd sæpiusculè ineptiis quoque ejus, et argutiis tritissimis, quasi argumentis, respondendo, id iis tribuisse videar, quo dignæ non erant. Unum restat, et fortasse maximum, ut vos quoque, ô cives, adversarium hunc vestrum ipsi refutetis; quod nulla alia ratione video posse fieri, nisi omnium maledicta vestris optimè factis exuperare perpetuò contendatis. Vota vestra et preces ardentissimas Deus, cum servitutis haud uno generè oppressi, ad eum confugistis, benignè exaudiit. Quæ duo in vita hominum mala sanè maxima sunt, et virtuti damnosissima, tyrannis et superstitio, iis vos gentium primos gloriosè liberavit; eam animi magnitudinem vobis injecit, ut devictum armis vestris et dedititium regem judicio inclyto judicare, et condemnatum punire, primi mortalium non dubitaretis. Post hoc facinus tam illustre, nihil humile aut angustum, nihil non magnum atque excelsum et cogitare et facere debebitis. Quam laudem ut assequamini, hac sola incedendum est via, si ut hostes bello domuistis, ita ambitionem, avaritiam, opes, et secundarum rerum corruptelas, quæ subigunt cæteras gentes hominum, ostenderitis posse vos etiam inermes media in pace omnium mortalium fortissimè debellare: si, quam in repellenda servitute fortitudinem præstitistis, eam in libertate conservanda justitiam, temperantiam, moderationem præstiteritis. His solis argumentis et testimoniis evincere potestis, non esse vos illos, quos hic probris insequitur, "Perduelles, latrones, sicarios, parricidas, fanaticos;" non vos ambitionis aut alieni invadendi studio, non seditione, aut pravis ullis cupiditatibus, non amentia aut furore percitos, regem trucidasse, sed amore libertatis, religionis, justitiæ, honestatis, patriæ denique charitate accensos, tyrannum puniisse. Sin autem, quod, bone Deus, ne unquam siveris, aliter in animum induxeritis, si in bello fortes, in pace turpes eritis, qui manifestum sensistis numen vobis tam propitium, hostibus tam grave, neque exemplo tam insigni et memorando ante oculos posito, Deum vereri, et justitiam colere didiceritis; quod ad me attinet, concedam sanè et fatebor, neque enim potero negare, ea omnia, quæ nunc maledici et mendaces de vobis pessimè aut loquuntur aut sentiunt, vera esse: vosque multò iratiorem brevi tempore experturi estis Deum, quàm aut infensum inimici vestri, aut vos benignum et faventem et paternum, præ cæteris omnibus terrarum orbis gentibus hodiernis, experti estis.

DEFENSIO SECUNDA PRO POPULO ANGLICANO.

CONTRA

INFAMEM LIBELLUM ANONYMUM,

CUI TITULUS,

REGII SANGUINIS CLAMOR AD CŒLUM, ADVERSUS PARRICIDAS ANGLICANOS.

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Quod in omni vita hominum, omnique genere officii est primum, ut grati semper erga Deum, ejusque memores beneficiorum simus, tum præsertim, si qua supra spem votumque evenerint, uti, ob ea, singulares atque solennes gratias quamprimùm referamus, id mihi nunc in ipso limine orationis tribus potissimùm de causis video esse faciendum. Primum iis me natum temporibus patriæ, quibus civium virtus eximia, et supergressa omnes majorum laudes magnitudo animi atque constantia, obtestata prius Deum, eundemque sequuta manifestissimum ducem, editis post orbem conditum exemplis factisque fortissimis, et gravi dominatione rempublicam, et indignissima servitute religionem liberavit. Deinde, cùm extitissent subitò multi, qui, ut est ferè ingenium vulgi, egregiè facta odiosè criminarentur, unusque, præ cæteris, literatorio fastu, et concepta de se gregalium suorum opinione inflatus ac fidens, conscripto in nos libro admodum infami, tyrannorum omnium patrocinium nefariè suscepisset, me potiùs quàm alium quemvis, neque tanti nominis adversario, neque tantis rebus dicendis visum imparem, ab ipsis patriæ liberatoribus has partes accepisse communi omnium consensu ultrò delatas, ut causam et populi Anglicani, et ipsius adeò libertatis, siquis unquam alius, publicè defenderem. Postremò, in re tam ardua et expectationis plena, neque civium meorum de me sive spem, sive judicium illud fefellisse, neque exterorum quamplurimis cùm doctis viris, tum rerum peritis non satisfecisse; adversarium verò, quamvis audacissimum, ita profligasse, ut animo simul et existimatione fracta cederet; triennioque toto, quo postea vixit, multa licèt minatus ac fremens, nullam tamen ampliùs molestiam nobis exhiberet, nisi quòd vilissimorum quorundam hominum obscuram operam subsidio sibi corrogaret, et laudatores nescio quos ineptos atque immodicos, ad inopinatam ac recentem infamiam, siquo modo posset, sarciendam subornaret; quod statim patebit. Hæc ego divinitus mihi accidisse bona, et magna quidem ratus, appositissima denique non modò ad persolvendas numini ex debito gratias, sed ad auspicium quoque optimum instituti operis capiendum, cum veneratione, ut facio, imprimis commemoranda esse duxi. Nam quis est qui patriæ decora non arbitretur sua? quid patriæ cujusquam esse magis decori aut gloriæ potest, quàm libertas, non civili tantùm vitæ, sed divino etiam cultui restituta? quæ gens, quæ civitas, aut felicius aut fortiùs hanc sibi utrobique peperit? Etenim fortitudo, cùm non tota in bello atque armis eniteat, sed contra omnes æque formidines diffundat vim suam atque intrepida sit, Græci quidem illi, quos maximè admiramur, et Romani, ad tollendos ex civitatibus tyrannos nullam ferè virtutem, præter studium libertatis, expedita arma, promptasque manus attulere; cætera omnia in proclivi, inter laudes omnium et plausus, et læta omnia, peragebant; nec tam ad discrimen et ambiguum facinus quam ad certamen virtutis gloriosissimum atque pulcherrimum, ad præmia denique et coronas spemque immortalitatis certissimam properabant. Nondum enim tyrannis res sacra erat; nondum tyranni, Christi scilicet proreges atque vicarii repentè facti, cùm benevolentia non possent; cæca vulgi superstitione sese munierant: nondum clericorum malis artibus attonita plebs, ad barbariem ea fœdiorem, quæ stolidissimos mortalium infamat Indos, degeneraverat. Illi enim noxios sibi dæmonas, quos abigere non possunt, pro diis colunt; hæc tyrannos nè liceret tollere cùm posset, impotentissimos creabat in se deos; et humani generis pestes in suam perniciem consecrabat. At contra has omnes traditarum diu opinionum, religionum, calumniarum, atque terrorum densissimas acies, hoste ipso vehementiùs ab aliis formidatas, decertandum Anglis erat. Quæ omnia, edocti meliùs, et proculdubio cœlitus imbuti, tanta causæ fiducia, tanta animorum firmitate ac virtute superarunt, ut cùm numero populus sanè magnus essent, animis tamen tam erectis tamque excelsis, vulgus esse desierint; Britanniaque ipsa posthac, quæ tyrannorum terra ferax dicta olim est, nunc liberatorum longè feracior, perpetua sæculorum om-

nium celebratione dici meruerit. Quos non legum contemptus aut violatio in effrænatam licentiam effudit; non virtutis et gloriæ falsa species, aut stulta veterum æmulatio inani nomine libertatis incendit, sed innocentia vitæ, morumque sanctitas rectum atque solum iter ad libertatem veram docuit, legum et religionis justissima defensio necessariò armavit. Atque illi quidem Deo perinde confisi, servitutem honestissimis armis pepulere: cujus laudis etsi nullam partem mihi vendico, à reprehensione tamen vel timiditatis vel ignaviæ, siqua infertur, facilè me tueor. Neque enim militiæ labores et pericula sic defugi, ut non alia ratione, et operam, multò utiliorem, nec minore cum periculo meis civibus navarim, et animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam, neque ullius invidiæ, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præstiterim. Nam cum ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis, ut qui maximè deditus, et ingenio semper quàm corpore validior, posthabita castrensi opera, qua me gregarius quilibet robustior facilè superasset, ad ea me contuli, quibus plus potui; ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, si saperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, causamque hanc præstantissimam, quantum maximè possem momentum accederem. Sic itaque existimabam, si illos Deus res gerere tam præclaras voluit, esse itidem alios à quibus gestas dici pro dignitate atque ornari, et defensam armis veritatem, ratione etiam, (quod unicum est præsidium verè ac propriè humanum,) defendi voluerit. Unde est, ut dum illos invictos acie viros admiror, de mea interim provincia non querar; immo mihi gratuler, et gratias insuper largitori munerum cœlesti iterum summas agam obtigisse talem, ut aliis invidenda multò magis, quàm mihi ullo modo pœnitentia videatur. Et me quidem nemini vel infimo libens confero; nec verbum de me ullum insolentius facio; ad causam verò omnium nobilissimam, ac celeberrimam, et hoc simul defensores ipsos defendendi munus ornatissimum ipsorum mihi suffragiis attributum atque judiciis, quoties animum refero, fateor me mihi vix temperare, quin altiùs atque audentiùs quàm pro exordii ratione insurgam; et grandius quiddam, quod eloqui possim, quæram: quandoquidem oratores illos antiquos et insignes, quantum ego ab illis non dicendi solùm sed et loquendi facultate, (in extranea præsertim, qua utor necessariò, lingua, et persæpe mihi nequaquam satisfacio,) haud dubiè vincor, tantùm omnes omnium ætatum, materiæ nobilitate et argumento vincam. Quod et rei tantam expectationem ac celebritatem adjecit, ut jam ipse me sentiam non in foro aut rostris, uno duntaxat populo, vel Romano, vel Atheniensi circumfusum; sed attenta, et confidente quasi tota penè Europa, et judicium ferente, ad universos quacunque gravissimorum hominum, urbium, gentium, consessus atque conventus, et priore defensione, dixisse, et hac rursus dicturum. Jam videor mihi, ingressus iter, transmarinos tractus et porrectas latè regiones, sublimis perlustrare; vultus innumeros atque ignotos, animi sensus mecum conjunctissimos. Hinc Germanorum virile et infestum servituti robur, inde Francorum vividi dignique nomine liberales impetus, hinc Hispanorum consulta virtus, Italorum inde sedata suique compos magnanimitas ob oculos versatur. Quicquid uspiam liberorum pectorum, quicquid ingenui, quicquid magnanimi aut prudens latet aut se palàm profitetur, alii tacitè favere, alii apertè suffragari, accurrere alii et plausu accipere, alii tandem vero victi, dedititios se tradere. Videor jam mihi, tantis circumseptus copiis, ab Herculeis usque columnis ad extremos Liberi patris terminos, libertatem diu pulsam atque exulem, longo intervallo domum ubique gentium reducere: et, quod Triptolemus olim fertur, sed longè nobiliorem Cereali illa frugem ex civitate mea gentibus importare; restitutum nempe civilem liberumque vitæ cultum, per urbes, per regna, perque nationes disseminare. Sed nec ignotus planè, nec fortasse non gratus rursum advenero; si sum idem, qui pugnacissimum tyrannorum satellitem, et opinione plerorumque, et sui fiducia insuperabilem antea creditum, cùm nos nostrasque acies contumeliosè lacesseret, et optimates nostri me primùm intuerentur, singulari certamine congressus, adacto convitiantis in jugulum hoc stylo, immò suismet ipsius telis, collocavi; et nisi velim tot undique lectorum intelligentium calculis atque sententiis, neutiquam addictis mihi aut obnoxiis diffidere prorsus et derogare, opima spolia retuli. Hæc sine ulla vaniloquentia ità esse re vera, vel illud maximè argumento esse potest, quod ego nec sine Dei nutu reor accidisse, quòd, cùm à regina Suedorum serenissima, qua vivit opinor nemo, aut olim vixit, vel optimarum artium, vel doctorum hominum studiosior, honorificè sanè esset invitatus, venissetque et Salmasius et Salmasia, (uter enim horum is erat, uxoris palàm dominatus cum fama tum domi incertum admodum reddiderat,) quo in loco peregrinus magno in honore degebat, ibi eum nostra defensio nihil tale metuentem occupavit. Qua statim à pluribus perlecta, regina quidem, quæ et ipsa cum primis perlegerat, de sua pristina benignitate ac munificentia, id solum spectans quod se dignum erat, in hospitem nihil remisit: de cætero, si audita sæpius et quæ arcana non sunt, licet referre, tanta animorum facta subitò mutatio est, ut qui nudiustertius summa gratia floruerat, nunc penè obsolesceret; nec ità multò post discedens cum bona venia hoc unum in dubio permultis relinqueret, honoratiorne advenerit, an contemptior abierit. Sed neque aliis in locis detrimentum levius fecisse famæ satis constat. Verùm hæc omnia non eò attuli; quò me cuiquam venditarem, neque enim est opus; sed quò id duntaxat latiùs ostenderem, quod initio institui, quas ob causas, et quàm non leves, ab agendis Deo Optimo Maximo gratiis potissimùm sim exorsus; mihique prooemium hoc fore honestissimum atque pulcherrimum, in quo præcipuè, tot argumentis enumeratis, demonstrare liceat, me, haud expertem licèt calamitatum humanarum, me tamen, resque meas Deo curæ esse; me maximis prope de rebus, et ad patriæ necessaria tempora accommodatis, et civilis vitæ religionisque ex usu maximè futuris, non uno pro populo, nedum uno pro reo, sed pro universo potiùs hominum genere, contra humanæ libertatis hostes, quasi in communi omnium gentium et frequentissimo concursu disserentem, divino favore et auxilio adjutum atque auctum: quo ego majus aut gloriosius quicquam mihi tribuere, neque possim ullo tempore neque cu-

piam. Eundem proinde immortalem Deum oro, ut consueta ejus ope ac benignitate sola fretus, qua integritate, diligentia, fide, felicitate etiam, fortissimè justissimeque simul facta haud ità pridem defendi, eadem, vel ea amplius, authores ipsos, meque tantis viris ignominiæ causa, non honoris additum ab immeritis opprobriis, atque calumniis vindicare sufficiam. Quòd si est, qui contemni hæc satiùs arbitretur potuisse, fateor equidem, si apud eos qui nos rectè nôssent hæc spargerentur: cæteris qua tandem ratione constabit non esse verum quicquid adversarius noster est mentitus? cùm autem, data, quæ par est, opera, à nobis erit, ut quo præcessit calumnia, eodem vindex quoque veritas sequatur, et illos de nobis perperam sentire opinor desituros, et istum fortasse mendaciorum pudebit: si non puduerit, tum demùm, satiùs contempserimus. Huic interea responsum pro meritis celeriùs expedivissem, nisi se falsis rumoribus hactenus muniisset; dum sæpius denuntiaret, an incudem sudare Salmasium, nova volumina in nos fabricare, jam jamque editurum: ex quo hoc solum est consequutus, ut maledicentiæ pœnas aliquanto seriùs daret: expectandum enim duxi potiùs, ut potiori viribus adversario, integrum me servarem. Sed cum Salmasio debellatum jam puto mihi esse, utpote mortuo; et quemadmodum mortuo, non dicam: non enim ut ille mihi cæcitatem, sic ego illi mortem vitio vertam. Quanquam sunt, qui nos etiam necis ejus reos faciunt, illosque nostros nimis acriter strictos aculeos; quos dum repugnando altius sibi infixit, dum quod præ manibus habebat opus, vidit spissius procedere, tempus responsionis abiisse, operis gratiam periisse, recordatione amissæ famæ, existimationis, principum denique favoris, ob rem regiam malè defensam, erga se imminuti, triennali tandem mœstitia, et animi magis ægritudine, quàm morbo confectum obiisse. Utcunque sit, si iterum cum hoste satis mihi cognito, si bella etiam posthuma gerenda sunt, cujus feroces ac strenuos impetus facilè sustinui, ejus languentes et moribundos conatus non est ut reformidem.

Nunc verò ad hoc quicquid est hominis, qui nos inclamat, aliquando veniamus: clamorem quidem audio, non regii sanguinis, ut præ se fert titulus, sed obscuri cujuspiam nebulonis; clamantem enim nusquam reperio. Eho! quis es? homone an nemo? hominum certè infimi, nè mancipia quidem, sine nomine sunt. Semperne ergò mihi cum anonymis res erit? at verò hi regios haberi se vel maximè volunt: miror si regibus sic persuaserint. Regum sequaces atque amicos regum non pudet; quo pacto igitur sunt isti regibus amici? non dant munera; immo verò libentiùs multò accipiunt: res suas non impendunt, qui ne nomina quidem causæ regiæ dare audent: quid ergò? verba dant, sed nec verba gratìs dare suis regibus, vel satis benevoli in animum inducunt, vel satìs constantes nomine adscripto audent. Me quidem, ὦ ἄνδρες ἀνώνυμοι, fas enim sit Græcè quos Latinè quid nominem non reperio, me inquam, cùm vester ille Claudius de jure regio, materia sanè gratiosissima, sine nomine tamen orsus esset scribere, et exemplo possem uti, usque adeò neque mei, neque causæ puditum est, ut ad rem tantam accedere, nisi nomen palàm professus, turpe ducerem. Quid ego in republica palàm videor contra reges, cur vos in regno, vel regum sub patrocinio, non nisi furtim et clanculum, contra rempublicam audetis? cur in tuto pavidi, cur in luce nocturni, summam potentiam, summam gratiam, timiditate invidiosa planè atque suspecta obscuratis? satisne vobis ut præsidii sit in regibus veremini? sic tecti, sic obvoluti non vos mehercule ad asserendum jus regium defensores, sed ad ærarium compilandum fures potiùs videmini venisse. Equidem quod sum, profiteor; quod regibus nego jus esse, vel in regno quovis legitimo pernegare ausim: nemo me læserit monarcha, quin se priùs damnet, tyrannum fassus. Si tyrannos insector, quid hoc ad reges? quos ego à tyrannis longissimè sejungo. Quantum à viro malo distat vir bonus, tantundem à tyranno discrepare regem contendo: unde efficitur, tyrannum non modò non esse regem, sed regi quidem adversissimum semper imminere. Et sanè qui monumenta rerum percurrit, plures à tyrannis quàm à populo oppressos reges, atque sublatos inveniet. Qui igitur tollendos affirmat tyrannos, non reges, sed inimicissimos regibus, immo infestissimos regum hostes tollendos affirmat. Vos contrà, quod regibus jus datis, ut quicquid libeat jus sit, non est jus, sed injuria, sed scelus, sed ipsa pernicies: venenato isto munere, non salutari, quos supra omnem vim atque periculum fore prædicatis, eos ipsi occiditis; regem et tyrannum idem esse, siquidem idem utrobique jus est, statuitis. Nam si isto suo jure, rex non utitur (utetur autem nunquam quamdiu rex, non tyrannus, erit) non hoc regi, sed viro assignandum est. Quid autem absurdius illo jure regio fingi queat, quo si quis utatur, quoties rex vult esse, toties esse vir bonus desinat; quoties vir esse bonus maluerit, toties se arguerit non esse regem? quo quid in reges dici contumeliosius potest? Hoc jus qui docet, ipse sit oportet injustissimus, atque omnium pessimus: pejor autem quo pacto fiat, quàm si quales format ac fingit alios, talis ipse imprimis fuerit? Quòd si omnis vir bonus, ut antiquorum secta quædam magnificè sanè philosophatur, est rex, pari ratione sequitur, omnem virum malum pro suo quemque modulo tyrannum esse: neque enim magnum, nè hoc nomine intumescat, sed infimum quiddam est tyrannus; et quantò omnium maximus, tantò omnium vilissimus, et maximè servilis. Alii enim suis tantum vitiis volentes serviunt; hic non modò suis, sed ministrorum etiam atque satellitum importunissimis flagitiis etiam nolens cogitur servire; et suas quasdam tyrannides abjectissimo cuique suorum concedere: tyranni igitur servorum infimi, suis serviunt etiam servitiis. Quamobrem rectè hoc nomen vel in minimum quemque tyrannorum pugilem, vel in hunc etiam clamatorem poterit convenire; qui in hac causa tyrannica cur tam strenuè vociferetur, ex his quæ dicta sunt, quæque mox dicentur, satis liquebit: uti etiam cur anonymus: aut enim turpiter conductus, clamorem hunc suum regio sanguini, Salmasium sequutus, vendidit; aut infamis doctrinæ conscientia pallens, aut vita flagitiosus ac turpis, latere si cupit, mirum non est: aut fortassis ità se parat, ut sicubi spem quæstûs uberiorem odoretur, desertis quandoque regibus integrum sibi sit, ad quamlibet etiam futuram rempublicam transfugere; nè tunc

quidem sine exemplo magni sui Salmasii, qui affulgente lucro captus, ab orthodoxis ad episcopos, à popularibus ad regios, etiam senex defecit. Tu igitur iste è gurgustio clamator, qui sis non fallis; frustrà tibi ista latibula quæsisti: extrahêre mihi crede, neque Plutonis ista galea diutiùs te teget: dejerabis, quoad vixeris, me aut cæcum non esse, aut tibi saltem non connivere. Quis igitur sit, quod genus hominis, qua spe adductus, quibus illecebris, quibus lenociniis delinitus, ad hanc causam regiam accesserit, (Milesia propemodum, aut Baiana fabula est,) si vacat nunc audite.

Est "Morus" quidam, partim Scotus, partim Gallus; nè tota hominis infamia, gens una, aut regio nimiùm laboraret; homo improbus, et cum aliorum, tum, quod gravissimum est, amicorum, quos ex intimis inimicissimos sibi fecit, testimoniis quamplurimis infidus, mendax, ingratus, maledicus, et virorum perpetuus obtrectator et fœminarum, quarum nec pudicitiæ plus unquam parcere, quàm famæ consuevit. Is, ut primæ ætatis obscuriora prætercam, primùm Genevæ Græcas literas docuit; verum, sæpius licèt nomen suum Græcè Morum discipulis interpretatus, stultum et nequam ipse dediscere nequivit; quin eo potius furore est agitatus cùm tot scelerum esset sibi conscius, quamvis fortasse nondum compertus, ut pastoris in ecclesia munus ambire, atque istis moribus inquinare non horresceret. Verùm haud diu presbyterorum censuram effugere potuit, mulierarius ac vanus, multisque aliis criminibus notatus, multis ab orthodoxa fide erroribus damnatus, quos et turpiter ejuravit, et ejuratos impiè retinuit, tandem adulterii manifestus. Hospitis ancillam quandam fortè adamaverat; eam paulò pòst etiam alteri nuptam sectari non destitit; tuguriolum quoddam intrare hortuli, solum cum sola, vicini sæpe animadverterant. Citra adulterium, inquis; poterat enim quidvis aliud: sanè quidem; poterat confabulari, nimirum de re hortensi, prælectiones quasdam suas sciolæ fortasse fœminæ et audiendi cupidæ expromere de hortis, Alcinoi putà vel Adonidis; poterat nunc areolas laudare, umbram tantummodo desiderare, liceret modò ficui morum inserere, complures indè sycomoros quàm citissimè enasci, ambulationem amœnissimam; modum deinde insitionis mulieri poterat monstrare: hæc et plura poterat, quis negat? Veruntamen presbyteris satisfacere non poterat, quin illum tanquam adulterum censura ferirent, et pastoris munere indignum prorsus judicarent: harum et hujusmodi accusationum capita in bibliotheca illius urbis publica etiamnum asservantur. Interea, dum hæc palàm nota non essent, ab ecclesia, quæ Middleburgi erat Gallica, procurante Salmasio, in Hollandiam vocatus, magna cum offensione Spanhemii, viri sanè docti, et pastoris integerrimi, qui eum Genevæ antea probè noverat, literas testimoniales, quas vocant, dum alii non ferendum existimarent, ut homo istiusmodi ecclesiæ testimonio ornaretur, alii quidvis potiùs ferendum, quàm ipsum hominem, ægrè à Genevensibus, et non alia quàm sui discessûs conditione, atque illas quidem frigidulas, tandem impetravit. In Hollandiam ut venit, ad salutandum Salmasium profectus, domi ejus in uxoris ancillam, cui Pontiæ nomen erat, oculos nequiter conjecit: semper enim in ancillis prolabitur libido hominis; hinc summa assiduitate Salmasium cœpit colere, et quoties licuit Pontiam. Nescio an ille commoditate hominis et assentatione captus, an hic optabilem excogitasse se conveniendæ eo sæpius Pontiæ occasionem ratus, prior sermones injecerit de responso Miltonii ad Salmasium. Utut fuit, Morus propugnandum suscipit Salmasium: et Salmasius quidem theologicam in ea urbe cathedram sua opera pollicetur Moro; Morus et hanc et aliud insuper suaviculum, furtivos Pontiæ concubitus pollicetur sibi. Per causam consulendi de hoc opere Salmasium, dies ac noctes eam domum frequentat. Jámque ut olim Pyramus in morum, ita nunc repente morus in Pyramum transmutatus sibi videtur, Genevensis in Babylonium; verùm illo juvene quantò improbior, tantò fortunatior, nunc suam Thisben, facta sub eodem tecto copia, ut libitum est, Pontiam alloquitur; rimam in pariete conquirere opus non erat: spondet matrimonium; ea spe pellectam vitiat; eodemque scelere, horreo dicere, sed dicendum est, sacrosancti evangelii minister, hospitalem etiam domum constuprat. Ex hoc demum congressu, mirum quiddam, et præter solitum naturæ prodigiosum accidit, ut et fœmina et mas etiam conciperet, Pontia quidem Morillum, quod et Plinianum exercitatorem diu postea exercuit Salmasium; Morus ovum hoc irritum et ventosum, ex quo tympanites iste clamor regii sanguinis prorupit. Quod quidem primò regiis nostris in Belgio esurientibus pergrata admodum sorbitio fuit; nunc rupto putamine, vitiosum ac putridum repertum aversantur. Nam Morus hoc suo fœtu haud mediocriter inflatus, et Arausiacam factionem totam demeruisse se sentiens, jam integras professionum cathedras spe improba devoraverat, et suam Pontiam utpote ancillam et pauperculam, jam gravidam sceleratus deseruerat. Illa despectam se atque delusam querens, et synodi fidem et magistratûs imploravit. Sic tandem evulgata hæc res, et conviviis penè omnibus, ac circulis diu risum et cachinnos præbuit. Unde aliquis, et lepidi sanè, quisquis erat, ingenii, hoc distichon,

> Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,
> Quis bene moratam, morigeramque neget?

Sola Pontia non risit; sed nec querendo quicquam profecit; clamor enim regii sanguinis clamorem stupri, et stupratæ mulierculæ ploratum facilè obruerat; Salmasius quoque illatam sibi hanc totique familiæ et injuriam et labem ægrè ferens, seque ab amico et laudatore suo sic ludos factum, sic adversario rursus obnoxium, accedente ad priores ejus in causa regia infelicitates forsitan hoc etiam infortunio, haud ità multò pòst supremum diem obiit. Verùm aliquantò hæc posteriùs. Interim Salmasius, Salmacidis quodam fato, ut enim nomen, ità et fabula non abludit, nescius hermaphroditum se adjunxisse sibi Morum tam gignendi quàm pariendi compotem, quid is domì genuisset ignarus, quod peperit exosculatur; librum nempe istum in quo sentit se Magnum toties dici, et suo fortè judicio dignè, aliorum certè stultè atque ridiculè laudatum. Itaque

typographum festinanter quærit; et fugientem ab se jamdiu famam, retinere frustrà conatus, quas laudes, quas potiùs fœdas suî adulationes per hunc atque alios miserè concupiverat, iis etiam divulgandis obstetricatur ipse atque subservit. Ad hanc operam Vlaccus quidam est visus omnium maximè idoneus; huic facilè persuadet, non modò ut librum illum excudendum curaret, quod nemo reprehendisset; sed etiam ut epistolæ ad Carolum videlicet missæ, multis in me, qui hominem nunquam nôram, probris et contumeliis refertæ, subscripto nomine se profiteretur authorem. Nequis igitur miretur cur se exorari tam facilè sit passus, ut me tam impudenter nulla de causa lacesseret, et alienas etiam intemperies in se transferre atque præstare tam pro nihilo duceret, erga omnes etiam alios quemadmodum se gesserit, sicuti ego compertum habeo, ostendam. Est Vlaccus unde gentium nescio, vagus quidam librariolus, veterator atque decoctor notissimus; is Londini aliquandiu bibliopola fuit clancularius; qua ex urbe, post innumeras fraudes, obæratus aufugit. Eundem Parisiis fide cassum et malè agendo insignem, vita tota Jacobæa cognovit: unde olim quoque profugus nè multis quidem parasangis audet appropinquare; nunc si cui opus est balatrone perditissimo atque venali, prostat Hagæcomitis typographus recoctus. Nunc ut intelligatis, quid dicat, quidve agat, quàm nihil pensi habeat, nihil esse tam sanctum, quod non lucro vel exiguo posterius putet, seque non causa publica, quod quis putàsset, sic in me esse debacchatum, fatentem ipsum in se testem producam. Is cum vidisset quod in Salmasium scripseram, nonnullis librariis æra meruisse, scribit ad amicos quosdam meos mecum agerent, ut siquid haberem excudendum, sibi committeretur; se typis longè melioribus, quàm qui priùs excudisset, mandaturum: respondi per eosdem, non habere me in præsentia, quod excuso esset opus. Ecce autem! cui suam operam tam officiosè modò detulerat, in eum haud ita multò post, scripti contumeliosissimi non excusor solum sed et author, subdititius licèt, prodit. Indignantur amici; rescribit impudentissimus, mirari se simplicitatem eorum, et rerum imperitiam, qui officii rationem aut honesti ab se exigant aut desiderent, cùm videant quibus rebus quæstum faciat: se ab ipso Salmasio illam epistolam, cum libro accepisse; qui rogabat, id utì sua gratia, vellet facere quod fecit; si Miltonio, vel cuivis alteri visum esset respondere, nullum sibi esse scrupulum; siquidem eadem sua opera uti voluerint: id est, vel in Salmasium vel in Carolum; namque id erat solum quod in responso ejusmodi futurum expectare poterat. Quid plura? Hominem videtis; ad reliquos nunc pergo, non enim unus est duntaxat, qui hanc in nos regii clamoris quasi tragœdiam adornavit. En igitur initio, ut solet, dramatis personæ: clamor prologus, Vlaccus balatro, aut si mavultis, Salmasius Vlacci balatronis persona et lacernis involutus, duo poetastri cerevisiali vappa temulenti, Morus adulter et stuprator. Mirificos sanè tragœdos! bellum certamen mihi paratum! Verùm qualescunque sortiti, quoniam alios atque hujusmodi adversarios vix est ut causa nostra habere possit, nunc singulos aggrediamur; hoc tantùm præfati, si cui minus gravitatis nostra alicubi refutatio habere videbitur, cogitare eum debere, non cum gravi adversario, sed cum grege histrionico, nobis rem esse; ad quem dum refutationis genus accommodandum erat, non semper quid magis decuisset, sed quid illis dignum esset, spectandum duximus.

Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversùs parricidas Anglicanos.

Siquidem non jure fusum ostendisses, More, istum sànguinem, haud incredibile narrares: nunc, quemadmodum primis restituti evangelii temporibus, monachi, cùm argumentis minùs valerent, ad spectra nescio quæ, et ficta monstra decurrere solebant; sic vos, postquam omnia defecere, ad clamores nusquam auditos, et obsoletas fraterculorum artes revertimini. Voces è cœlo audire quemquam nostrorum, longè abest ut credas; ego te clamores ab inferis audisse, quod postulas, facilè crediderim. Verùm hunc regii sanguinis clamorem die sodes quis audivit? Te aïs: nugæ: primùm enim male audis: ad cœlum autem qui clamor perveniat, si quis præter Deum, justi puto soli et integerrimi quique audiunt, ut qui possint, immunes ipsi, iram Dei conseiis denuntiare. Tu verò quorsum audires, an ut satyram cinædus scriberes? Videris enim eodem tempore, et ementitus hunc clamorem ad cœlum, et cum Pontia furtim libidinatus esse. Multa te impediunt, More, multa, intus forisque circumsonant, quæ te res istiusmodi ad cœlum perlatas audire non sinunt; et si nihil aliud, certè qui contra ipsum te ad cœlum quam plurimus fit clamor. Clamat contra te, si nescis, mœcha illa tua hortensis, tuo maximè pastoris sui exemplo, deceptam se esse questa; clamat contra te maritus, cujus torum violasti; clamat Pontia, cui partum nuptiale temerasti; clamat, siquis est, quem probro genitum, infantulum abdicasti; horum omnium clamores ad cœlum contra te, si non audis, neque illum regii sanguinis audiveris: interea libellus iste, non regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum, sed lascivientis Mori hinnitus ad Pontiam, rectius inscribetur. Quæ sequitur epistola, prolixa quidem, et bene putida, partim Carolo, partim Miltonio, alteri amplificando, alteri infamando, dedicatur. Ab ipso statim initio authorem discite: "Caroli regna," inquit, "in sacrilegam parricidarum, et (quia verba desunt idonea, Tertullianæa voce abutimur) Deicidarum potestatem venerunt." Hæc sive Salmasiæa, sive Moræa, sive Vlaccæa sartago sit, prætereamus. Hoc verò aliis ridendum, Carolo indignandum profectò est, quod paulò post, "neminem," ait, "vivere felicitatis Caroli studiosiorem." Quine eandem et epistolandi, et excudendi operam Caroli hostibus detulisti, te vivit nemo felicitatis ejus studiosior? Miserum profectò dicis regem sic ab amicis omnibus derelictum, ut qui intimi restant, iis vappa typographus comparare se audeat. Miserrimum, cujus fidelissimis, Vlaccus perfidus fide ac studio non cedat: quo quid insolentius de se, contemptius de rege amicisque regiis pronunciare potuit? Neque hoc minùs ridiculum, induci idiotam et operarium de rebus gravissimis ac regiis virtutibus philosophantem, eaque dicentem, qualiacunque sunt, quibus nec Salmasius ipse, nec Morus meliora dixisset. Equidem Salmasium, ut sæpe aliàs, ità hoc loco haud obscurè,

si multa lectione, judicio tamen puerili et nullius usûs hominem deprehendi; qui cùm legere potuisset summos in Spartana civitate optimè instituta magistratus, si quid fortè viro malo excidisset sapienter dictum, id ei adimi jussisse, et in virum aliquem bonum ac frugi sortitione conferri, adeò id omne quod decorum dicitur ignorârit, ut è contra, quas probum atque prudentem decere sententias arbitraretur, eas homini nequissimo attribui sustineret. Bono es animo, Carole: veterator Vlaccus, "quæ sua est in Deum fiducia," bono animo te esse jubet. "Noli tot mala perdere:" Vlaccus decoctor perditissimus, qui bona omnia, siqua habuit, perdidit, author tibi est, perdere ut nolis mala: "Fruere novercante fortuna:" potin'es ut nè fruare, hortatore præsertim tali, qui alienis etiam fortunis frui per fas et nefas tot annis consuevit? "In sapientiam penitùs ingurgitasti, et ingurgita:" sic monet, sic præcipit regum institutor sanè optimus Vlaccus gurges, qui arrepta atramentosis manibus, coriacea lagena, inter combibones operas, ingenti haustu, sapientiam tibi propinat. Hæc audet tuus Vlaccus, tam præclara monita, nomine etiam conscripto, quæ Salmasius, quæ Morus, cæterique pugiles tui aut timidi non audent, aut superbi non dignantur; nimirum quoties te monito est opus aut defenso, alieno semper nomine, atque periculo, non suo, sapientes aut fortes sunt. Desinat ergò, quisquis hic est, "strenuam et animosam facundiam" ipse suam inaniter jactare; dum "vir," si diis placet, "insignis, decoro ingenio nomen suum celeberrimum" edere metuit; librum quo regium sanguinem ulcisci se ait, ne dicare quidem Carolo nisi per Vlaccum interpretem et vicarium ausus, verbis typographi miserè contentus significare, "librum" se, sine nomine, "si pateris, O rex, tuo nomini dicatum ire." Sic functus Carolo in me impetum parat minitabundus: "Post hæc prooemia, tubam terribilem inflabit ὁ Θαυμάσιος "ille Salmasius." Salubritatem prædicis et concentûs musici novum genus futurum: isti enim tubæ terribili, cùm inflabitur, nulla aptior excogitari symphonia poterit, quàm si affatim oppedetur. Buccam verò Salmasius nimis inflatam ne afferat moneo: quo enim attulerit inflatiorem, eò mihi crede, opportuniorem ad colaphos præbebit; qui thaumasii Salmasii rhythmicum hunc sonum, quo delectaris, buccis ambabus resonantibus, numerose reddent. Pergis cornicari. "Qui nec parem nec secundum habet, in universo literarum et scientiarum orbe." Vestram fidem! Eruditi, quotquot estis, vestram fidem! Siccine vobis omnibus anteferri cimicem grammaticum, cujus res atque spes omnis in glossario vertebatur? Quem vel extremum meritò occupet scabies, si cum viris verè doctis comparetur. Hæc autem, nisi ab infimo quopiam et infra Vlaccum ipsum væcorde affirmari tam fatuè nequiverunt. "Quique jam stupendam et infinitam eruditionem cœlesti junctam ingenio ad causam tuæ majestatis contulit." Si meministis quod suprà narravi, ipsum Salmasium attulisse hanc epistolam cum libro excudendam, vel ab ipso scriptam, vel ab anonymo quovis, vernamque typographum exorasse, ut quod author nollet, ipse suum nomen adscriberet, cognoscetis profectò pusilli omnino, et abjectissimi hominem ingenii suis laudibus tam miserè velificantem, et immensa encomia tam stolidi laudatoris aucupantem. "Opus æternum frustrà sugillantibus nonnullis, jurisconsulti mirari satis nequeunt quòd homo Gallus ità subitò res Anglicas, leges, decreta, instrumenta, ità teneat, enodet, &c." Immo quàm ineptierit in nostris legibus et psittacus fuerit, nostris etiam jurisconsultis testibus, abunde ostendimus. "Sed ipse mox altera, quam in rebelles molitur, impressione, simul Theonum ora comprimet, simul Miltonum nobis pro eo ac meretur concastigatum dabit." Tu igitur ut pisciculus ille anteambulo, præcurris balænam Salmasium, impressiones in hæc littora minitantem; nos ferramenta acuimus, expressuri si quid habent impressiones et concastigationes illæ sive olei sive gari. Bonitatem interea magni viri mirabimur plusquam Pythagoricam, qui animalia quoque miseratus, et præsertim pisces, quorum carnibus, ne quadragesima quidem parcit, iis tam decenter involvendis tot volumina destinârit, tot pauperum millibus, thunnorum, credo, aut scombrorum, chartaceas in singulos tunicas testamento legarit.

> Gaudete scombri, et quicquid est piscium salo,
> Qui frigida hyeme incolitis algentes freta,
> Vestrûm misertus ille Salmasius eques
> Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat;
> Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos
> Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii
> Insignia nomenque et decus Salmasii,
> Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum
> Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium
> Cubito virorum, et capsulis gratissimos.

Hæc habui in editionem diu exspectatam tam nobilis libri; cujus impressionem, dum, ut ais, molitur Salmasius, tu ejus domum, More, fœdissima compressione Pontiæ contaminasti. Et videtur sanè, ad hoc opus absolvendum, Salmasius diu multumque incubuisse; paucis enim ante mortem diebus, cùm vir quidam doctus, à quo hoc ipsum accepi, misisset, qui ex eo quæreret, ecquando apparatûs partem secundam in primatum papæ editurus esset, respondit, ad illud opus non ante reversurum se, quàm absolvisset quod adhuc commentaretur adversùs Miltonium. Ità ego etiam papæ refutandus præferor; et quem illi primatum in ecclesia negavit, eum mihi ultro in inimicitia sua concedit; sic ego primatui papæ jam jam evertendo salutem attuli; ego redivivum hunc Catilinam, non in toga, ut consul olim Tullius, nè per somnum quidem, sed aliud omnino agens, Romanis mœnibus averti; non unus profectò cardinalatus mihi hoc nomine debebitur; vereor, nè translato in me regum nostrorum titulo, defensor fidei ab Romano pontifice appellandus sim. Videtis quantus invidiæ artifex in me concitandæ Salmasius fuerit; verùm ipse viderit, qui, tam honesta provincia turpiter relicta, alienis se controversiis immiscuerit, ab ecclesiæ causa, ad civiles et externas, quarum sua nihil interesset, se traduxerit; cum papa inducias fecerit; et, quod fœdissimum fuit, cum episcopis, post bellum apertissimum, in gratiam redierit. Veniamus nunc ad mea crimina: estne quod in vita aut moribus reprehendat? Certè nihil: Quid ergo? Quod nemo nisi immanis ac barbarus fecisset, formam mihi ac cæcitatem objectat.

> Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.

Nunquam existimabam equidem fore, ut de forma cum Cyclope certamen mihi esset; verùm statim se revocat. "Quanquam nec ingens, quo nihil est exilius, exsanguius, contractius." Tametsi virum nihil attinet de forma dicere, tandem quando hìc quoque est, unde gratias Deo agam, et mendaces redarguam, nè quis (quod Hispanorum vulgus de hæreticis, quos vocant, plus nimio sacerdotibus suis credulum, opinatur) me fortè cynocephalum quempiam, aut rhinocerota esse putet, dicam. Deformis quidem à nemine, quod sciam, qui modò me vidit, sum unquam habitus; formosus necne, minùs laboro; statura fateor non sum procera: sed quæ mediocri tamen quàm parvæ propior sit: sed quid si parva, qua et summi sæpe tum pace tum bello viri fuere, quanquam parva cur dicitur, quæ ad virtutem satis magna est. Sed neque exilis admodum, eo sanè animo iisque viribus ut cùm ætas vitæque ratio sic ferebat, nec ferrum tractare, nec stringere quotidiano usu exercitatus nescirem; eo accinctus, ut plerumque eram, cuivis vel multò robustiori exæquatum me putabam, securus quid mihi quis injuriæ vir viro inferre posset. Idem hodie animus, eædem vires, oculi non iidem; ità tamen extrinsecus illæsi, ità sine nube clari ac lucidi, ut eorum qui acutissimum cernunt: in hac solùm parte, memet invito, simulator sum. In vultu, quo "nihil exsanguius" esse dixit, is manet etiamnum color exsangui et pallenti planè contrarius, ut quadragenario major vix sit cui non denis prope annis videar natu minor; neque corpore contracto neque cute. In his ego si ulla ex parte mentior, multis millibus popularium meorum, qui de facie me nôrunt, exteris etiam non paucis, ridiculus meritò sim: sin iste in re minimè necessaria, tàm impudenter et gratuitò mendax comperietur, poteritis de reliquo eandem conjecturam facere. Atque hæc de forma mea vel coactus: de tua quanquam et contemptissimam accepi, et habitantis in te improbitatis atque malitiæ vivam imaginem, neque ego dicere, neque ullus audire curat. Utinam de cæcitate pariter liceret inhumanum hunc refellere adversarium; sed non licet; feramus igitur: non est miserum esse cæcum; miserum est cæcitatem non posse ferre: quidni autem feram, quod unumquemque ità parare se oportet, ut si acciderit, non ægrè ferat, quod et humanitus accidere cuivis mortalium, et præstantissimis quibusdam, atque optimis omni memoria viris accidisse sciam: sive illos memorem, vetustatis ultimæ priscos vates, ac sapientissimos; quorum calamitatem, et dii, ut fertur, multò potioribus donis compensârunt, et homines eo honore affecerunt, ut ipsos inculpare maluerint deos, quàm cæcitatem illis crimini dare. De augure Tiresia quod traditur, vulgò notum. De Phineo sic cecinit Apollonius in Argonauticis:

——'Ουδ' ὅσσον ὀπίζετο καὶ Διὸς ἀυτοῦ
Χρειον ἀτρεκέως ἱερὸν νόον ἀνθρώποισι.
Τῷ καὶ οἱ γῆρας μὲν ἐπὶ δηναιὸν ἴαλλεν
'Εκ δ' ἕλετ' ὀφθαλμῶν γλυκερὸν φάος.

——neque est veritus Jovem ipsum
Edens veraciter mentem divinam hominibus.
Quare et senectam ei diuturnam dedit,
Eripuit autem oculorum dulce lumen.

Cæterum Deus et ipse veritas est: in qua homines edocenda quò quis veracior eò similior Deo acceptiorque sit, oportet. Non est pium veritatis invidentem Deum credere; aut nolle hominibus quàm liberrimè impertitam: ob nullam igitur noxam, divinus vir, et humani generis erudiendi studiosissimus, ut philosophorum etiam complures, caruisse luminibus videtur. Sive illos commemorem civili prudentia gestisque rebus admirabiles olim viros; primùm Timoleontem Corinthium, et civitatis suæ, et Siciliæ totius liberatorem; quo virum meliorem, aut in republica sanctiorem, nulla ætas tulit; tum Appium Claudium, cujus in senatu pulchrè dicta sententia, Italiam Pyrrho, gravi hoste, seipsum cæcitate non liberavit; tum Cæcilium Metellum pontificem, qui non urbem solùm, sed et fatum urbis Palladium, et penitissima sacra dum ab incendio servavit, suos oculos perdidit; quanquam aliàs certè Deus pietati tam egregiæ favere se, etiam inter gentes, testatus est: quod tali igitur viro usu venit, ponendum in malis esse vix putem. Quid alios recentiorum temporum adjungam, vel illum Venetiarum principem Dandulum longè omnium præstantissimum; vel Boëmorum Ziscam ducem fortissimum, orthodoxæ fidei propugnatorem? Quid summi nominis theologos Hieronymum Zanchium, nonnullosque alios? cum et ipsum Isaacum patriarcham, quo nemo unquam mortalium Deo charior fuit, annos haud paucos, cæcum vixisse constet; aliquot fortasse Jacobum etiam ejus filium, et ipsum Deo haud minùs dilectum: cùm denique Christi servatoris nostri divino testimonio compertissimum sit, illum hominem ab se sanatum, neque ob suum, neque ob parentum suorum aliquod peccatum, etiam ab utero cæcum fuisse. Ad me quod attinet, te testor, Deus, mentis intimæ, cogitationumque omnium indagator, me nullius rei, (quanquam hoc apud me sæpius, et quàm maximè potui, seriò quæsivi et recessus vitæ omnes excussi,) nullius vel recèns vel olim commissi, mihimet conscium esse, cujus atrocitas hanc mihi præ cæteris calamitatem creare, aut accersisse meritò potuerit. Quod etiam ullo tempore scripsi (quoniam hoc nunc me luere quasi piaculum regii existimant atque adeò triumphant) testor itidem Deum, me nihil istiusmodi scripsisse, quod non rectum et verum, Deoque gratum esse, et persuaserim tum mihi, et etiamnum persuasus sim; idque nulla ambitione, lucro, aut gloria ductus; sed officii, sed honesti, sed pietatis in patriam ratione sola; nec reipublicæ tantùm, sed ecclesiæ quoque liberandæ causa potissimùm fecisse: adeò ut cùm datum mihi publicè esset illud in defensionem regiam negotium, eodemque tempore et adversa simul valetudine, et oculo jam penè altero amisso, conflictarer, prædicerentque disertè medici, si hunc laborem suscepissem, fore, ut utrumque brevì amitterem, nihil ista præmonitione deterritus, non medici, nè Æsculapii quidem Epidaurii ex adyto vocem, sed divinioris cujusdam intus monitoris viderer mihi audire; duasque sortes, fatali quodam natu, jam mihi propositas, hinc cæcitatem, indè officium; aut oculorum jacturam necessariò faciendam, aut summum officium deserendum: occurrebantque animo bina illa fata, quæ retulisse Delphis consulentem de se matrem, narrat Thetidis filius.

Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε,
Εἰ μέν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,
Ὤλετο μέν μοι νόστος· ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται.
Εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμαι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
Ὤλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
Ἔσσεται.——

Iliad. 9.

Duplicia fata ducere ad mortis finem:
Si hic manens circa Troüm urbem pugnavero,
Amittitur mihi reditus; sed gloria immortalis erit:
Si domum revertor dulce ad patrium solum,
Amittitur mihi gloria pulchra, sed diuturna vita
Erit.——

Unde sic mecum reputabam, multos graviore malo minus bonum, morte gloriam, redemisse; mihi contrà majus bonum minore cum malo proponi: ut possem cum cæcitate sola vel honestissimum officii munus implere; quod ut ipsa gloria per se est sŏlidius, ità cuique optatius atque antiquius debet esse. Hac igitur tam brevi luminum usura, quanta maxima quivi cum utilitate publica, quoad liceret, fruendum esse statui. Videtis quid prætulerim, quid amiserim, qua inductus ratione: desinant ergò judiciorum Dei calumniatores maledicere, deque me somnia sibi fingere: sic denique habento; me sortis meæ neque pigere neque pœnitere; immotum atque fixum in sententia perstare; Deum iratum neque sentire, neque habere, immò maximis in rebus clementiam ejus et benignitatem erga me paternam experiri atque agnoscere; in hoc præsertim, quòd solante ipso atque animum confirmante in ejus divina voluntate acquiescam; quid is largitus mihi sit quàm quid negaverit sæpius cogitans: postremò nolle me cum suo quovis rectissimè facto, facti mei conscientiam permutare, aut recordationem ejus gratam mihi semper atque tranquillam deponere. Ad cæcitatem denique quod attinet, malle me, si necesse est, meam, quàm vel suam, More, vel tuam. Vestra imis sensibus immersa, nequid sani videatis aut solidi, mentem obcæcat: mea, quam objicitis, colorem tantummodo rebus et superficiem demit; quod verum ac stabile in iis est contemplationi mentis non adimit. Quàm multa deinde sunt quæ videre nollem, quàm multa quæ possem libens non videre, quàm pauca reliqua sunt quæ videre cupiam. Sed neque ego cæcis, afflictis, mœrentibus, imbecillis, tametsi vos id miserum ducitis, aggregari me discrutior; quandoquidem spes est, eo me propiùs ad misericordiam summi patris atque tutelam pertinere. Est quoddam per imbecillitatem, præeunte Apostolo, ad maximas vires iter: sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eo se efficaciùs exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultûs lumen eo clariùs eluceat; tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perspicacissimus; hac possim ego infirmitate consummari, hac perfici, possim in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sanè haud ultima Dei cura cæci sumus; qui nos, quò minus quicquam aliud præter ipsum cernere valemus, eò clementiùs atque benigniùs respicere dignatur. Væ qui illudit nos, væ qui lædit, execratione publica devovendo; nos ab injuriis hominum non modò incolumes, sed penè sacros, divina lex reddidit, divinus favor; nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quàm cœlestium alarum umbra has nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas illustrare rursus interiore ac longe præstabiliore lumine haud raro solet. Huc refero, quòd et amici officiosiùs nunc etiam quàm solebant, colunt, observant, adsunt; quòd et nonnulli sunt, quibuscum Pyladeas atque Theseas alternare voces verorum amicorum liceat.

Ορεστ. Ἕρπε νῦν διαξ ποδός μοι. Πυ. φίλα γ' ἔχων κηδεύματα.

Orest. Vade gubernaculum mei pedis. Py. pergratam mihi habens curam. Eurip. in Orest.

Et alibi,

Δίδυ χεῖρ ὑπηρέτῃ φίλῳ.

Da manum ministro amico.

Δίδυ δέρῃ σὴν χεῖρ', ὁδηγήσω δ' ἐγώ.

Da collo manum tuam, ductor autem viæ ero tibi ego.
Id. in Her. furent.

Non enim hoc casu factum me omnino nullum; non quicquid est probi aut cordati hominis, positum in oculis putant esse. Quin et summi quoque in republica viri, quandoquidem non otio torpentem me, sed impigrum et summa discrimina pro libertate inter primos adeuntem oculi deseruerunt, ipsi non deserunt; verùm humana qualia sint, secum reputantes, tanquam emerito favent, indulgent, vacationem atque otium faciles concedunt; si quid est ornamenti, non detrahunt; si quid publici muneris, non adimunt; si quid ex ea re commodi, non minuunt; et quamvis non æquè nunc utilis, præbendum nihilo minùs benignè censent; eodem planè honore, ac si, ut olim Atheniensibus mos erat, in Prytaneo alendum decrevissent. Sic mihi et apud Deum et apud homines cæcitatem solari meam quandiu licuerit, amissos honesti causa oculos, nemo meos lugeat; absit quoque ut ipse lugeam, aut vel animi satis ut nè habeam quo cæcitatis convitiatores facilè possim contemnere, vel veniæ ut nè possim faciliùs condonare. Ad te, quisquis es, redeo, qui parùm tibi constans, nunc pumilionem me, nunc Antæum vis esse: "Non aliud" postremò optas "libentiùs fœderatis Belgii Provinciis, quàm ut tam facile, tamque feliciter defungantur, hoc bello, quàm defungetur Salmasius Miltonio." Cui ego voto facilè assensero, arbitror me nostris successibus reique Anglicanæ nec ominari malè nec malè precari.

En verò iterum clamorem, alienum quendam et stridulum! anseres puto aliciunde advolare: jam sentio quid sit; memini clamoris haud esse tragœdiam; prodit chorus: en duo poëtastri; vel duo vel unus, biformi sanè specie et bicolore; Sphingemne dicam an Horatianum illud monstrum Poëticum, capite muliebri, cervice asinina variis indutum plumis, undique collatis membris: id profectò ipsissimum est. Rhapsodus videlicet quispiam, centonibus et pannis obsitus; unusne an duo incertum, nam et Anonymus quoque est. Poëtas equidem verè dictos et diligo et colo, et audiendo sæpissimè delector; illorum etiam plerosque tyrannis esse scio inimicissimos, si vel à primis exorsus ad Buchananum usque nostrum recenserem: istos verò versiculorum nugivendos, quis non oderit? quo genere homi-

num nihil stultius, aut vanius, aut corruptius, aut mendacius. Laudant, vituperant, sine delectu, sine discrimine, judicio, aut modo, nunc principes, nunc plebeios, doctos juxtà atque indoctos, probos an improbos, perinde habent; prout Cantharus, aut spes nummuli, aut fatuus ille furor inflat ac rapit; congestris undique et verborum et rerum tot discoloribus ineptiis tamque putidis, ut laudatum longè præstet sileri, et pravo, quod aïunt, vivere naso, quàm sic laudari: vituperatus verò qui sit, haud mediocri sanè honori sibi ducat, se tam absurdis, tam stolidis nebulonibus displicere. Primus qui est, si modò bini sunt, dubito poëta sit an cæmentaris; ità Salmasio os oblinit, immo totum quasi parietem dealbat atque incrustat. Curru nempe "triumphantem" inducit, heroëm gigantomachum, "hastilia et cæstus," et nescio quæ nugamenta armorum vibrantem, doctos omnes pedibus quadrigam sequentes, sed post terga ejus innumeris spatiis relictos, utpote "quem numen rebus trepidis salutem orbis admoverit; tandem ergo tali tempus erat tegi umbone reges, parente" nimirum "juris et imperii." Delirus necesse est fuerit et bis puer Salmasius, qui his laudibus non solùm tantopere sibi placuerit, sed excudendas etiam quàm primùm de se tam sedulò curaverit: Misellus etiam poëta atque indecorus, qui grammaticum, quod genus hominum poëtis ministrum semper atque subserviens fuit, tam immodicis laudibus dignetur. Alter verò non versos facit, sed planè insanit enthusiastarum omnium quos tam rabidè insectatur, ipse amentissimus: hic Salmasii carnifex quasi sit, Syri damæ filius, Lorarios invocat et Cadmum; veratro deinde ebrius, totam, quicquid ubique est, servulorum et ballionum sentinam, ex Indice Plautino evomit; credas lingua Oscum non latinè loquentem, aut inferarum, quas natat, paludum coaxare ranam. Tum ut intelligatis, quantus sit iamborum artifex, duabus syllabis una in voce peccat, altera producta, altera perperam correpta.

Hi trucidato rege per horrendum nefas.

Aufer istas, asine, "vacivitatum" tuarum clitellas; et tria verba, si potes, sani ac sobrii tandem hominis affer; si tua ista cucurbita et "blennum caput" vel ad punctum temporis potest sapere: interea te ego puerorum "virgidemiis" tuis cædendum trado Orbilium. Tu mihi sic perge maledicere, ut "Cromuello pejor" tibi sim, qua nulla majore me laude afficere potuisti. Te verò benevolumne dicam, an stolidum, an hostem insidiosum? benevolus certè non es, verba enim hostem indicant; cur ergò tam stolidus fuisti vituperator, ut anteferre me tanto viro in buccam tibi venerit? ecquid tu non intelligis, an me putas non intelligere, quo graviora vestra in me esse odia ostenditis, eò vos ampliora mea in rempublicam merita prædicare, vestra tot opprobria, tot mea esse apud meos præconia? Nam si vos me omnium maximè odistis, sanè ego vos omnium maximè exulceravi, vos ego maximè afflixi, causæque vestræ nocui: id si ità est, idem ego de meis civibus optime quoque merui; hostis enim vel testimonium vel judicium, etsi aliàs leve admodùm, de suo tamen dolore longè est gravissimum. An poëta non meministi, cùm de Achillis mortui armis, Ajax et Ulysses contenderent, non Græcos populares sed Trojanos hostes ex sententia Nestoris judices datos?

Τοὔνεκα Τρωσὶν ἐφῶμεν ἐΰφροσι τήνδε δίκασαι.

Quapropter Trojanis permittamus prudentibus hanc
litem judicandam.

Et paulò post,

Οἵ ρα δίκην ἰθεῖαν ἐπὶ σφίσι ποιήσονται,
Οὔ τινι ἦρα φέροντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς
Ἶσον ἀπεχθαίρουσι κακῆς μεμνημένοι ἄτης.

Qui justum judicium de iis fecerint,
Nemini gratificantes, cùm vehementer omnes Achivos
Æquè oderint, mali memores damni.

Hæc Smyrnæus ille, sive Calaber. Insidiosus itaque sis oportet, meque in invidiam conjicere labores, qui quod judicium in hoste rectum atque sincerum esse solet, id dolo malo et graviùs lædendi animo corrumpis atque depravas, ita non vir modò, sed et hostis depravatissimus es. Verùm ego nullo negotio frustrabor te, vir bone; quanquam enim Ulyssem, id est, quàm optimè de patria meritum me esse sanè perquàm vellem, tamen Achilleïa arma non ambio; cœlum in clypeo pictum, quod alii, non ego, in certamine aspiciant, præferre, onus non pictum sed verum, humeris portare, quod ego, non alii sentiant, non quæro: equidem cùm nullas omnino simultates aut inimicitias ullo cum homine privatas geram, neque ullus, quod sciam, mecum gerat, tot in me maledicta jactari, tot probra torqueri, reipublicæ duntaxat causa, non mea, eo æquiore animo fero: nec præmii et commodorum inde provenientium, partem longè minimam, ignominiæ longè maximam pervenisse ad me queror; contentus quæ honesta factu sunt, ea propter se solùm appetisse, et gratis persequi: id alii viderint, tuque scito, me illas "opimitates" atque "opes," quas mihi exprobas, non attigisse, neque eo nomine quo maximè accusas, obolo factum ditiorem. Hic rursus infit Morus, et secunda epistola causas scribendi refert; cuinam? "Lectori Christiano" nempe mœchus et stuprator Morus salutem: piam sanè epistolam promittis; jam causas incipe. "Excitati sunt Europæarum gentium animi, maximè omnium Galli nostri reformati, ut parricidium et parricidas, &c. cognoscerent." Galli et ipsi reformati contra leges bella gesserunt; quid ulterius fuissent facturi, paribus usi rerum successibus, affirmari non potest: certè reges ipsorum, si qua earum rerum monumentis fides, ab illis haud minùs metuebant sibi, quàm à nobis noster: neque injuria, quoties meminissent quæ etiam illi scriptitarunt, et minati sæpe sunt: Nolint igitur, quicquid tu causare, splendidè nimis de se polliceri, iniquiùs de nobis sentire. Pergit in causis. "Equidem ea Anglorum melioris notæ consuetudine sum usus." Qui tibi sunt melioris notæ, viris bonis sunt pessimæ. "Ut ausim dicere me ista hominum monstra nosse intus et in cute." Putabam te mœchas tantummodo tuas et scorta; tu etiam monstra intus et in cute. "Ut nomen meum premerem, facile impetrarunt Angli quibuscum consuevi." Et astutè quidem illi: sic enim sperabant et se impudentia tua eò largiore fruituros, et te tua fama, etiam tum mala, eo minus

causæ nociturum. Noverant enim te, et quàm esses olim bonus hortorum custos, et nunc rasus licèt et pumicatus sacerdos, ut à Pontia ne Pilata quidem abstinere manus potueris; nec de nihilo sanè, si enim à conficienda carne carnifex dictus putatur, cur minùs tu conficiendo Pontiam Pontifex factus ex sacerdote tibi videare? Hæc cùm de te non nescirent alii, cùm non posses ipse quin tibimet conscires, tamen incredibili, et execranda quadam impietate palam audes profiteri, te "Dei gloriam unice quærere, et vindicare:" et dum ipse turpissima quæris, simul accusare alios, quod "pietatis larvam criminibus imponant:" cùm id nemo manifestiùs ac sceleratiùs quàm tu ipse facis, unquam fecerit. "Ad rerum" aïs "gestarum seriem magno" tibi "fuisse adjumento cum alios scriptores tum maxime elenchum motuum nuperorum in Anglia." Næ tu ineptus homo es, qui tanto clamore facto, quod tuum sit nihil afferas; sed scriptores tantùm, regiis partibus addictos eoque meritò suspectos authores contra nos adducere potuisti, quorum fides si elevabitur, progredi nequeas. Nos igitur scriptores illos, si opus erit et elenchum elencho refutabimus, non illis per te, sed tibi per illos, cum visum erit respondebimus; tibi quæ de tuo protuleris, videndum interea, ut tueri queas; quæ cujusmodi sint, ab impio et planè atheo nomine professa, audiant nunc omnes pii et horrescant. "Jubet amor Dei, et injuriæ sancto ejus nomini factæ sensus acerrimus cogit supplices manus ad Deum attollere." Abde, abde obscœnas illas manus, quas libidine et ambitione supinatus attollere non vereris, nè cœlum ipsum quoque audeas iis manibus incestâre, quibus sacra religionis mysteria contrectando polluisti. Quam enim divinam ultionem aliis temerarius et væcors imprecaris, eam in ipsius tuum impurissimum caput devocasse te olim intelliges.

Hactenus clamoris quasi præludia fuere; nunc, (summas enim, et propè solas in hoc dramate partes clamor obtinet,) quàm potest maximo hiatu, rictum diducit in cœlum scilicet iturus; quo si ascenderit, in neminem profectò acriùs clamabit quàm in ipsum clamatorem Morum. "Cùm omnibus seculis sacra fuerit regum majestas, &c." Multa tu quidem, More, vulgariter, multa malitiosè in nos declamas, quæ nihil attinent: regis enim cædes, et tyranni supplicium non sunt idem, More, non sunt, inter se distant longissimè, atque distabunt, dum sensus et ratio, jus atque fas, rectique et obliqui judicium hominibus concedetur. Verùm de his satìs jam sæpiùs dictum, satìs defensum est: non patiar qui tot diris inanibus lædere non potes, ut repetita crambe nos demum occidas. De patientia, deinde et pietate, bellè disputas: sed

——de virtute loquutus
Clunem agitas: ego te ceventem more verebor?

"Omnes" aïs "reformatos, præsertim Belgas et Gallos, factum nostrum horruisse;" et statim, "bonis ubique non licuisse, idem sentire et loqui." Sed te tibi repugnare periculum est; hoc multo indignius atque atrocius: "præ nostro," inquis, "scelere, nihil fuit Judæorum scelus, Christum crucifigentium, sive hominum mentem, sive sceleris effectus compares." Furiose! tunc Christi minister perpetratum facinus in Christum tam leviter fers, quacunque demum "mente" vel "effectu," ut pari scelere interfectum quemlibet regem audeas dicere? Judæi certè clarissimis indiciis Dei filium agnovisse poterant; nos Carolum non esse tyrannum, nulla ratione potimus intelligere. Eventûs autem, ad minuendum scelus, ineptissimè facis mentionem: verùm semper animadverto regios, quò quisque acrior est, eò leviùs ferre quicquid committitur in Christum, quàm si quid in regem: cui tamen cùm Christi præcipuè causa obediendum doceant, facilè ostendunt se neque Christum verè colere, neque regem: sed aliud quiddam sibi quærentes, incredibilem hanc erga reges fidem ac religionem suam, vel ambitioni, vel occultis quibusdam aliis cupiditatibus obtendere. "Prodiit ergo magnus literarum princeps Salmasius." Desine toties magnum illud, More; quod millies licèt ingesseris, haud cuiquam profectò intelligenti persuaseris magnum esse Salmasium, sed minimum esse Morum, et nullius pretii homulum, qui, quid deceat ignarus, magni cognomine tam imperitè abutatur. Nos grammaticis atque criticis, quorum summa laus aut in alienis lucubrationibus edendis, aut librariorum mendulis corrigendis versatur, industriam quidem ac literarum scientiam, doctrinæ etiam haud contemnendæ laudem, ac præmia libenter concedimus, magni cognomen haud largimur. Is solus magnus est appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit, aut docet, aut dignè scribit: res autem magnæ sunt solæ, quæ vel vitam hanc nostram efficiunt beatam, aut saltem cum honestate commodam atque jucundam, vel ad alteram ducunt beatiorem. Horum verò Salmasius quid egit? egit verò nihil: quid autem docuit aut scripsit magnum? nisi fortè contra episcopos, et primatum papæ, quod ipse postea et suis moribus, et aliis in nos pro episcopatu scriptis, recantatum penitus evertit. Magnus ergo scriptor dici non debet, qui aut nihil magnum, aut quod optimum in vita scripserat, ei fœdissimè renunciavit. "Literarum princeps" ut sit, et alphabeti per me licet; at verò tibi non "princeps" modò "literarum" est, sed "patronus regum," et "patronus quidem dignus tantis clientibus." Pulchrè tu quidem regibus consuluisti, ut post alios insignes titulos, Claudii Salmasii clientes appellentur. Ea nimirum lege solvimini cunctis aliis legibus reges, ut in clientelam grammatico tradatis vos Salmasio, sceptra ferulæ submittatis: "Debebunt ei reges, dum stabit orbis, dignitatis et salutis suæ vindicias." Audite principes; qui pessimè vos defendit, immo ne defendit quidem, nemo enim oppugnavit, dignitatem et salutem vestram sibi imputat. Hoc nempe solum consequuti sunt, qui superbissimum grammaticum sustinendis regum rationibus et tinearum et blattarum foro advocarunt. "Cui quantum res regia, tantundem etiam ecclesia debebit;" non laudem sanè, sed meritissimam desertæ suæ causæ notam. Nunc in laudes effunderis defensionis regiæ; "ingenium, doctrinam, infinitum prope rerum usum, et intimam sacri et profani juris penum, concitatæ orationis vigorem, eloquentiam, facundiam aurei illius operis" admiraris, quorum cum nihil affuisse homini contendo (quid enim Salmasio cum eloquentia?) tum aureum fuisse

illud opus vel centies fateor; tot enim Carolus aureos numeravit, ne dicam quid Arausiacus etiam princeps in idem opus profuderit. "Nunquam major surrexit vir magnus, nunquam magis Salmasius:" et tantò quidem major ut se ruperit, quàm magnus enim fuerit in illo opere jam vidimus; et siquid ejusdem argumenti, ut fertur, posthumum reliquit, fortasse videbimus. Non equidem inficior, edito illo libro, Salmasium in ore omnium fuisse, regiis mirè placuisse; "ab augustissima Sueciæ regina, amplissimis præmiis invitatum; quinimò tota illa contentione Salmasio secunda omnia, adversa mihi penè omnia fuere. Primùm de illius eruditione, erat hominum summa opinio, quam multis ab annis jam diu collegerat, libros conscribendo multos, et bene magnos, non eos quidem plerumque utiles, sed abstrusissimis de rebus, et summorum authorum citatiunculis differtos; quo nihil citius literatorum vulgus in admirationem rapit; me verò quis essem, nemo in iis ferè regionibus nôrat; magnam ille suî expectationem concitârat, attentior operi quàm solebat aliàs, ut in re tanta; ego mei nullam potui movere: immò verò multi me ab illo dehortabantur, tyronem cum veterano congressurum, partim invidentes, nè utcunque mihi gloriæ foret cum tanto hoste decertasse; partim et mihi, et causæ metuentes, nè utriusque gravi cum ignominia victus discederem; causa denique speciosa atque plausibilis, inveterata vulgi opinio, sive superstitio dicenda potiùs est, et propensus in regium nomen favor Salmasio vires et spiritus addiderat; eadem omnia contra me fecêre, quo magis est mirandum. quamprimum responsio nostra prodiit, non si à plerisque avidè arriperetur, videre gestientibus ecquis tam præceps animi esset ut auderet cum Salmasio confligere, sed tam esse placitam multis atque gratam, ut, non authoris, sed ipsius veritatis ratione habita, qui modò summo in honore fuerat Salmasius, nunc quasi detracta, sub qua latuerat, persona, et existimatione, et animo repentè caderet; seque asserere, tametsi omnibus nervis id agens, quoad vixit postea non valuerit. Te verò, serenissima Suecorum regina, tuumque illud acre judicium fallere haud diu potuit; tu veritatis partium studiis anteferendæ, princeps atque author propè dicam cœlestis extitisti. Quamvis enim illum hominem eximiæ doctrinæ fama, causæque regiæ patrocinio tunc temporis longè omnium celeberrimum, à te invitatum, multis honoribus affecisses, tamen prodeunte illo responso, et singulari æquanimitate abs te perlecto, postquam vanitatis et apertissimæ corruptelæ redargutum Salmasium, multa leviter, multa immoderatè, falsa quædam, adversùs seipsum alia, et prioribus sententiis contraria disseruisse animadverteras, ad quæ, coram accitus, ut ferunt, quod satis responderet nihil habuit, ita palàm animo affecta es, ut ab illo tempore neque hominem, ut antea, colere, neque ejus ingenium aut doctrinam magni facere, et, quod erat planè inopinatum, ejus adversario propensiùs favere, omnes te intelligerent. Quod enim erat in tyrannos dictum, negabas id ad te ullo modo pertinere: unde et apud te fructum, et apud alios famam rectissimæ conscientiæ adepta es. Cùm enim tua facta satis declarent, tyrannum te non esse, hæc tua tam aperta animi significatio adhuc clariùs demonstrabat, te ejus rei ne omnino quidem tibi esse consciam. O me spe mea omni feliciorem! (eloquentiam enim, nisi quæ in ipsa veritate Suada est, nullam mihi sumo;) qui, cùm in ea patriæ tempora incidissem, ut necesse esset in causa tam ardua tamque invidiosa versari, ut jus omne regium impugnare viderer, tam illustrem, tam verè regiam nactus sim integritatis meæ testem atque interpretem, nullum me verbum fecisse contra reges, sed contra regum labes ac pestes, duntaxat tyrannos. Te verò magnanimam, Augusta, te tutam undique divina planè virtute ac sapientia munitam! quæ quod in jus tuum ac dignitatem poterat videri scriptum, non solùm tam æquo animo atque sedato, tam incredibili mentis candore, vultusque vera serenitate perlegere sustinuisti; sed contra ipsum patronum tuum ejusmodi sententiam ferre, ut ejus adversario palmam etiam adjudicare à plerisque existimeris. Quo te honore, qua te veneratione, regina, prosequi semper debuero, cujus excelsa virtus ac magnitudo animi non tibi solùm gloriosa, sed mihi etiam tam fausta atque fortunata, et suspicione me omni atque infamia apud alios reges liberavit, et præclaro ac immortali hoc beneficio tibi in perpetuum devinxit. Quàm bene de æquitate tua, deque justitia et sentire exteri, et sentire et sperare semper tui populi debebunt, qui, cùm tua res ac majestas ipsa agi videretur, tam nihil turbatam te de tuo haud minùs placidè, quàm de populi jure soles, judicantem viderunt. Jam tu quidem haud temerè, tot conquisita undique volumina, tot literarum monumenta congessisti, non quasi te illa quicquam docere, sed ut ex illis tui cives te discere, tuæque virtutis ac sapientiæ præstantiam contemplari possint; cujus ipsa divæ species, nisi tuo animo penitùs insedisset, et quasi oculis conspiciendam se tibi præbuisset, haud ulla profectò librorum lectione, tam incredibiles amores excitasset in te sui: quò magis illum mentis tuæ vigorem planè æthereum et quasi purissimam divinæ auræ partem in illas ultimas regiones delapsam admiramur; quam neque cœlum illud triste ac nubilosum ullis frigoribus extinguere aut gravare, neque solum illud horridum ac salebrosum, quod et ingenia quoque incolarum haud rarò indurat, quicquam in te inæquale aut asperum creare potuit: quin et ipsa terra illa, tot metallis fœcunda, si aliis noverca, tibi certè alma parens, te summis enixa viribus totam auream produxisse videtur. Dicerem Adolphi filiam invicti atque inclyti regis unicam prolem, nisi tu illi, "Christina," tantum præluceres, quantum viribus sapientia, belli artibus pacis studia præcellunt. Jam inde profectò regina austri haud sola celebrabitur: habet nunc et septentrio reginam suam, et dignam sanè quæ non modò sapientissimum illum Judæorum regem, aut siquis unquam similis futurus esset, auditum proficisceretur, sed ad quam alii tanquam ad clarissimum regalium virtutum exemplar, et visendam omnibus heroinam, undique concurrant: nullumque in terris fastigium par esse ejus laudibus ac meritis fateantur, in qua minimum hoc esse videant, quòd sit regina, tot gentium monarcha. Non autem hoc minimum, quòd etiam hoc esse decorum suorum minimum ipsa sentiat, aliudque longè majus atque sublimius meditetur, quàm regnare; hoc ipso nomine

innumeris regibus præponenda. Potest itaque, si ea manet Suecorum gentem calamitas, regnum abdicare, reginam deponere nunquam potest, non Sueciæ sed totius orbis terrarum dignam se imperio testata.

In has digressum me reginæ meritissimas laudes nemo est, opinor, qui non collaudet, nedum reprehendat; quas ego quidem sine summa ingratitudinis culpa, vel aliis tacentibus, prætermittere non potui; qui nescio qua mea sorte, sanè felicissima, aut si quis est occultus vel siderum, vel animorum, vel rerum consensus aut moderamen, tantam arbitram quam omnium minimè sperabam, omnium maximè optabam, tam mihi æquam et faventem in ultimis terris repererim. Nunc ad relictum opus, longè quidem diversissimum, redeundum tamen est. "Infremuisse," ais, "nos ad defensionis regiæ famam; dispexisse igitur grammaticastrum aliquem famelicum, qui venalem calamum parricidii patrocinio vellet commodare." Hæc abs te malitiosissimè ficta sunt, ex quo memineras, regios, cum suis mendaciis ac maledicentiæ præconem dispicerent, adiisse grammaticum, si non famelicum, certè auri plus nimio sitientem Salmasium; qui non solùm præsentem operam suam, sed bonam quoque mentem, si quam priùs habuit, illis libentissimè vendidit; ex quo memineras Salmasium, fama jam deplorata atque perdita, cum dispiceret, qui existimationem afflictam atque obtritam, quoquo modo reparare quiret, te invenisse justo Dei judicio, non, unde excussus es, ministrum Genevensem, sed episcopum Lampsacenum, id est, ex horto Priapum, suæ domûs constupratorem; unde et insulsissimas laudes, tanto cum dedecore emptas aversatus, et ex amico inimicissimus factus, tibi laudatori suo, multa moriens imprecatus est. "Unus inventus est, magnus scilicet heros, quem Salmasio opponerent, Joannes Miltonus." Ego heroëm me esse nesciebam, tu heroïs cujuspiam fortè filius per me sis licèt; totus enim noxa es. Atque unum me esse inventum, qui causam populi Anglicani tuear, si reipublicæ rationes cogito, sanè quàm doleo, si laudem, ejus participem habere me neminem facilè patior. Quis et unde sim dubium ais esse. Tam olim erat dubium quis Homerus, quis Demosthenes. Equidem tacere diu, et posse non scribere, quod nunquam potuit Salmasius, didiceram; eaque in sinu gestabam tacitus, quæ si tum proferre libuisset, æquè ac nunc, inclaruisse jamdudum poteram: sed cunctantis famæ avidus non eram, ne hæc quidem, nisi idonea data occasione unquam prolaturus; nihil laborans etsi alii me quæcunque nossem scire nesciebant; non enim famam sed opportunitatem cujusque rei præstolabar; unde factum est, ut multò ante plurimis essem notus, quàm Salmasius notus esset sibi; nunc Andremone notior est caballo. "Homone an vermis." Equidem malim me vermem esse, quod fatetur de se etiam rex Davides, quàm tuum vermem in pectore nunquam moriturum intùs celare. "Aiunt," inquis, "hominem Cantabrigiensi academia ob flagitia pulsum, dedecus et patriam fugisse, et in Italiam commigrasse." Vel hinc licebit conjicere quàm veraces illi fuerint, ex quibus res nostras auditione accepisti; hìc enim et te et illos impudentissimè mentiri et nôrunt omnes qui me nôrunt, et statim ampliùs ostendam. Pulsus verò Cantabrigia, cur in Italiam potiùs quàm in Galliam aut Hollandiam commigrarem? ubi tu tot flagitiis coopertus, minister Evangelii, non modò impunè vivis, sed concionaris, sed sacra etiam ministeria, summo cum illius ecclesiæ opprobrio, inquinatissimis manibus conspurcas. Cur verò in Italiam, More? novus credo Saturnus, ut alicubi laterem, in Latium scilicet profugi. Verùm ego Italiam, non, ut tu putas, facinorosorum latibulum aut asylum, sed humanitatis potiùs, et civilium doctrinarum omnium hospitium et novercam antea, et expertus sum. "Reversus librum de divortiis conscripsit." Non aliud scripsi atque ante me Bucerus de regno Christi copiosè, Fagius in Deuteronomium, Erasmus in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios dedita opera in Anglorum gratiam, aliique multi percelebres viri, in commune bonum scripserunt. Quod in illis nemo reprehendit, cur id mihi præ cæteris fraudi esset, non intelligo: vellem hoc tantùm, sermone vernaculo me non scripsisse; non enim in vernas lectores incidissem; quibus solenne est sua bona ignorare, aliorum mala irridere. Tene verò, turpissime, de divortiis obstrepere, qui cum Pontia ancilla tibi desponsata, post stuprum eo obtentu illatum, immanissimum omnium divortium fecisti? Et tamen erat illa Salmasii famula, Anglica, ut fertur, fœmina, regiis partibus apprimè dedita; nempe hoc erat, scelerate, adamasti ut rem regiam, reliquisti ut rem publicam, cujus tamen conversionis, quam odisse adeo vis videri, vide ne ipse author fueris; vide inquam ne subversa funditus dominatione Salmasiana Pontiam ipse in rem publicam converteris. Et hoc modo multas tu quidem una in urbe res publicas, regius licet, aut fundasse diceris aut ab aliis fundatas minister publicus administrare. Hæc tua sunt divortia, seu mavis, diverticula, unde in me Curius prodiisti. Ad mendacia nunc redis. "Cum de regis capite inter conjuratos ageretur, scripsit ad eos, et nutantes in malam partem impulit." Ego vero neque ad eos scripsi, neque impellere attinebat, quibus id omnino agere sine me deliberatum jam erat: verum ea de re quid scripserim, infrà dicetur, uti etiam de Iconoclaste. Nunc quoniam iste (hominem an dicam hæreo, purgamentum potiùs hominis) ab ancillarum adulteriis, ad adulterandam omnem veritatem progressus, congestis in me tot una serie mendaciis, apud exteros infamem reddere conatus est, peto ne quis rem secùs interpretetur, aut in invidiam trahat, neve molestè ferat, si de me plura quàm vellem et dixi suprà, et porrò dicam: ut si oculos à cæcitate, nomen ab oblivione aut calumnia non possum, vitam tamen possim ab ea saltem obscuritate quæ cum macula sit, in lucem vindicare. Idque non unam ob causam mihi erit necessariò faciendum. Primùm ut tot viros bonos atque doctos, qui per omnes vicinas gentes nostra jam legunt, deque me haud malè sentiunt, ne propter hujus maledicta mei pœniteat; verùm ita sibi persuadeant non eum esse me, qui honestam orationem inhonestis moribus, aut liberè dicta serviliter factis, unquam dedecorarim; vitamque nostram, Deo bene juvante, ab omni turpitudine ac flagitio remotam longè semper fuisse: deinde, ut quos laudandos mihi sumo viros illustres ac laude dignos, hi sciant nihil me pudendum magis existimare, quàm si ad eorum laudes vituperandus ipse ac nequam

accederem; sciat denique populus Anglicanus, quem ut defenderem, meum sive fatum sive officium, sua virtus impulit, si vitam pudentur atque honestè semper egi, meam defensionem, nescio an honori aut ornamento, certè pudori aut dedecori nunquam sibi fore: qui igitur, et unde sim, nunc dicam. Londini sum natus, genere honesto, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatissima, et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimùm nota. Pater me puerulum humaniorum literarum studiis destinavit; quas ita avidè arripui, ut ab anno ætatis duodecimo vix unquam ante mediam noctem à lucubrationibus cubitum discederem; quæ prima oculorum pernicies fuit: quorum ad naturalem debilitatem accesserant et crebri capitis dolores; quæ omnia cum discendi impetum non retardarent, et in ludo literario, et sub aliis domi magistris erudiendum quotidie curavit: ita variis instructum linguis, et percepta haud leviter philosophiæ dulcedine, ad gymnasium gentis alterum, Cantabrigiam misit: Illìc disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui: procul omni flagitio, bonis omnibus probatus, usquedum magistri, quem vocant, gradum, cum laude etiam adeptus, non in Italiam, quod impurus ille comminiscitur, profugi, sed sponte mea domum me contuli, meique etiam desiderium, apud collegii plerosque socios à quibus eram haud mediocriter cultus, reliqui. Paterno rure, quo is transigendæ senectutis causa concesserat, evolvendis Græcis Latinisque scriptoribus summum per otium totus vacavi; ita tamen ut nonnunquam, rus urbe mutarem, aut coëmendorum gratia librorum, aut novum quidpiam in mathematicis, vel in musicis, quibus tum oblectabar, addiscendi. Exacto in hunc modum quinquennio, post matris obitum, regiones exteras, et Italiam potissimùm, videndi cupidus, exorato patre, uno cum famulo profectus sum. Abeuntem vir clarissimus Henricus Woottonus, qui ad Venetos orator Jacobi regis diu fuerat, et votis et præceptis, eunti peregrè sanè utilissimis, eleganti epistola perscriptis, me amicissimè prosequutus est. Commendatum ab aliis nobilissimus vir Thomas Scudamorus vicecomes Slegonensis, Caroli regis legatus, Parisiis humanissimè accepit; meque Hugoni Grotio viro eruditissimo, ab regina Succorum tunc temporis ad Galliæ regem legato, quem invisere cupiebam, suo nomine, et suorum uno atque altero deducente, commendavit: Discedenti post dies aliquot Italiam versùs, literas ad mercatores Anglos, quà iter eram facturus, dedit, ut quibus possent officiis mihi præstò essent. Nicæa solvens, Genuam perveni; mox Liburnum et Pisas, inde Florentiam. Illa in urbe, quam præ cæteris propter elegantiam cum linguæ tum ingeniorum semper colui, ad duos circiter menses substiti; illic multorum et nobilium sanè et doctorum hominum familiaritatem statim contraxi; quorum etiam privatas academias (qui mos illic, cum ad literas humaniores, tum ad amicitias conservandas laudatissimus est) assiduè frequentavi. Tui enim Jacobe Gaddi, Carole Dati, Frescobalde, Cultelline, Bonmatthæi, Clementille, Francine, aliorumque plurium memoriam, apud me semper gratam atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit. Florentia Senas, inde Romam profectus, postquam illius urbis antiquitas et prisca fama me ad bimestre ferè spatium tenuisset, (ubi et Luca Holstenio, aliisque viris cum doctis tum ingeniosis, sum usus humanissimis,) Neapolim perrexi: Illìc per eremitam quendam, quícum Roma iter feceram, ad Joannem Baptistam Mansum, marchionem Villensem, virum nobilissimum atque gravissimum, (ad quem Torquatus Tassus insignis poeta Italus de amicitia scripsit,) sum introductus; eodemque usus, quamdiu illic fui, sanè amicissimo; qui et ipse me per urbis loca et proregis aulam circumduxit, et visendi gratia haud semel ipse ad hospitium venit: Discedenti seriò excusavit se, tametsi multò plura detulisse mihi officia maximè cupiebat, non potuisse illa in urbe, propterea quòd nolebam in religione esse tectior. In Siciliam quoque et Græciam trajicere volentem me, tristis ex Anglia belli civilis nuntius revocavit: Turpe enim existimabam, dum mei cives domi de libertate dimicarent, me animi causa otiosè peregrinari. Romam autem reversurum, monebant mercatores se didicisse per literas parari mihi ab Jesuitis Anglis insidias, si Romam reverterem; eò quod de religione nimis liberè loquutus essem. Sic enim mecum statueram, de religione quidem iis in locis sermones ultrò non inferre; interrogatus de fide, quicquid essem passurus, nihil dissimulare. Romam itaque nihilominùs redii: Quid essem, si quis interrogabat, neminem celavi; si quis adoriebatur, in ipsa urbe pontificis, alteros prope duos menses, orthodoxam religionem, ut antea, liberrimè tuebar: Deoque sic volente, incolumis Florentiam rursus perveni; haud minùs mei cupientes revisens, ac si in patriam revertissem. Illic totidem, quot priùs, menses libenter commoratus, nisi quod ad paucos dies Luccam excucurri, transcenso Apennino, per Bononiam et Ferraram, Venetias contendi. Cui urbi lustrandæ cum mensem unum impendissem, et libros, quos per Italiam conquisiveram, in navem imponendos curâssem, per Veronam ac Mediolanum, et Pœninas Alpes, lacu denique Lemanno, Genevam delatus sum. Quæ urbs, cum in mentem mihi hinc veniat Mori calumniatoris, facit ut Deum hìc rursus testem invocem, me his omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuò cogitantem, si hominum latere oculos possem, Dei certè non posse. Genevæ cum Joanne Deodato, theologiæ professore doctissimo, quotidianus versabar. Deinde eodem itinere, quo priùs, per Galliam, post annum et tres plus minus menses in patriam revertor; eodem ferme tempore quo Carolus cum Scotis, rupta pace, bellum alterum quod vocant episcopale, redintegrabat; in quo fusis primo congressu regiis copiis, cùm videret etiam omnes Anglos, et meritò quidem, in se pessimè animatos, malo coactus, non sponte, parlamentum haud ita multò post convocavit. Ipse, sicubi possem, tam rebus turbatis et fluctuantibus, locum consistendi circumspiciens, mihi librisque meis, sat amplam in urbe domum conduxi; ibi ad intermissa studia beatulus me recepi; rerum exitu Deo imprimis, et quibus id muneris populus dabat, facile permisso. Interea parlamento rem strenuè gerente, episcoporum fastus detumuit. Ut primùm loquendi saltem cœpta est libertas concedi, omnia in episcopos aperiri ora;

alii de ipsorum vitiis, alii de ipsius ordinis vitio conqueri; iniquum esse, se solos ab ecclesiis omnibus, quotquot reformatæ sunt, discrepare; exemplo fratrum, sed maximè ex verbo Dei, gubernari ecclesiam convenire. Ad hæc sanè experrectus, cùm veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his initiis, his passibus, ad liberandam servitute vitam omnem mortalium, rectissimè procedi, si ab religione disciplina orta, ad mores et instituta reipublicæ emanaret, cùm etiam me ita ab adolescentia parassem, ut quid divini, quid humani esset juris, ante omnia possem non ignorare, meque consuluissem ecquando ullius usus essem futurus, si nunc patriæ, immo verò ecclesiæ totque fratribus evangelii causa, periculo sese objicientibus deessem, statuti, etsi tunc alia quædam meditabar, huc omne ingenium, omnes industriæ vires transferre. Primùm itaque de reformanda ecclesia Anglicana, duos ad amicum quendam libros conscripsi: Deinde, cum duo præ cæteris magni nominis episcopi suum jus contra ministros quosdam primarios assererent, ratus de iis rebus, quas amore solo veritatis, et ex officii Christiani ratione didiceram, haud pejùs me dicturum, quàm qui de suo quæstu et injustissimo dominatu contendebant, ad hunc, libris duobus, quorum unus de episcopatu prælatico, alter de ratione disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ inscribitur, ad illum, scriptis quibusdam animadversionibus, et mox apologia, respondi; et ministris facundiam hominis, ut ferebatur, ægrè sustinentibus, suppetias tuli; et ab eo temporè, si quid postea responderent, interfui. Cùm petiti omnium telis episcopi tandem cecidissent, otiumque ab illis esset, verti aliò cogitationes; si qua in re possem libertatis veræ ac solidæ rationem promovere; quæ non foris, sed intus quærenda, non pugnando, sed vitam rectè instituendo recteque administrando, adipiscenda potissimùm est. Cùm itaque tres omnino animadverterem libertatis esse species, quæ nisi adsint, vita ulla transigi commodè vix possit, ecclesiasticam, domesticam seu privatam, atque civilem, deque prima jam scripsissem, deque tertia magistratum sedulò agere viderem, quæ reliqua secunda erat, domesticam mihi desumpsi; ea quoque tripartita, cum videretur esse, si res conjugalis, si liberorum institutio rectè se haberet, si denique liberè philosophandi potestas esset, de conjugio non solùm ritè contrahendo, verùm etiam, si necesse esset, dissolvendo, quid sentirem explicui; idque ex divina lege quam Christus non sustulit, nedum aliam, toto lege Mosaïca graviorem, civiliter sanxit; quid item de excepta solùm fornicatione sentiendum sit, et meam aliorumque sententiam exprompsi, et clarissimus vir Seldenus noster, in uxore Hebræa plùs minùs biennio pòst edita, uberiùs demonstravit. Frustrà enim libertatem in comitiis et foro crepat, qui domi, servitutem viro indignissimam, inferiori etiam servit; ea igitur de re aliquot libros edidi; eo præsertim tempore cùm vir sæpe et conjux hostes inter se acerrimi, hic domi cum liberis, illa in castris hostium materfamilias versaretur, viro cædem atque perniciem minitans. Institutionem deinde liberorum uno opusculo breviùs quidem tractabam; sed quod satis arbitrabar iis fore, qui ad eam rem, qua par esset diligentia, incumberent; qua quidem re, nihil ad imbuendas, unde vera atque interna oritur libertas, virtute hominum mentes, nihil ad rempublicam bene gerendam, et quam diutissimè conservandam majus momentum potest afferre. Postremò de typographia liberandâ, ne veri et falsi arbitrium, quid edendum, quid premendum, penès paucos esset, eosque ferè indoctos, et vulgaris judicii homines, librorum inspectioni præpositos, per quos nemini ferè quicquam quod supra vulgus sapiat, in lucem emittere, aut licet aut libet, ad justæ orationis modum Areopagiticam scripsi. Civilem, quæ postrema species restabat, non attigeram; quam, magistratui satis curæ esse cernebam: Neque de jure regio quicquam à me scriptum est, donec rex hostis à senatu judicatus, belloque victus, causam captivus apud judices diceret, capitisque damnatus est. Tum verò tandem, cum presbyteriani quidam ministri, Carolo priùs infestissimi, nunc independentium partes suis anteferri, et in senatu plus posse indignantes, parlamenti sententiæ de rege latæ (non facto irati, sed quod ipsorum factio non fecisset) reclamitarent, et quantum in ipsis erat, tumultuarentur, ausi affirmare protestantium doctrinam, omnesque ecclesias reformatas ab ejusmodi in reges atroci sententia abhorrere, ratus falsitati tam apertæ palàm eundum obviàm esse, ne tum quidem de Carolo quicquam scripsi aut suasi, sed quid in genere contra tyrannos liceret, adductis haud paucis summorum theologorum testimoniis, ostendi; et insignem hominum meliora profitentium, sive ignorantiam sive impudentiam propè concionabundus incessi. Liber iste non nisi post mortem regis prodiit, ad componendos potiùs hominum animos factus, quàm ad statuendum de Carolo quicquam quod non mea, sed magistratuum intererat, et peractum jam tum erat. Hanc intra privatos parietes meam operam nunc ecclesiæ, nunc reipublicæ gratis dedi; mihi vicissim vel hæc vel illa præter incolumitatem nihil; bonam certè conscientiam, bonam apud bonos existimationem, et honestam hanc dicendi libertatem facta ipsa reddidere: Commoda alii, alii honores gratis ad se trahebant: Me nemo ambientem, nemo per amicos quicquam petentem, curiæ foribus affixum petitorio vultu, aut minorem conventuum vestibulis hærentem nemo me unquam vidit. Domi fere me continebam, meis ipse facultatibus, tametsi hoc civili tumultu magna ex parte sæpe tetentis, et censum fere iniquiùs mihi impositum, et vitam utcunque frugi tolerabam. His rebus confectis, cùm jam abundè otii existimarem mihi futurum, ad historiam gentis, ab ultima origine repetitam, ad hæc usque tempora, si possem, perpetuo filo deducendam me converti: Quatuor jam libros absolveram, cum ecce nihil tale cogitantem me, Caroli regno in rempublicam redacto, concilium status, quod dicitur, tum primùm authoritate parlamenti constitutum, ad se vocat, meaque opera ad res præsertim externas uti voluit. Prodiit haud multò post attributus regi liber, contra parlamentum invidiosissimè sane scriptus: Huic respondere jussus, Iconi Iconoclasten opposui; non "regiis manibus insultans," ut insimulor, sed reginam veritatem regi Carolo anteponendam arbitratus; immo cum præviderem hanc calumniam cuivis maledico in promptu fore, ipso exordio, et sæpe aliàs, quoad licuit, à me istam invidiam sum amolitus.

Prodiit deinde Salmasius; cui quis responderet, adeò non diu, quod ait Morus, dispiciebant, ut me in concilio tum etiam præsentem statim omnes ultro nominarent. Hactenus ad obturandum os tuum, More, et mendacia redarguenda bonorum maximè virorum in gratiam, qui me aliàs non nôrint, mei rationem reddidi. Tu igitur, More, tibi dico immunde, φιμώθητι, obmutesce inquam; quo enim magis mihi maledixeris, eo me rationes meas uberiùs explicare coëgeris; ex quo aliud lucrari nihil poteris, quàm ut tibi mendaciorum opprobrium adhuc gravius concilies, mihi ad integritatis commendationem eo latiùs viam aperias. Reprehenderam ego Salmasium, quòd extraneum se et alienigenam rebus nostris immiscuisset: Tu instas, "ad eos, qui ad Angliam non pertinent, hanc defensionem maxime pertinere." Quid enim? "Possint," inquis, "Angli existimari studio partium acriùs agere; Gallos verò consentaneum est rei, non hominum, rationem habuisse." Ad hæc eadem quæ priùs regero; externum et longinquum, qualis tu es, in alienas res præsertim turbatas, immersurum se neminem nisi corruptum; Salmasium prius demonstravi mercede conductum; te constat per Salmasium et Arausionenses professoriam cathedram petiise; deinde, quod fœdius est, exagitas parlamentum, et subagitas Pontiam. Quam autem affers rationem, cur hæc ad exteros potius pertinerent, deridicula prorsus est; si enim Angli partium studiis feruntur, quid vos aliud, qui illos solos sequimini, quàm eorum affectus duntaxat in vos transfertis? Adeò ut, si Anglis illis credendum in sua causa non est, vobis profectò sit multò minus; qui rerum nostrarum nihil intelligitis, aut saltem creditis, nisi quas ab ipsis accepistis, quibus, vestra quoque sententia, vix est credendum. Hic rursum effundis te in laudem magni Salmasii: Magnus sanè tibi fuit, quem tu quasi pro lenone habuisti ancillæ suæ; laudas tamen; at is te non laudat, immo ante mortem palàm est abominatus, seque ipse millies incusavit, quod Spanhemio gravissimo theologo, de te, quàm impius esses, non credidisset. Nunc totus in rabiem versus rationi quasi renuntias; "Jamdudum ratione" scilicet "defunctus est Salmasius." Tu clamandi tantum et furendi partes tibi deposcis, et tamen primas in maledicendo etiam tribuis Salmasio; "non quia verbis sævit, sed quia Salmasius." Ω σπερμολόγε! Has nempe argutias morigeranti debemus Pontiæ. Hinc clamor tuus argutari atque etiam minurizare didicit; hinc minitabundus quoque, "experiemini," inquis, "aliquando, fœdissimæ belluæ, quid styli potuerint." Tene experiemur, ancillariole, tene mœche, aut stylum tuum, ancillis tantummodo metuendum? Cui si quis raphanum aut mugilem solùm intenderit, actum mehercule præclarè tecum putes, si nate non fissa, et incolumi stylo isto salaci tuo, queas aufugere. "Equidem non adeo sum," inquis, "vacui capitis, ut provinciam à Salmasio susceptam aggrediar:" Quam ille quidem sine capite admodum vacuo, nunquam aggressus fuisset; festivè tu quidem vacuitate capitis, magnum Salmasium tibi anteponis. "At regii sanguinis clamorem ad cœlum tollere," quod "ineruditi" etiam "debent:" hoc nempè tuum esse ais. Clama, vociferare, boa; perge hypocritari, sancta verba usurpare, et Priapeïa vivere: Exurget, mihi crede, aliquando quem inclamas toties ultionum Deus; exurget, teque imprimis eradicabit, diaboli ministrum, et reformatæ ecclesiæ infandum dedecus et luem. Inculpantibus Salmasii maledicentiam quamplurimis, respondes, "Sic cum parricidis monstrorum omnium turpissimis, fuisse agendum." Laudo; telis enim nos instruis: et quo te pacto, tuosque perduelles tractari conveniat, commodus doces, nosque ipse absolvis. Nunc quando ratione nihil potes, ne audes quidem occupatum ab Salmasio jus omne regium, et quicquid est in eo rationis causatus, à contumeliis et rabie ad narrationes quasdam miserabiles conversus, expers rationis, institutos ab initio clamores tantùm persequeris: quas partim Salmasianas recoxisti, partim ex elencho illo ἐλεγχίστῳ anonymo, qui non patria solùm, sed nomine etiam profugit, descriptas interpolasti: quarum ad præcipua capita, vel in Iconoclaste, vel in Salmasianis ita jam respondi, ut citra modum historiæ, responderi ampliùs posse non putem. Sempernè ego ut identidem eandem orbitam teram, et ad balatronis cujusque stridorem dicta toties cogar iterare? non faciam; neque mea sic abutar vel opera vel otio. Si quis conductitios ejulatus, et compositos venalissimi hominis ploratus, si quis declamatiunculas, quas etiam ancillaris concubitus, adulterinas edixit et spurias, Morilli nothi gemellas, fide satis locupletes, arbitratur esse, ad me quod attinet, nihil quidem moror, quo minùs ita existimet; neque enim est ut ab ejusmodi credulo ac temerario metuendum nobis quicquam sit: attingam tamen pauca, multorum instar, ex quibus tam quis ipse, quàm quid dicat, et quid de reliquo judicandum sit, summatim intelligetis. Postquam de camera plebis et camera procerum ad unam redigenda, multa exoticus deblateravit (quod postulatum nemo sanus reprehenderet) "ut æqualitate," inquit, "in rempublicam invecta, ad eandem in ecclesiam introducendam procederetur; tunc enim adhuc stabant episcopi: hic nisi sit purus putus anabaptismus, nihil video." Quis hoc à theologo et ministro Gallico sperasset unquam? sanè qui anabaptismus quid sit, nisi hoc sit, non videt, eum ego crediderim haud magis videre quid sit baptismus. Sed si res propriis vocabulis appellare malimus, æqualitas in republica non est anabaptismus, sed democratia, longè antiquior: in ecclesia præsertim constituta, est disciplina apostolica. At enim "stabant episcopi." Fatemur, stabant et Genevæ; cum illa civitas et episcopum et eundem legitimum principem religionis causa expulit; quod illis laudi, cur id nobis probro ducitur? scio quid tibi vis, More, Genevensium suffragia ultum is; quibus dimissus cum ignominia, an ejectus ex illa ecclesia fueris, in dubio est. Te ergo cum Salmasio tuo ab evangelico hoc instituto descivisse, et ad episcopos transfugisse, si modò refert quo tu transfugeris, apparet. "Deinde ad ministrorum," inquis, "nostratium æqualitatem respublica transiit, ut palàm sit eundem spiritum tunc viguisse qui octavo demum anno nefando regis parricidio rem peregit." Ergo idem ut videtur spiritus et ministros constituit vestrates, et parricidium peregit: Perge ut occepisti, quas par est apostatam, eructare insanias. "Non plures," inquis, "tribus libellis supplicibus con-

fecerunt, qui in regem animadverti postulabant." Quod notum est, et ipse memini falsissimum esse. Sanè qui has res apud nos memoriæ mandarunt, non tres tantummodo libellos istiusmodi, sed multos ex diversis Angliæ provinciis, exercitusque legionibus unius ferè mensis spatio, tres uno die allatos fuisse memorant. Vides quanta cum gravitate hac de re deliberaverit senatus, cujus cunctationem populus lenitatis nimiæ suspectam tot supplicibus libellis eximendam putavit. Quot reris millia hominum fuisse idem sentientium, qui senatum ad id hortari, quod jam tum seriò agitabat, vel importunum existimarent vel supervacaneum? quorum ex numero et ipse fui, qui tamen quid voluerim obscurum non est. Quid si conticuissent omnes rei magnitudine perculsi, cone minùs habuisset senatus in re tanta quod statueret, expectandusne populi nutus erat, ex quo tantorum exitus consiliorum penderet? enimverò supremum gentis concilium, ab universo populo ea mente adhibitum, ut impotentem regis dominatum coerceret, posteaquam efferatum et repugnantem bello cepisset, si recurrere ad jussa populi deberet, velit jubeatne de captivo hoste supplicium sumi, profectò qui rempublicam fortissimè recuperassent, quid aliud fecisse viderenter quàm in laqueos tyranni à populo, si fors ita ferret, absoluti sese præcipites dedisse? aut si accepta maximis de rebus decernendi summa potestate, de iis quæ præsertim vulgi captum superant, non dico ad populum (nam cum hac potestate ipsi populus jam sunt) sed ad multitudinem rursus referre cogerentur, quæ, imperitiæ suæ conscia, ad eos prius omnia retulerat, quis ultro citroque referendi finis esset? quis tandem in hoc Euripo consistendi locus? quod firmamentum inter libellos istiusmodi tot capitum levissimorum, quæ salus quassatis rebus hominum foret? quid si restituendum regno Carolum postulassent? cujusmodi libellos extitisse aliquot non supplices sed minaces fatendum est seditiosorum hominum, quorum nunc odium, nunc miseratio æquè stulta aut malitiosa esse solebat; horumne ratio habenda fuit? qui "ut cum rege colloquium institueretur, ingenti," inquis, "numero pagis relictis ad parlamenti fores accurrebant; quorum senatores, immisso milite, plurimos trucidarunt." Et Surrienses dicis paganos, qui nescio aliorumne malitia, agrestes ipsi, an sua improbitate impulsi, cum libello supplice bene poti, et comessabundi potiùs, quam aliquid petituri, per urbem ibant; mox curiæ fores, facto agmine, ferociter obsederunt; collocatos ibi milites stationibus deturbarunt, unum ad ipsas curiæ fores occiderunt, priusquam illos vel dicto vel facto quisquam lacessisset; inde meritò pulsi ac malè multati, haud ultra duos tresve occisi, vinolentiam potius quàm "libertatem spirantes." Passim concedis "potiores fuisse independentium partes, non numero, sed consilio et virtute militari." Unde ego et jure et merito superiores quoque fuisse contendo: nihil enim est naturæ convenientius, nihil justius, nihil humano generi utilius aut melius, quàm ut minor majori, non numerus numero, sed virtuti, consilium consilio cedat; qui prudentia, qui rerum usu, industria, atque virtute pollent, hi mea quidem sententia, quantumvis pauci, quantovis numero, plures erunt, et suffragiis ubique potiores. Multa sparsim inseris de "Cromuello," quæ cujusmodi sint infra videbimus; de reliquis responsum jampridem Salmasio est. Judicium quoque regis non prætermittis, quamvis et illud à mago tuo rhetore miserabiliter sit declamatum. Proceres, id est, regis purpuratos, et ministros ferè aulicos, à judicando rege ais abhorruisse: Nos id parùm referre, altero libro ostendimus. "Deinde curiarum judices erasos; quippe qui responderant esse contra Angliæ leges, regem judicio sisti." Nescio quid tunc responderint, scio quid jam approbent atque defendant: non est novum, judices, quos minimè decet, meticulosos esse. "Præficitur ergo sordidæ et sceleratæ curiæ par præses, obscurissimus et petulantissimus nebulo." Te verò tot vitiis et sceleribus obstrictum, immo meram spurcitiem, merum scelus, usque adeo obduxisse menti et sensibus callum, nisi tua mens potiùs tota callus est, ut in Deum atheus, et sacrorum contaminator, in homines inhumanus, cujusque optimi calumniator esse ausis, quid aliud est esse quàm germanum Iscariotam atque diabolum? Quamvis autem tua vituperatio laus summa sit, tamen præstantissimo viro cui oblatras, necnon amico mihi semper plurimùm colendo, nequaquam deero; quominus ab improbissimis perfugarum et Mororum linguis, quas, nisi causa reipublicæ nunquam sensisset, vindicem. Est Joannes Bradscianus, (quod nomen libertas ipsa, quacunque gentium colitur, memoriæ sempiternæ celebrandum commendavit,) nobili familia, ut satis notum est, ortus; unde patriis legibus addiscendis, primam omnem ætatem sedulò impendit; dein consultissimus causarum ac disertissimus patronus, libertatis et populi vindex acerrimus, et magnis reipublicæ negotiis est adhibitus, et incorrupti judicis munere aliquoties perfunctus: Tandem uti regis judicio præsidere vellet, à senatu rogatus, provinciam sanè periculosissimam non recusavit. Attulerat enim ad legum scientiam ingenium liberale, animum excelsum, mores integros ac nemini obnoxios; unde illud munus omni prope exemplo majus ac formidabilius, tot sicariorum pugionibus ac minis petitus, ita constanter, ita graviter, tanta animi cum præsentia ac dignitate gessit atque implevit, ut ad hoc ipsum opus, quod jam olim Deus edendum in hoc populo mirabili providentia decreverat, ab ipso Numine designatus atque factus videretur; et tyrannicidarum omnium gloriam tantum superaverit, quantò est humanius, quantò justius, ac majestate plenius, tyrannum judicare, quàm injudicatum occidere. Alioqui nec tristis, nec severus, sed comis ac placidus, personam tamen quam suscepit tantam, æqualis ubique sibi, ac veluti consul non unius anni, pari gravitate sustinet: ut non de tribunali tantùm, sed per omnem vitam judicare regem diceres. In consiliis ac laboribus publicis maximè omnium indefessus, multisque par unus; domi, si quis alius, pro suis facultatibus hospitalis ac splendidus, amicus longè fidelissimus, atque in omni fortuna certissimus, bene merentes quoscunque nemo citiùs aut libentiùs agnoscit, neque majore benevolentia prosequitur; nunc pios, nunc doctos, aut quavis ingenii laude cognitos, nunc militares etiam et fortes viros ad inopiam redactos suis opibus sublevat; iis si non indigent, colit tamen libens atque amplec-

titur; alienas laudes perpetuò prædicare, suas tacere, solitus; hostium quoque civilium, si quis ad sanitatem rediit, quod experti sunt plurimi, nemo ignoscentior. Quòd si causa oppressi cujuspiam defendenda palam, si gratia aut vis potentiorum oppugnanda, si in quenquam bene meritum, ingratitudo publica objurganda sit, tum quidem in illo viro, vel facundiam vel constantiam nemo desideret, non patronum, non amicum, vel idoneum magis et intrepidum, vel disertiorem alium quisquam sibi optet; habet, quem non minæ dimovere recto, non metus aut munera proposito bono atque officio, vultusque ac mentis firmissimo statu dejicere valeant. Quibus virtutibus, et plerisque merito charus, et inimicissimis non contemnendus, gestarum egregiè rerum in republica laudem, dirupto te, More, tuique similibus, apud omnes tum exteros tum posteros, in omne ævum propagabit. Sed pergendum: Rex capite damnatus est: "contra hanc vesaniam Londini pulpita fere omnia detonare." Ligneo isto tonitru haud multum terres; istos Salmoneas nihil veremur, qui fictitium illud fulmen et arrogatum sibi, aliquando luent; graves profectò authores et sinceri, qui paulò ante ex iisdem pulpitis contra pluralistas et nonresidentes strepitu æquè horribili detonabant; paulò post, raptis hic sibi ternis, ille quaternis prælatorum sacerdotiis, quos tonando abegerant, atque inde nonresidentes necessario facti, eodem ipsi crimine tenebantur in quod detonabant, et sui quisque tonitrus bidental factus est: neque ullus adhuc pudor; nunc in vindicandis sibi decimis toti sunt; et sanè si decimarum tanta sitis est, censeo affatim decimandos: non terræ fructus tantùm, sed et maris fluctus sibi habeant decumanos. Iidem primò bellum suadebant in regem, ut in hostem exitio devotum; mox capto hosti, et imputatæ à semetipsis toties cædis ac sanguinis effusi damnato, parci volebant utpote regi. Ita in pulpitis tanquam in taberna quadam meritoria, quæ volunt mercimonia, quæ volunt scruta, vendunt popello; et quod miserius est, quæ jam vendidere, quotiès volunt reposcunt. At "Scoti regem sibi reddi flagitabant, commemorant senatus promissa quando Anglis regem tradiderant." Atqui ego vel Scotos etiam fatentes habeo, nulla omnino promissa publica intercessisse, cum rex traderetur; et turpe sanè fuisset Anglis, regem suum à Scotis in Anglia conductitiis, reddendum non fuisse nisi per conditiones: quid? quòd ipsa parlamenti responsio ad Scotorum cartulas id. Mart. 1647, edita, ullam hac de re interpositam ab se fidem, quo pacto rex tractandus esset, dilucidè negat; indignum quippe censuisse, non nisi ea lege sua jura obtineri à Scotis potuisse. Attamen "regem reddi sibi flagitabant." Mites, credo, homines frangebantur animo, desiderium sui regis ferre diutiùs non poterant: immo verò iidem illi, cùm ab initio horum in Britannia motuum, de jure regio haud semel in parlamento retulissent, essetque ab omnibus assensum, ob tres maximè causas regem privari regno posse, si tyrannus existat, si fundum regium alienet, si suos deserat, circa annum 1645. Parlamento Perthæ habito sententias rogare cœperunt; sitne rex, quem sanctis infestum esse constet, communione ecclesiæ interdicendus? verùm antequam ea de re quicquam decerneretur, Montrossius ad eam urbem cum copiis accedens conventum disturbavit. Iidem, in suo quodam ad Cromuellum imperatorem responso, An. 1650, fatentur punitum jure regem, juris tantummodo formam fuisse vitiosam, eo quòd ipsi in illius judicii consortium non vocarentur. Hoc ergo facinus sine illis atrox, cum illis egregium fuisset, ex eorum quippe nutu fas atque nefas pendebat, justum atque injustum definiendum erat: quid isti, obsecro, rege sibi reddito lenius in eum statuissent? At "Delegati Scotici à senatu Anglico responsum hoc prius tulerant, nolle se regni Anglicani formam immutare, postea tamen respondere se tunc noluisse, nunc velle, prout salus reipublicæ postularet." Et rectè quidem responderunt: quid tu hinc? "hæc stropha," inquis, "omnia fœdera, commercium, ipsumque sensum communem evertit." Tuum quidem evertit, qui nescis inter libera promissa, et pactam fœderis fidem quid intersit: Angli de forma reipublicæ suæ futura, cujus rationem Scotis reddere necesse non erat, quod tum ipsis videbatur, liberè quidem respondent; nunc salus reipublicæ aliud suadebat; si fidem, si jusjurandum populo datum violare nollent. Utrum sanctius obligare putas, liberumne de forma reipublicæ futura datum Scoticis legatis responsum, an necessarium de salute reipublicæ procuranda datum suo populo jusjurandum et summam fidem? Licere autem parlamento vel senatui, prout expedit, consilia mutare, quoniam quicquid nos affirmamus, anabaptisticum tibi est et monstrosum, malo ex Cicerone audias pro Plancio. 'Stare omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo reipub-'licæ; qui quoniam versetur, eam deligere partem de-'bemus, ad quam nos illius utilitas salusque converterit. 'Et statim. Neque enim inconstantis puto, sententiam, 'tanquam aliquod navigium atque cursum, ex reipub-'licæ tempestate moderari. Ego verò hæc didici, hæc 'vidi, hæc scripta legi, hæc de sapientissimis et claris-'simis viris et in hac republica, et in aliis civitatibus 'monumenta nobis literæ prodiderunt, non semper 'easdem sententias, ab iisdem, sed quascunque reipub-'licæ status, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiæ pos-'tularet, esse defendendas.' Hæc Marcus Tullius: sed tu, More, Hortensium mavis; hæc illæ ætatis quæ civile maximè prudentia floruerunt; quæ si sequuntur anabaptistæ, mea quidem sententia sapiunt. Quàm multa alia possem proferre, quæ à ministerculis hisce et suo Salmasio, si res non verba spectemus, planè indocto, pro anabaptisticis damnantur. At "nihilo," inquis, "plus potuerant potentissimi Belgii fœderati ordines, qui per oratores suos et prece et pretio oblato strenuè allaborarunt sacrum regis caput redimere." Velle profectò justitiam sic redimere, idem erat atque regem salvum nolle: verùm didicerunt, non omnes esse mercatores; non adeò vendacem esse senatum Anglicanum. Quod autem ad judicium regis, "ut plurima," inquis, "Christo similia Carolus pateretur, milites in eum ingeminant ludibria." Plura quidem passus est similia Christus maleficis, quàm Carolus Christo; et multa istiusmodi jactabantur vulgò ab iis quibus ad invidiam facti majorem excitandam, quidvis fingere aut fictum referre studium erat: fac tamen gregarios milites insolentiùs se gessisse; non id continuò

in causam est conferendum. "Mactatum vero esse quempiam ad pedes regis prætereuntis apprecantem ut Deus ejus misereretur," nec antea audivi unquam, nec convenire quenquam adhuc potui qui audivisset: quin immo tribunum ipsum, qui toto illius judicii tempore custodiis præfuit, regisque à latere vix discessit, interrogandum hac de re curavi: is denique nec audisse se hoc antea, et pro certo scire falsissimum id esse, constanter asseverabat. Ex quo intelligi potest tuarum narrationum fides, etiam in reliquis quàm firma sit. Nam in benevolentia quoque et adoratione, si posses, Carolo post mortem procuranda, quàm in odio nobis vel iniquissimè conflando haud multo veracior inveniens. "Auditum," ais, "fuisse regem in fatali pegmate episcopo Londinensi ingeminantem, memento, memento." Id regis judices anxios nempe habuit, quid illa ultimum iterata vox sibi voluisset; accersitur, ut ais, episcopus, et illud geminum "memento" quid sibi quæsivisset, additis minis, enuntiare jubetur. Is primò (sic enim fingi expediebat) ex composito nimirum delicias fecit, et, quasi arcanum quoddam, prodere recusavit. Cum illi vehementiùs instarent, id quasi metu sibi expressum, et nolenti extortum, ægrè tandem edidit, quod revera quovis pretio divulgatum vellet. "Jusserat me," inquiens, "rex, ut si possem ad filium pervenire, hoc supremum morientis patris mandatum ad eum perferrem, ut regno et potestati suæ restitutus, vobis suæ necis authoribus ignosceret: hoc me meminisse, rex iterum atque iterum jussit." O magis, regemne dicam pietatis, an episcopum rimarum plenum! qui rem tam secretò in pegmate suæ fidei commissam ut effutiret, tam facilè expugnari potuit. At ô taciturne! jampridem Carolus hoc idem inter alia præcepta filio mandaverat, in illa Icone Basilica; quem librum ideo scriptum satis apparet, ut omni cum diligentia nobis vel invitis secretum illud, qua ostentatione simulatum erat, eadem paulò pòst evulgaretur. Sed video plane decrevisse vos Carolum quendam absolutissimum, si non Stuartum hunc, at saltem hyperboreum aliquem et fabulosum, fucatis quibuslibet coloribus depictum, imperitis rerum obtrudere: ita fabellam hanc velut acroama quoddam, diverbiis et sententiolis pulchrè distinctum, nescio quem ethologum imitatus, ad inescandas vulgi aures putidè concinnasti. Ego verò, ut non negaverim interrogatum fortasse obiter ab uno vel altero concessorum hac de re episcopum, ita accersitum, dedita opera vel à concilio vel ab illo judicum collegio, quasi id omnes curassent, aut sollicitè quæsivissent non comperio. Sed demus inde quæ vis: dederit in pegmate suprema hæc episcopo mandata, ut suæ necis authoribus ignosceretur, perferenda ad filium Carolus: quid tam egregium aut singulare præter cæteros eò loci deductos fecit? quotusquisque est morientium in pegmate, qui peracturus jam vitæ fabulam, cùm hæc mortalia quàm vana sint videt, non idem faciat; et inimicitias, iras, odia, tanquam ex scena quadam jam exiturus, libens non deponat, aut saltem simulet, ut vel misericordiam, vel innocentiæ opinionem suæ in animis hominum relinquat? Simulasse Carolum, neque unquam ex animo, et sincero mentis proposito tale mandatum dedisse filio, "ut suæ necis authoribus ignosceret," vel si hoc palàm aliud tamen clanculum mandasse, argumentis non levibus demonstrari potest: nam filius, alioqui plus satis patri obsequens, patris gravissimo atque ultimo præcepto tam religiosè sibi per episcopum tradito, haud dubiè paruisset: quì autem paruit, cujus vel jussu vel authoritate duo legati nostri, alter in Hollandia, alter in Hispania, et hic ne suspicione quidem ulla regiæ necis reus, trucidati sunt? qui denique haud semel scripto publico edixit atque omnibus palam fecit, se nolle patris sui interfectoribus ullo pacto veniam concedere? Hanc igitur narratiunculam tuam vide an veram esse velis; quæ quo magis collaudat patrem, eo magis vituperat filium. Nunc instituti oblitus, non regii sanguinis ad cœlum, sed populi senatum clamores ementiris, odiosissimus post Salmasium in republica aliena pragmaticus et ardelio, qui tam fœdè præsertim res tuas domi agas. Tuane voce, impurissime, populus pro se utatur, cujus halitum ipsum oris lue venerea fœtidum purus omnis aversaretur? tu vero perfugarum ac perditorum voces populo attribuis; et quod agyrta peregrinus ad coronam solet, vilissimorum duntaxat animalium voces imitaris. Quis autem negat ea posse tempora sæpiùs accidere, in quibus civium longè major numerus improborum sit; qui Catilinam vel Antonium, quàm saniorem senatus partem sequi malint; neque idcirco boni cives obniti contra, et fortiter facere non debebunt, sui magis officii, quàm paucitatis rationem ducentes: tuam ergo tam bellam pro nostro populo oratiunculam, ne charta omnino pereat, in annales Volusi suadeo inseras; nobis rhetorculo tam hircoso atque olido, non est usus. Dehinc injuriarum in ecclesiam postulamur. "Exercitus est omnium hæreseωn Lerna." Qui non maledicunt, exercitum nostrum ut fortissimum, ita modestissimum ac religiosissimum esse confitentur: aliis in castris ferè potatur, variis libidinibus indulgetur, rapitur, alea luditur, juratur et perjuratur: in his nostris quod datur otii, disquirendæ veritati impenditur, sacræ scripturæ invigilatur; nec quisquam pulchrius existimat hostem ferire, quàm se atque alios cœlestium cognitione rerum erudire, aut bellicam magis quàm evangelicam militiam exercere. Et sanè si proprium belli usum consideramus, quid aliud magis deceat milites? qui ideo constituti sunt atque conscripti, ut essent legum defensores, paludati justitiæ satellites, ecclesiæ propugnatores: quid illis, non ferocius aut truculentius, sed civilius aut humanius esse oporteat? qui non bellum serere ac metere, sed pacem et incolumitatem humano generi arare, vero ac proprio fine laborum suorum debent. Quòd siquos ad hæc præclara instituta aspirantes vel alienus error, vel sua animi infirmitas transversos abducit, in eos, non ferro sæviendum, sed rationibus ac monitis precibus quoque ad Deum fusis enitendum, cujus est solius omnes animo errores dispellere, et cœlestem veritatis lucem, cui volet impertire. Hæreses quidem, sic verè dictas, nos nullas approbamus, ne omnes quidem toleramus; extirpatas etiam volumus, sed quibus convenit modis, præceptis nimirum et saniore doctrina, ut in mente sitas, non ferro ac flagris quasi ex corpore evellendas. "Altera," inquis, "par nostra injuria est in temporali, quod vocant, ecclesiæ

fundo." Percontare Belgas vel etiam Germaniæ superioris protestantes, numquid ab ecclesiæ bonis abstinuerint; in quos Cæsar Austriacus quoties bellum movet, vix alium quærit belli titulum, quàm ut bona ecclesiæ restitui jubeat. Verùm illa profectò non ecclesiæ, sed ecclesiasticorum duntaxat bona fuere, qui hoc maximè sensu clerici, vel etiam holoclerici, ut qui sortem totam invasissent, rectius nominari poterant; immo lupi veriùs plerique eorum, quàm aliud quidvis erant dicendi; luporum autem bona, vel congestas potiùs prædas majorum ex superstitione partas, quam per tot sæcula quæstui habuerunt, in usus transferre belli à semetipsis conflati, nefas non erat, quando aliud non erat reliquum, unde sumptus belli tam gravis ac diuturni suppeterent. Atqui "expectabatur, ut episcopis ereptæ opes in pastores ecclesiarum erogarentur." Expectabant, scio, illi, et avebant omnia in se transfundi: nulla enim est vorago tam profunda, quæ non expleri citiùs quàm clericorum avaritia possit. Aliis fortasse in locis, haud æquè ministris provisum; nostris jam satis superque bene erat; oves potiùs appellandi quàm pastores, pascuntur magis quàm pascunt; pinguia illis plerumque omnia, ne ingenio quidem excepto; decimis enim saginantur, improbato ab aliis omnibus ecclesiis more; Deoque sic diffidunt, ut eas malint per magistratum atque per vim suis gregibus extorquere, quàm vel divinæ providentiæ, vel ecclesiarum benevolentiæ et gratitudini debere; atque inter hæc tamen et apud discipulos et apud discipulas, tam crebrò convivantur, ut quid domicœnium sit, aut domiprandium penè nesciant: hinc itaque luxuriant plerique, non egent; liberique eorum et conjuges luxu et lautitiis, cum divitum liberis atque conjugibus certant: hanc novis latifundiis adauxisse luxuriam, idem prorsus fuisset, ac si quis novum venenum (quam olim pestem sub Constantino vox missa cœlitùs, deflevit) in ecclesiam infudisset. Proximum est ut de injuriis in Deum, quarum tres maximè nominantur, de fiducia nimirum divinæ opis, "de precibus etiam atque jejuniis," reddenda nobis ratio sit. Verùm ex ore tuo, hominum corruptissime, te redarguo; illudque apostoli abs te prolatum in te retorqueo, Quis es tu qui "alienum servum judicas?" coram domino nostro sine stemus vel cadamus. Illud insuper addam Davidis prophetæ, cùm flens affligo jejunio animam meam, tum hoc vertitur in summum probrum mihi. Cæteras hac de re tuas garritiones febriculosas, quas nemo bis legat, minutim persequi si vellem, haud leviùs profectò ipse peccem. Nec minus aliena sunt quæ de successibus prolixè oscitas: Cave tibi, More, et vide, ne post Pontianos sudores, gravedinem fortè contraxeris aut polypum; metuendum, ne, ut Salmasius ille magnus nuper, thermas refrigeres. Equidem de successu sic paucis respondeo; causam successu neque probari bonam, neque argui malam: nos causam nostram non ex eventu, sed eventum ex causa judicari postulamus. Jam rationes politicas desumis tibi tractandas, mancipium cathedrarium, immo cathedralitium; injurias nimirum nostras, in omnes reges ac populos. Quas? nobis enim nihil tale propositum erat; res nostras tantummodo egimus, aliorum missas fecimus; siquid ad vicinos ab exemplo nostro boni redundavit, haud invidemus; si quid secùs non nostra id culpa, sed abutentium evenire credimus. Regis aut populi, te balatronem suarum injuriarum interpretem, quinam tandem constituerunt? certè oratores eorum ac legatos, alii in senatu, ipse in concilio cum audirentur sæpè audivi non solùm de suis injuriis nihil querentes, sed amicitiam nostram ac societatem ultrò petentes; quinetiam regum suorum ac principum nomine, de rebus nostris nobis gratulantes, etiam bene precantes, pacem ac diuturnitatem, atque eosdem felices successus, in perpetuum exoptantes. Non inimicorum hæ voces, non eorum qui odissent, ut tu prædicas; aut tu mendacii, quod in te levissimum est, aut reges ipsi fraudum ac malarum artium, quod illis inhonestissimum foret, damnentur necesse est. Verùm scripta nostra objectas confitentium, "dedisse nos exemplum populis omnibus salutare, tyrannis omnibus formidandum." Immane crimen profectò narras; idem ferè atque si dixisset quispiam,

Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.

Numquid dici potuit perniciosius? "hæc Cromuellius ad Scotos post Dumbarrense prælium scripsit." Et se quidem et illa nobili victoria dignè. "Ejusmodi sesamo et papavere conspersæ sunt infames Miltoni paginæ." Illustrem tu quidem collegam semper mihi adjungis, et in hoc facinore parem planè facis, nonnunquam et superiorem; quo ego nomine cohonestari me maximè abs te putem, siquid à te honestum posset proficisci. "Crematæ vero," inquis, "sunt istæ paginæ à carnifice Parisiensi supremi senatus authoritate." Nequaquam id comperi à senatu factum, sed ab officiario quodam urbico, locotenente civili nescio an incivili, cui clerici quidam, ignavissima animalia, authores fuere; tam ex dissito atque longinquo, abdomini suo, quod aliquando precor evenire possit, augurantes. Censes non potuisse nos vicissim Salmasii defensionem regiam cremasse? potuissem sanè vel ipse à magistratibus nostris hoc facilè impetrasse, nisi illam contumeliam contemptu potiùs ulciscendam existimassem: vos ignem igne properantes extinguere, Herculeum præbuistis rogum, unde clarior exurgerem; nos consultiùs, defensionis regiæ frigus calfaciendum non censuimus. Illud miror, tam esse majorum dissimiles factos Tolosates (nam et Tolosæ combustos nos accepimus) ut qua in urbe sub Raimundis comitibus, et libertas et religio defensa olim tam insigniter est, in ea nunc et libertatis et religionis defensio combureretur. "Utinam et Scriptor," inquis. Itane ergastulum? et ego parem ne reddam tibi salutem, More, tu egregiè cavisti; ut qui nigrioribus multò ignibus jamdudum pereas: urunt te adulteria tua, urunt stupra, urunt perjuria, quorum ope desponsatam tibi stupro fœminam perfidus excussisti; urunt perditissimi furores, qui impulerunt te, ut sacrosancta munia facinorosus concupisceres, et imperspectum Domini corpus incestis manibus sacerdos pollueres; sanctitatem etiam simulans, in sanctitatis simulatores, dira omnia hoc tuo clamore denunciares; tuumque execrabile caput, tuamet ipsius damnatum sententia irretires: his tu sceleribus et infamiis totus flagras, his tu flammis furialibus dies atque noctes torreris, dasque

nobis pœnas quibus graviores imprecari tibi nullus hostis potest. Me interim concremationes vestræ non lædunt, non tangunt, et istis ignominiis habeo complura quæ opponam grata meo animo atque jucunda. Una me curia, unus fortè lictor Parisiensis, malarum avium impulsu, combussit; at quamplurimi per totam Galliam viri boni atque docti nihilo minus legunt, approbant, amplectuntur? quamplurimi per immensum Germaniæ totius tractum, libertatis ferè domicilium, per cæteras quoque regiones, quàcunque ejus vestigia ulla adhuc manent; quin et ipsa Græcia, ipsæ Athenæ Atticæ, quasi jam redivivæ, nobilissimi alumni sui Philaræ voce, applausere. Hoc etiam verè possum dicere, quo primùm tempore nostra defensio est edita, et legentium studia incaluere, nullum vel principis vel civitatis legatum in urbe tum fuisse, qui non vel fortè obvio mihi gratularetur, vel conventum apud se cuperet vel domi inviseret. Tuos verò nefas sit præterire manes, Adriane Pauui, qui legatus ad nos summo cum honore missus, Hollandiæ decus atque ornamentum, summam in me ac singularem benevolentiam tuam, etiamsi videre nunquam contigerit, multis sæpè nuntiis significandam curasti. Hoc verò etiam sæpius recolere memoria juvat, quod sine Dei propitio numine accidere arbitror nunquam potuisse; mihi, qui contra reges, ut videbatur, scripseram, majestatem ipsam regiam placidè annuisse; meæque integritati, necnon sententiæ, ut veriori, testimonium divino proximum perhibuisse. Quid enim verear hoc dicere, quoties augustissimam reginam illam, quantis cum laudibus in ore omnium versetur, mécum cogito. Equidem Atheniensem illum sapientissimum, cui me tamen non confero, ne ipsius quidem Pythii testimonio, quàm me illius judicio ornatiorem existimem. Quòd si mihi quidem hæc scribere adolescenti contigisset, et oratoribus idem quod poëtis liceret, haud dubitassem profectò sortem meam deorum sorti nonnullorum anteferre: quippe illos de forma duntaxat aut de musica deos, humano sub judice, contendisse; me hominem in certamine longè omnium præclarissimo, dea judice, superiorem discessisse. Sic me cohonestatum, nemo nisi carnifex ignominiosè audeat tractare, tam qui jusserit, quàm qui fecerit. Hic vehementer laboras, ut ne facta nostra Belgicorum pro libertate facinorum exemplo tueri queamus; quod à Salmasio quoque frustra laboratum est: cui quod tunc respondi, idem tibi nunc responsum volo; Falli qui nos opinatur cujusquam exemplo niti; Belgarum pro libertate facinora adjuvisse sæpius ac fovisse, æmulari necesse nunquam habuisse; siquid pro libertate fortiter faciendum est, authores ipsi nobis sumus, præire, non sequi alios assueti. Tu verò etiam ad bellum contra nos tressis orator, stultissimis argumentis, et te verberone dignis, Gallos hortaris: "Nostros," inquis, "legatos excipere Gallicus spiritus nunquam sustinebit." Sustinuit, quod plus est, suos jam ter et amplius ad nos ultrò mittere: Galli igitur generosi, ut solent; tu degener et spurius, politicarum rationum rudis ac falsus deprehenderis. Hinc id agis ut demonstres, "à fœderatis ordinibus ex composito rem in longum duci, eosque nobiscum nec fœdus nec bellum velle." Atqui interest profectò ipsorum ordinum, non pati consilia sua sic nudari, et, ut ita dicam, vitiari à Genevense perfuga apud se stabulante, qui si diutiùs toleretur, non ancillis modò, sed consiliis etiam publicis stuprum videtur illaturus; cùm ipsi fraterna atque sincera omnia præ se ferant; nunc pacem, quæ vota sunt bonorum omnium, perpetuam nobiscum redintegraverint. "Jucundum erat," inquit, "videre quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis furciferi illi legati," Anglorum scilicet, "quotidie conflictarentur, non modo ab Anglis regiis, &c. sed maxime omnium à Batavis." Nisi exploratum nobis jam diu esset quibusnam et prioris legati Dorislai cædes, et duorum postea acceptæ injuriæ referendæ sint, en delatorem, qui hospites et altores suos etiam falsò deferat: Hunccine apud vos, Batavi, non modò venereum in ecclesia ministrum, sed sanguinarium etiam, nec violandi solùm juris omnis hortatorem, sed violati quoque falsum indicem ac proditorem ali?

Ultimus accusationum titulus est "nostra injuria in reformatas ecclesias." At verò quî magis nostra in illas quàm illarum in nos? si exemplo instes, certè si ab ipsis Valdensibus et Tolosanis, ad Rupellanam usque famem monumenta repetas, nos omnium ecclesiarum ultimi reperiemur contra tyrannos arma sumpsisse, at primi capite damnasse. Sanè quia nobis hoc primis in manu adhuc fuit: quid illi, si data similis facultas fuisset, fuissent facturi, opinor ne ipsos quidem satis nôsse. Equidem in ea sum sententia: contra quem bellum gerimus, eum, siquis rationis aut judicii usus sit, hostem à nobis judicari; hostem autem tam interficere quàm oppugnare eodem semper jure licuisse: Tyrannus igitur cùm non noster solùm, sed totius propè generis humani publicus hostis sit, eum quo jure armis oppugnari, eodem posse et interfici. Nec verò hæc mea unius sententia est, aut nova; eandem et aliis olim sive prudentia sive sensus communis dictavit. Hinc pro Rabirio M. Tullius: "Si interfici Saturninum nefas fuit, arma sumpta esse contra Saturninum sine scelere non possunt; si arma jure sumpta concedis, interfectum jure concedas necesse est." Plura hac de re et suprà dixi, et sæpè aliàs, et per se res obscura non est: Ex quibus quid Galli etiam, eadem data occasione fuissent facturi, ipse queas divinare. Addo et hoc amplius: quicunque armis tyrannum oppugnant, iidem, quantum in se est, et interficiunt: immo, quicquid vel sibi vel aliis ineptè satis persuadere cupiunt, jam interficere. Sed et doctrina hæc nobis haud magis quàm Gallis, quos tu hoc piaculo cupis eximere, debetur: unde enim Francogallia illa, nisi ex Gallia, unde Vindiciæ contra tyrannos? qui liber etiam Bezæ vulgò tribuitur; undè alii, quorum meminit Thuanus? tu tamen, quasi ego solus, "id satagit," inquis, "Miltonus, cujus ego piacularem vesaniam pro meritis excepissem." Tu excepisses, furcifer? cujus nefaria flagitia si ecclesia illa Middelburgensis, te pastore infamis et infelix, pro meritis excepisset, jamdudum te Satanæ mandasset; si pro meritis excepisset magistratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luisses: Et luiturus propediem sane videris; evigilavit enim, ut audio nuper, tua illa ecclesia Middelburgensis, suæque famæ consuluit, teque caprimulgum pastorem, immo hircum potius olentissimum, able-

gavit ab se in malam crucem; hinc et magistratus Amsterodamensis pulpitum quoque interdixit tibi, orchestram tuam; tuumque illud os impudicum eo ex loco ad summam omnium bonorum offensionem conspici, illam impiam vocem vetuit in sacro publicè audiri: restat jam tibi sola Græcarum literarum professio; et hæc quoque brevi eripienda, præter unam illam literam, cujus non professor, sed discipulus mox pensilis meritò futurus es. Neque hæc iratus tibi ominor, sed duntaxat jus dico: maledicis enim tantum abest ut talibus offendamur qualis tu es, ut tales semper nobis vel exoptemus; immo divina planè benevolentia fieri arbitremur, ut qui nos acerrimè clamitarunt, tales potissimum semper extiterint; qui maledicendo non infamant, sed honestant, sed laudant, non laudando certè maledixissent. Sed irruentem modò quid te retinuit tam fortem homuncionem? "Nisi mihi," inquis, "religio fuisset in magni Salmasii provinciam excurrere, cui solida de magno scilicet adversario victoria relinquetur." Siquidem et ille et ego nunc magnus tibi videor, eò difficilior provincia, præsertim mortuo, fortassis ero; de victoria, modò veritas vincat, parum solicitus. Interim tu clamitas; "parricidium in doctrinam vertunt, eamque reformatarum ecclesiarum consensione cupiunt quidem, non audent aperto ore defendere; fuit, inquit Miltonus, etiam summorum hæc sententia theologorum, qui ipsi reformandæ ecclesiæ authores fuere." Fuit, inquam, et id fusius docui in eo libro qui nostro idiomate Tenor sive Tenura Regum et Magistratuum inscriptus est, secundùm editus, et alibi: nunc actum toties, agendi fastidium cepit: illic ex Luthero, Zuinglio, Calvino, Bucero, Martyre, Paræo, citantur ipsa verbatim loca; ex illo denique Cnoxo, quem "unum," me, "Scotum" ais "innuere, quemque hac in re reformatos omnes, præsertim Gallos, illa ætate condemnasse." Atqui ille contrà, quod ibi narratur, se illam doctrinam nominatim à Calvino, summisque aliis ea tempestate theologis, quibuscum familiariter consueverat, hausisse affirmat: plura etiam illic nostrorum, regnante Maria et Elizabetha, sinceriorum theologorum in eandem sententiam deprompta reperies. Tu verò tandem conceptis ad Deum precibus malè prolixis peroras impius abominandis; et os illud adulterum, obduratus cœlo offers: sino te facilè, neque interpello; major enim cumulus ad impietatem tuam accedere non potuit. Revertor nunc ad id quod suprà pollicitus sum, et objecta Cromuello præcipua crimina quæ sunt, in medio hic ponam; ut sparsa quàm fuerint levia possit intelligi, quæ collecta nullum pondus in se habent. "Coram pluribus testibus pronunciavit sibi in animo esse, monarchias omnes evertere, reges omnes exitio dare." Quæ tua sit narrationum fides, jam aliquoties vidimus; dixit fortasse tibi perfugarum aliquis Cromuellum ita dixisse; ex illis multis testibus nullum nominas: quod itaque sine authore maledicis, suopte vitio ruit. Non is est Cromuellus, quem de suis jam factis ullus unquam vaniloquum audierit; tantùm abest ut infecta, quæ sunt, tamque difficilia, de iis insolentius quicquam promittere ac minitari consueverit: sanè ista tibi qui narrarunt, nisi voluntate atque natura magis quàm consilio mendaces essent, hoc saltem quod ab ingenio ejus alienissimum est non affinxissent. Regibus autem, quos ut sibi caveant frequenter mones, licebit cum saluti prospexerint suæ, spreto te monitore tam imperito, non sermunculos ex trivio arripere, sed rationes se dignas inire, quibus quid sua intersit faciliùs perspexerint. Alterum est crimen persuasisse regi Cromuellum, "ut in insulam Vectim clanculum se subduceret." Constat regem Carolum rem suam multis aliàs rebus, ter fuga perdidisse; primùm cum Londino Eboracum fugit, deinde cum ad Scotos in Anglia conductitios, postremò cum ad insulam Vectim. At hujus postremæ suasor erat Cromuellus. Optimè; sed tamen ego regios illos primùm miror, qui Carolum totiès affirmare non dubitant fuisse prudentissimum, et eundem simul vix unquam suæ spontis; sive apud amicos sive inimicos, in aula vel in castris, in aliena ferè potestate semper fuisse; nunc uxoris, nunc episcoporum, nunc purpuratorum, nunc militum, denique hostium: pejora plerumque consilia, et pejorum fermè sequutum; Carolo persuadetur, Carolo imponitur, Carolo illuditur, metus incutitur, spes vana ostenditur, velut præda omnium communis, tam amicorum quàm hostium, agitur et fertur Carolus. Aut hæc è scriptis suis tollant, aut sagacitatem Caroli prædicare desistant. Fateor deinde, quamvis prudentia atque consilio præstare pulchrum sit, tamen ubi respublica factionibus laborat, suis incommodis haud carere; et consultissimum quemque eo magis obnoxium calumniis utriusque partis reddere: hoc sæpe Cromuello obfuit; hinc presbyteriani, inde hostes quicquid in se durius fieri putant, non id communi senatus consilio, sed Cromuello soli imputant; immo siquid per imprudentiam ipsi malè gerunt, id dolis et fraudibus Cromuelli assignare non erubescunt; culpa omnis in eum derivatur, omnis in eum faba cuditur. Et tamen certissimum est, fugam ad Vectim regis Caroli, absenti tum aliquot milibus passuum Cromuello, tam novam accidisse et inopinatum, quàm cuilibet ex senatu tum in urbe versanti, quem ut de re inopinatissima sibi recens allata per literas certiorem fecit. Res autem ita se habuit; exercitûs universi vocibus rex territus, qui eum nullis officiis suis aut pollicitis factum meliorem, ad supplicium poscere jam tunc cœperat, statuit cum duobus tantummodo conseiis nocturna fuga sibi consulere: verum fugiendi certior, quàm quo fugeret, per comitum suorum vel imperitiam vel timiditatem, inops consilii quo se reciperet, Hamundo Vectis insulæ præsidi se ultro dedidit; ea spe, facilem sibi ex ea insula, parato clam navigio, transitum in Galliam aut in Belgium fore. Hæc ego de fuga regis in Vectim ex iis comperi, quibus rem totam pernoscendi quàm proxima facultas erat. Sed et hoc quoque criminosum est, quòd per Cromuellum, "Angli ingentem de Scotis parti sunt victoriam." Non "parti sunt," More, sed sine solœcismo claram sibi pepererunt; tu verò cogita, quàm Scotis cruentum illud prælium fuerit, cujus tu mentionem tantummodo facere nequivisti, quin instabile præ metu professorium caput tuum ad Prisciani pluteum nutando allideres. Sed videamus porro quantum flagitium Cromuelli fuerit, Scotos irrumpentes, imperium sibi in Anglos jam pollicentes, nobilissimo post multas ætates prœlio vicisse. "Inter has

turbas, dum Cromuellus cum exercitu abest:" Immò dum hostem in Angliæ viscera jam progressum, jam parlamento ipsi imminentem Cromuellus, etiam deficientes Cambros ad fidem reducendo, et obsidione longa defessus, ut vidit, ut vicit, ut gloriosissimè fudit, presbyterianos "tædium Cromuelli ceperat:" Hîc verum dicis; dum is communem hostem cum vitæ discrimine propulsat, hi militantem pro sese et in acie fortiter dimicantem confictis criminibus accusant domi; et Huntingtonum centurionem quendam in ejus caput subornant. Quis tantæ ingratitudinis fœditatem sine fremitu vel audire possit? Eorundem instinctu, nequissimum genus homuncionum ac petulantissimum, tyrones tabernarum maximo numero curiæ fores obsident: senatum, quicquid ipsis videtur (quo quid indignius?) clamore suo ac minis cogunt decernere: jamque reducem à Scotis victorem fortissimum, aut exulantem, aut pœnas indignissimas dantem vidissemus Camillum nostrum; nisi Fairfaxius imperator, invictissimi legati sui tantum dedecus perferendum non censuisset; nisi cunctus exercitus, et is quoque satis ingratè habitus, tam atrocia prohibuisset. Urbem itaque ingressus, urbicos nullo negotio repressit; Scotorum hostium partibus addictos meritò senatu movit: pars reliqua, insolentiis tabernariorum jam liberata, colloquium Vectense, contra senatûs consultum edictumque publicum cum rege initum, rescindit: Huntingtonus autem ille accusator, impunis et sui juris relictus, tandem pœnitentia ductus, ipse sua sponte à Cromuello veniam petiit, et à quibus esset subornatus ultro fassus est. Hæc ferè sunt quæ fortissimo patriæ liberatori, nisi ad quæ supra respondi, crimina objiciuntur; quæ quid valeant videtis. Verùm ego tantum virum, deque hac republica tam insignitè meritum, si duntaxat nihil mali commisisse defendam, nihil egero; cum præsertim non reipublicæ solùm, sed et mea quoque intersit, ut qui eadem infamia tam prope sim conjunctus, quàm optimum eum, atque omni laude dignissimum, gentibus, quoad possum, omnibus atque sæculis demonstrare. Est "Oliverius Cromuellus" genere nobili atque illustri ortus: nomen republica olim sub regibus benè administrata clarum, religione simul orthodoxa vel restituta tum primùm apud nos vel stabilita clarius: Is matura jam atque firmata ætate, quam et privatus traduxit, nulla re magis quàm religionis cultu purioris, et integritate vitæ cognitus, domi in occulto creverat; et ad summa quæque tempora fiduciam Deo fretam et ingentem animum tacito pectore aluerat. Parlamento ab rege ultimùm convocato, sui municipii suffragiis lectus senatorium munus obtinuit; illic rectissimis sententiis consiliisque firmissimis statim innotuit: ubi ad arma deventum est, delata sua opera, equitum turmæ præficitur; sed bonorum virorum concursu, ad ejus signa undique confluentium, auctus copiis, et gestarum rerum magnitudine et celeritate conficiendi summos ferè duces brevi superavit. Nec mirum; sui enim noscendi exercitatissimus miles, quicquid intus hostis erat, spes vanas, metus, cupiditates, apud se prius aut deleverat, aut subactas jam habuerat; in se priùs imperator, sui victor, de se potissimùm triumphare didicerat; itaque ad externum hostem, quo primùm die in castra venit, veteranus, et in illa omni castrensi militia consummatus, accessit. Non est ut in his possim orationis carceribus, tot urbes captas, tot prælia et quidem maxima, in quibus nunquam victus aut fusus, Britannicum orbem totum continuis victoriis peragravit, pro dignitate rerum exequi; quæ justæ sanè historiæ grande opus, et iterum quasi campum quendam dicendi, et exæquata rebus narrandi spatia desiderant. Sufficit hoc unicum singularis et prope divinæ virtutis indicium, tantam in eo viguisse sive animi vim atque ingenii, sive disciplinæ non ad militarem modo, sed ad Christianam potiùs normam et sanctimoniam institutæ, ut omnes ad sua castra tanquam ad optimum non militaris duntaxat scientiæ, sed religionis ac pietatis gymnasium, vel jam bonos et fortes undique attraheret, vel tales, ipsius maximè exemplo, efficeret: eosque toto belli, pacis etiam nonnunquam intermediæ tempore, per tot animorum et rerum vicissitudines, non largitionibus et militari licentia, sed authoritate et solo stipendio, adversantibus licèt multis, in officio contineret et adhuc contineat: qua quidem laude neque Cyro, neque Epaminondæ, neque antiquorum ulli excellentissimo imperatori laus ulla major attribui solet. Hinc enim exercitum, quo nemo minori spatio majorem aut instructiorem, sibi comparavit, et per omnia dicto audientem, et civibus gratum atque dilectum; et hostibus, armatis quidem formidolosum, pacatis admirabilem, quorum in agris atque sub tectis ita non gravis, et sine omni maleficio versabatur, ut cum regiorum suorum vim, vinolentiam, impietatem, atque libidines, cogitarent, mutata sorte læti, non nunc hostes, sed hospites advenisse crederent; præsidium bonis omnibus, terrorem malis, virtutis etiam omnis et pietatis hortatores. Sed neque te fas est præterire, Fairfaxi, in quo cum summa fortitudine summam modestiam, summam vitæ sanctitatem, et natura et divinus favor conjunxit: Tu harum in partem laudum evocandus tuo jure ac merito es; quanquam in illo nunc tuo secessu, quantus olim Literni Africanus ille Scipio, abdis te quoad potes; nec hostem solùm, sed ambitionem, et quæ præstantissimum quemque mortalium vincit, gloriam quoque vicisti; tuisque virtutibus et præclarè factis, jucundissimum et gloriosissimum per otium frueris, quod est laborum omnium et humanarum actionum vel maximarum finis; qualique otio cùm antiqui heroes, post bella et decora tuis haud majora, fruerentur, qui eos laudare conati sunt poetæ, desperabant se posse alia ratione id quale esset dignè describere, nisi eos fabularentur, cœlo receptos, deorum epulis accumbere. Verùm te sive valetudo, quod maxime crediderim, sive quid aliud retraxit, persuasissimum hoc habeo, nihil te à rationibus reipublicæ divellere potuisse, nisi vidisses quantum libertatis conservatorem, quàm firmum atque fidum Anglicanæ rei columen ac munimentum in successore tuo relinqueres. Te enim salvo, Cromuelle, ne Deo quidem satis confidit, qui rebus Anglorum, satis ut salvæ sint, metuat; cùm videat tam faventem tibi, tam evidenter opitulantem ubique Deum. Verùm tibi tum soli decertanda alia bellorum palæstra erat.

Quid autem multa? res maximas, qua tu celeritate soles, eadem si possum brevitate expediam. Amissa

Hibernia præter unam urbem tota, tu, exercitu transmisso, uno statim prælio Hibernicorum opes fregisti; reliqua indies conficiebas; cùm repentè ad bellum Scoticum revocaris. Hinc contra Scotos irruptionem cum rege suo in Angliam parantes, indefessus proficisceris; regnum illud, quod omnes reges nostri octingentis annis non poterant, uno circiter anno perdomuisti, et Anglorum ditioni adjecisti; reliquas eorum copias, validissimas tamen et expeditas, per summam desperationem in Angliam tum ferè præsidiis nudatam, inopina impressione facta, Vigornium usque progressas, magnis itineribus assecutus, uno prælio delevisti; capta penè tota gentis nobilitate. Hinc alta pax domi: tum te, sed neque tum primùm, non minùs consiliis, quàm belli artibus valere sensimus; id quotidie in senatu agebas, vel ut cum hoste pacta fides servaretur, vel uti ea, quæ ex republica essent, mature decernerentur. Cum videres moras necti, privatæ quemque rei, quàm publicæ, attentionem, populum queri delusum se sua spe, et potentia paucorum circumventum esse, quod ipsi toties moniti nolebant, eorum dominationi finem imposuisti. Parlamentum aliud convocatur novum; concessa iis duntaxat, quibus par erat, eligendi potestate; conveniunt electi; nihil agunt; cùm se invicem dissidiis et altercationibus diu defatigassent, animadvertentes plerique se rebus tantis exequendis, neque pares esse, neque idoneos, ipsi sese dissolvunt. Deserimur Cromuelle; tu solus superes, ad te rerum summa nostrarum rediit; in te solo consistit; insuperabili tuæ virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine vel obloquente, nisi qui aut æquales inæqualis ipse honores sibi quærit, aut digniori concessos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil esse in societate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, esse in civitate nihil æquius, nihil utilius, quàm potiri rerum dignissimum. Eum te agnoscunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus et gloriosissimus, dux publici consilii, fortissimorum exercituum imperator, pater patriæ gessisti: sic tu spontanea bonorum omnium et animitùs missa voce salutaris: alios titulos te dignos tua facta non norunt, non ferunt, et superbos illos, vulgi licet opinione magnos, meritò respuunt. Quid enim est titulus, nisi definitus quidam dignitatis modus? tuæ res gestæ cùm admirationis, tum certè titulorum modum omnem excedunt; et velut pyramidum apices cœlo se condunt, populari titulorum aura excelsiores. Sed quoniam summis etiam virtutibus, qui honos habetur, humano quodam fastigio finiri ac terminari, non dignum est, sed tamen expedit, assumpto quodam titulo patris patriæ simillimo, non evehi te quidem, sed tot gradibus ex sublimi descendere, et velut in ordinem cogi, publico commodo, et sensisti et sustinuisti; regium nomen majestate longè majore aspernatus. Et merito quidem: quod enim nomen, privatus sub jugum mittere, et ad nihilum planè redigere potuisti, eo si tantus vir factus caperere, idem penè faceres, atque si gentem aliquam idololatram Dei veri ope cùm subegisses, victos abs te coleres deos. Tu igitur, Cromuelle, magnitudine illa animi macte esto; te enim decet: tu patriæ liberator, libertatis auctor, custosque idem et conservator, neque graviorem personam, neque augustiorem suscipere potes aliam; qui non modò regum res gestas, sed heroum quoque nostrorum fabulas factis exuperasti. Cogita sæpiùs, quàm caram rem, ab quàm cara parente tua, libertatem à patria tibi commendatam atque concreditam, apud te depositam habes; quod ab electissimis gentis universæ viris, illa modò expectabat, id nunc à te uno expectat, per te unum consequi sperat. Reverere tantam de te expectationem, spem patriæ de te unicam; reverere vultus et vulnera tot fortium virorum, quotquot, te duce, pro libertate tam strenuè decertarunt; manes etiam eorum qui in ipso certamine occubuerunt: reverere exterarum quoque civitatum existimationem de nobis atque sermones; quantas res de libertate nostra, tam fortiter parta, de nostra republica, tam gloriosè exorta sibi pollicEantur: quæ si tam citò quasi aborto evanuerit, profectò nihil æquè dedecorosum huic genti, atque pudendum fuerit: teipsum denique reverere, ut pro qua adipiscenda libertate, tot ærumnas pertulisti, tot pericula adiisti, eam adeptus, violatam per te, aut ulla in parte imminutam aliis, ne sinas esse. Profectò tu ipse liber sine nobis esse non potes; sic enim natura comparatum est, ut qui aliorum libertatem occupat, suam ipse primus omnium amittat; seque primum omnium intelligat serviri: atque id quidem non injuria. At verò, si patronus ipse libertatis, et quasi tutelaris deus, si is, quo nemo justior, nemo sanctior est habitus, nemo vir melior, quam vindicavit ipse, eam postmodùm invaserit, id non ipsi tantùm, sed universæ virtutis ac pietatis rationi perniciosum ac lethale propemòdum sit necesse est: ipsa honestas, ipsa virtus decoxisse videbitur, religionis angusta fides, existimatio perexigua in posterum erit, quo gravius generi humano vulnus, post illud primum, infligi nullum poterit. Onus longè gravissimum suscepisti, quod te penitùs explorabit, totum te atque intimum perscrutabitur atque ostendet, quid tibi animi, quid virium insit, quid ponderis; vivatne in te verè illa pietas, fides, justitia, animique moderatio, ob quas evectum te præ cæteris Dei numine ad hanc summam dignitatem credimus. Tres nationes validissimas consilio regere, populos ab institutis pravis ad meliorem, quàm ante hac, frugem ac disciplinam velle perducere, remotissimas in partes, sollicitam mentem, cogitationesque immittere, vigilare, prævidere, nullum laborem accusare, nulla voluptatum blandimenta non spernere, divitiarum atque potentiæ ostentationem fugere, hæc sunt illa ardua, præ quibus bellum ludus est; hæc te ventilabunt atque excutient, hæc virum poscunt divino fultum auxilio, divino penè colloquio monitum atque edoctum. Quæ tu, et plura, sæpenumero quin tecum reputes atque animo revolvas, non dubito: uti et illud, quibus potissimùm queas modis et illa maxima perficere, et libertatem salvam nobis reddere et auctiorem. Quod meo quidem judicio, haud alia ratione rectiùs effeceris, quàm si primùm quos laborum atque discriminum comites habuisti, eosdem, quod facis, conciliorum socios cum primis adhibueris; viros sanè et modestissimos, et integerrimos, et fortissimos; quos tot mortes conspectæ, tot strages ante ora editæ, non ad crudelitatem, aut duritiem animi; sed ad justitiam, et numinis reverentiam, et humanæ sortis miserationem, ad libertatem denique eo acriùs retinendam erudierunt, quo gravio-

ribus ejus causa, periculis ipsi suum caput objecêre: Non illi quidem ex colluvione vulgi, aut advenarum, non turba collectitia, sed melioris plerique notæ cives, genere vel nobili, vel non inhonesto, fortunis vel amplis, vel mediocribus; quid si ipsa paupertate aliqui commendatiores? quos non præda convocavit, sed difficillima tempora, rebus maximè dubiis, sæpè adversis, ad liberandam tyrannide rempubl. excitarunt; non in tuto aut curia sermones inter se atque sententias tantùm, sed manus cum hoste conserere paratos. Quòd nisi spes semper infinitas, atque inanes persequemur, in quibus tandem mortalium sisti aut confidi possit non video, si his horùmque similibus fides non habebitur. Quorum fidelitatis certissimum pignus, et indubitatum habemus, quòd pro republica vel mortem oppetere, si ita sors tulisset, non recusarint; pietatis, quòd implorato suppliciter dei auxilio, totiesque ab eo insigniter adjuti, à quo auxilium petere, eidem gloriam tribuere omnem rerum prosperè gestarum consueverint; justitiæ, quòd etiam regem in judicium adduxerint, damnato parci noluerint: moderationis, quòd et eam experti jam diu sumus, et, quam ipsi sibi peperere pacem, si eorundem per injuriam rumpatur, quæ mala inde oritura sunt, ipsi primi sint persensuri, ipsi prima vulnera suis corporibus excepturi, deque suis omnibus fortunis atque ornamentis feliciter jam partis rursus dimicaturi; fortitudinis denique, quòd nulli unquam libertatem feliciùs aut fortiùs recuperaverint; ne arbitremur ullos alios posse diligentiùs conservare. Gestit clarorum virorum nomina commemorare oratio mea: te primum, Fletuode, quem ego ab ipsis tyrociniis ad hos usque militiæ honores, quos nunc obtines à summis proximos, humanitate, mansuetudine, benignitate animi eundem novi; hostis fortem et imperterritum, sed et mitissimum quoque victorem sensit: Te, Lamberte, qui vix modicæ dux manûs, ducem Hamiltonum juvenis, totius Scotiæ juventutis flore ac robore circumseptum, et progredientem retardasti, et retardatum sustinuisti: Te, Desboroe, te, Hualei, qui atrocissimas hujus belli pugnas vel audienti mihi vel legenti, inter hostes confertissimos expectati semper occurristis: Te, Overtone, mihi multis abhinc annis, et studiorum similitudine, et morum suavitate, concordia plusquam fraterna conjunctissime; te Marstonensi prælio illo memorabili, pulso sinistro cornu nostro, respectantes in fuga duces stantem cum tuo pedite, et hostium impetus propulsantem inter densas utrinque cædes vidêre: Scotico deinde bello, ut primùm Cromuelli auspiciis, tuo marte occupata Fifæ littora, et patefactus ultra Sterlinium aditus est, te Scoti occidentales, te Boreales humanissimum hostem, te Orcades extremæ domitorem fatentur. Addam et nonnullos, quos toga celebres et pacis artibus, consiliarios tibi advocasti, vel amicitia vel fama mihi cognitos; Huitlochium, Pickeringum, Striclandium, Sidnamum, atque Sidneium, (quod ego illustre nomen nostris semper adhæsisse partibus lætor) Montacutium, Laurentium, summo ingenio ambos, optimisque artibus expolitos; aliosque permultos eximiis meritis cives, partim senatorio jampridem munere, partim militari opera insignes. His et ornatissimis viris et spectatissimis civibus libertatem nostram proculdubio rectè commiseris; immo quibus tutiùs committi possit aut concredi, haud facilè quis dixerit. Deinde si ecclesiam ecclesiæ reliqueris, teque ac magistratus eo onere, et dimidio simul et alienissimo, prudens levaveris; nec duas potestates longè diversissimas, civilem et ecclesiasticam, siveris inter se scortari; seque invicem promiscuis ac falsis opibus in speciem quidem firmare re autem vera labefactare ac demum subvertere: si vim omnem ab ecclesia sustuleris; vis autem nunquam aberit; quandiu pecunia, ecclesiæ toxicum, veritatis angina, enuntiandi evangelii merces, vi etiam ab nolentibus coacta, erit; ejeceris ex ecclesia nummularios illos, non columbas sed columbam, sanctum ipsum spiritum, cauponantes. Tum si leges non tot rogaveris novas, quot abrogaveris veteres; sunt enim sæpè in republica, qui multas leges ferendi, ut versificatores multa carmina fundendi, impetigine quadam pruriunt: sed leges quo sunt plures, eo ferè sunt deteriores; non cautiones sed cautes, tu necessarias duntaxat retinueris, alias tuleris, non quæ bonos cum malis eodem jugo subjiciant, aut quibus, dum improborum fraudes præcaventur, quod bonis liberum esse debet, vetatur, sed quæ in vitia tantum animadvertant, res per se licitas abutentium ob noxam, non prohibeant. Leges enim ad frænandam maliciam solum sunt comparatæ, virtutis libertas formatrix optima atque auctrix est. Deinde si juventutis institutioni ac moribus melius prospexeris, quàm est adhuc prospectum, nec dociles juxta atque indociles, gnavos atque ignavos, impensis publicis ali æquum senseris, sed jam doctis, jam benè meritis doctorum præmia reservaveris. Tum si liberè philosophari volentibus permiseris, quæ habent, sine magistelli cujuspiam privato examine, suo periculo in lucem proferre: ita enim maximè veritas effloruerit; nec semidoctorum semper sive censura, sive invidia, sive tenuitas animi, sive superstitio aliorum inventa, omnemque scientiam suo modulo metietur, suoque arbitrio nobis impertiverit. Postremò si ipse neque verum neque falsum, quicquid id est, audire metueris: eos autem minimè omnium audieris, qui sese liberos esse non credunt, nisi aliis esse liberis, per ipsos non liceat; nec studiosius aut violentius quicquam agunt, quàm ut fratrum non corporibus modò sed conscientiis quoque vincula injiciant; pessimamque omnium tyrannidem, vel pravarum consuetudinum vel opinionum suarum et in rempublicam et in ecclesiam inducant; tu ab eorum parte semper steteris, qui non suam tantummodo sectam aut factionem, sed omnes æquè cives, æquali jure liberos esse in civitate arbitrantur oportere. Hæc si cui satis libertas non est, quæ quidem à magistratibus exhiberi potest, is mihi ambitionis atque turbarum, quam libertatis ingenuæ studiosior videtur; præsertim cum agitatus tot factionibus populus, ut post tempestatem, cum fluctus nondum resederunt, statum illum rerum optabilem atque perfectum, ipse non admittat.

Nam et vos, ô cives, quales ipsi sitis ad libertatem vel acquirendam vel retinendam haud parvi interest: nisi libertas vestra ejusmodi sit, quæ neque parari armis, neque auferri possit, ea autem sola est, quæ pietate, justitia, temperantia, vera denique virtute nata, altas atque intimas radices animis vestris egerit, non

deerit profectò qui vobis istam, quam vi atque armis quæsivisse gloriamini, etiam sine armis citò eripiat. Multos bellum auxit, quos pax minuit; si perfuncti bello, pacis studia neglexeritis, si bellum pax vestra atque libertas, bellum tantummodò vestra virtus est, vestra summa gloria, invenietis, mihi credite, ipsam pacem vobis infestissimam; pax ipsa vestrum bellum longè difficillimum, et quam putastis libertatem, servitus vestra erit. Nisi per veram atque sinceram in Deum atque homines pietatem, non vanam atque verbosam, sed efficacem et operosam, superstitiones animis, religionis veræ ac solidæ ignoratione ortas, abegeritis, habebitis, qui dorso atque cervicibus vestris, tanquam jumentis insidebunt; qui vos etiam victores bello suam veluti prædam sub hasta non bellica nundinabuntur; et ex ignorantia et superstitione vestra, uberem quæstum facient. Nisi avaritiam, ambitionem, luxuriam mentibus, immo familiis quoque vestris luxum expuleritis, quem tyrannum foris et in acie quærendum credidistis eum domi, eum intus vel duriorem sentietis, immò multi indies tyranni ex ipsis præcordiis vestris intolerandi pullulabunt. Hos vincete in primis, hæc pacis militia est, hæ sunt victoriæ, difficiles quidem, et incruentæ, illis bellicis et cruentis longè pulchriores; nisi hìc quoque victores eritis, illum modo in acie hostem atque tyrannum, aut non omnino aut frustra vicistis: nam pecuniæ vim maximam in ærarium inferendi rationes posse calidissimas excogitare, pedestres atque navales copias impigrè posse instruere, posse cum legatis exterorum cautè agere, societates et fœdera peritè contrahere, si qui majus atque utilius ac sapientius in republica existimavistis esse, quam incorrupta populo judicia præstare, afflictis per injuriam atque oppressis opem ferre, suum cuique jus expeditum reddere, quanto sitis in errore versati, tum serò nimis perspicietis, cum illa magna repentè vos fefellerint, hæc parva vestro nunc judicio et neglecta adversa tum vobis et exitio fuerint. Quin et exercituum et sociorum, quibus confiditis, fluxa fides, nisi justitiæ sola authoritate retineatur: et opes atque honores, quos plerique sectantur, facilè dominos mutant: ubi virtus, ubi industria, et laborum tolerantia plus viget, eò transfugiunt, et ignavos deserunt. Sic gens gentem urget, aut sanior pars gentis corruptiorem proturbat: sic vos regios dejecistis. Si vos in eadem vitia prolabi, si illos imitari, eadem sequi, easdem inanitates aucupari ceperitis, vos profectò regii istis, vel eisdem adhuc hostibus, vel aliis vicissim opportuni; qui iisdem ad Deum precibus, eadem patientia, integritate, solertia freti, qua vos primò valuistis, depravatos nunc, et in regium luxum atque socordiam prolapsos, meritò subjugabunt. Tum verò, quod miserum est, videbimini, planè quasi Deum vestri pœnituisset, pervasisse ignem ut fumo pereatis: quantæ nunc admirationi, tantæ tunc omnibus contemptioni eritis; hoc solum quod aliis fortasse, non vobis, prodesse in posterum queat, salutare documentum relicturi, quantas res vera virtus et pietas efficere potuisset, cum ficta et adumbrata, duntaxat bellè simulando, et aggredi tantas, et progressus in iis tantos per vos facere valuerit. Non enim, si propter vestram sive imperitiam, sive inconstantiam, sive improbitatem tam præclarè facta malè cesserunt, idcirco viris melioribus minus post hæc vel licebit vel sperandum erit. Sed liberare vos denuò tam facilè corruptos nemo, ne Cromuellus quidem, nec tota, si revivisceret, Brutorum natio liberatorum, aut si velit, possit, aut si possit, velit. Quid enim quisquam vobis libera suffragia et eligendi quos vultis in senatum potestatem tum assereret, an ut suæ quisque factiones hominis per urbes, aut qui conviviis unctiùs vos, et majoribus poculis per municipia colonos ac rusticos exceperit, cum quantumvis*indignum eligere possitis? ita non prudentia, non authoritas, sed factio et sagina, aut ex tabernis urbicis caupones et institores reipublicæ, aut ex pagis bubulcos, et verè pecuarios senatores, nobis creaverit. Illis nempe rempublicam commendaret, quibus vel rem privatam nemo committeret; illis ærarium et vectigalia qui rem suam turpiter prodegere? illis publicos reditus, quos depeculentur, quos ex publicis privatos reddant? an legislatores ut illi extemplò gentis universæ fiant, qui ipsi quid lex, quid ratio, quid fas aut jus, rectum aut curvum, licitum aut illicitum sit, nunquam intellexerint? qui potestatem omnem in violentia, dignitatem in superbia atque fastidio positam existiment? Qui in senatu nihil prius agant, quàm ut amicis pravè gratificentur, inimicis memores adversentur? qui propinquos sibi ac necessarios, tributis imperandis, bonis proscribendis, per provincias substituant, homines plerosque viles ac perditos, qui suarum ipsi auctionum sectores, grandem exinde pecuniam cogant, coactam intervertant, rempublicam fraudent, provincias expilent, se locupletent ad opulentiam atque fastum ex mendicitate hesterna ac sordibus repentini emergant? quis tales ferat servos furaces, dominorum vicarios? quis ipsos furum dominos ac patronos, libertatis idoneos fore custodes crediderit, aut illiusmodi curatoribus reipublicæ (quingenti licet consueto numero sint ex municipiis omnibus hunc in modum electi) pilo se factum liberiorem putet, cùm et libertatis ipsi custodes et quibus custoditur, tam pauci tum sint futuri, qui libertate uti atque frui vel sciant vel digni sint? Libertate autem indigni, quod omittendum postremò non est, erga ipsos primum liberatores ingratissimi ferè existunt. Quis nunc talium pro libertate pugnare, aut vel minimum adire periculum velit? non convenit, non cadit in tales esse liberos; utut libertatem strepant atque jactent, servi sunt et domi et foris, nec sentiunt; et cùm senserint tandem, et velut ferocientes equi frænum indignantes, non veræ libertatis amore (quam solus vir bonus rectè potest appetere) sed superbia et cupiditatibus parvis impulsi, jugum excutere conabuntur, etiamsi armis rem sæpius tentaverint, nihil tamen proficient; mutare servitutem fortasse poterunt, exuere non poterunt. Id quod Romanis etiam antiquis luxu jam fractis ac diffluentibus persæpè accidit; recentioribus multò magis; cùm longo post tempore Crescentii Nomentani auspiciis, et postea duce Nicolao Rentio, qui se tribunum plebis nominaverat, antiquam renovare gloriam, et rempublicam restituere affectarent. Scitote enim, ne fortè stomachemini, aut quemquam præter vosmetipsos inculpare possitis, scitote, quemadmodum esse liberum idem planè est atque esse pium, esse sapientem, esse justum ac temperantem,

sui providum, alieni abstinentem, atque exinde demum magnanimum ac fortem, ita his contrarium esse, idem esse atque esse servum; solitoque Dei judicio et quasi talione justissima fit, ut quæ gens se regere seque moderari nequit, suisque ipsa se libidinibus in servitutem tradidit, ea aliis, quibus nollet, dominis tradatur; nec libens modò, sed invita quoque serviat. Quod etiam et jure et natura ipsa sancitum est, ut qui impos sui, qui per inopiam mentis aut furorem suas res rectè administrare nequit, in sua potestate ne sit; sed tanquam pupillus, alieno dedatur imperio; nedum ut alienis negotiis, aut reipublicæ præficiendus fit. Qui liberi igitur vultis permanere, aut sapite imprimis, aut quamprimùm resipiscite: si servire durum est, atque nolitis, rectæ rationi obtemperare discite, vestrùm esse compotes; postremo factionibus, odiis, superstitionibus, injuriis, libidinibus ac rapinis invicem abstinete. Id nisi pro virili vestra parte feceritis, neque Deo neque hominibus, ne vestris quidem jam nunc liberatoribus, idonei poteritis videri, penes quos libertas et reipublicæ gubernatio, et imperandi aliis, quod tam cupidè vobis arrogatis, potestas relinquenda sit: cum tutore potius aliquo rerumque vestrarum fideli ac forti curatore tanquam pupilla gens, tum quidem indigeatis. Ad me quod attinet, quocunque res redierit, quam ego operam meam maximè ex usu reipublicæ futuram judicavi, haud gravatim certè, et ut spero, haud frustra impendi; meaque arma pro libertate, non solùm ante fores extuli, sed etiam iis ita latè sum usus, ut factorum minimè vulgarium jus atque ratio, et apud nostros et apud exteros explicata, defensa, atque bonis certè omnibus probata, et ad meorum civium summam laudem, et posterorum ad exemplum præclarè constet. Si postrema primis non satis responderint, ipsi viderint; ego quæ eximia, quæ excelsa, quæ omni laude propè majora fuere, iis testimonium, prope dixerim monumentum, perhibui, haud citò interiturum; et si aliud nihil, certè fidem meam liberavi. Quemadmodum autem poeta is qui epicus vocatur, si quis paulò accuratior, minimeque abnormis est, quem heroem versibus canendum sibi proponit, ejus non vitam omnem, sed unam ferè vitæ actionem, Achillis putà ad Trojam, vel Ulyssis reditum, vel Æneæ in Italiam adventum ornandum sibi sumit, reliquas prætermittit; ita mihi quoque vel ad officium, vel ad excusationem satis fuerit, unam saltem popularium meorum heroicè rem gestam exornasse; reliqua prætereo, omnia universi populi præstare quis possit? si post tam fortia facinora fœdiùs deliqueritis, si quid vobis indignum commiseritis, loquetur profectò posteritas, et judicium feret; jacta strenuè fundamenta fuisse, præclara initia, immò plusquam initia; sed qui opus exædificarent, qui fastigium imponerent, non sine commotione quadam animi desiderabit; tantis incœptis, tantis virtutibus, non adfuisse perseverantiam dolebit; ingentem gloriæ segetem, et maximarum rerum gerendarum materiam præbitam videbit, sed materiæ defuisse viros: non defuisse qui monere recta, hortari, incitare qui egregiè tum facta, tum qui fecissent, condecorare, et victuris in omne ævum celebrare laudibus potuerit.

AUTHORIS PRO SE DEFENSIO,

CONTRA

ALEXANDRUM MORUM ECCLESIASTEN,

LIBELLI FAMOSI, CUI TITULUS, "REGII SANGUINIS CLAMOR AD CŒLUM ADVERSUS PARRICIDAS ANGLICANOS," AUTHOREM RECTÈ DICTUM.

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NIHIL equidem aut antea inauditum, aut mea tum expectatione alienum, cùm libertatis causam primò accepi defendendam, usu venturum mihi arbitratus sum, si liberatores Patriæ, cives meos, unus præ cæteris publicè laudassem, tyrannorum jus infinitum atque injurium coarguissem, ut improborum omnium in me propè unum ferentur odia, atque redundarent. Prævidebam etiam tum bellum vobis, Angli, cum hostibus haud diuturnum, mihi cum perfugis, et eorum mercenariis sempiternum propemodum fore: ut quorum vos tela de manibus eripuissetis, eorum in me maledicta atque convitia eò acriùs conjicerentur. In vos ergo furor hostium atque impetus deferbuit: mihi, ut videtur, soli hujus belli reliquiæ supersunt; contemptissimæ quidem illæ, sed ut ferè sunt infirmorum impetus animalium, satis infestæ. Non perditorum duntaxat civium, sed exterorum etiam ut quisque alienarum rerum plus nimio curiosus, ut quisque importunissimus, corruptissimusque est, in me involat, officii tantummodo mei satagentem; in me omne virus et aculeos diriget. Quo fit, ut quod plerique ad commendationem operis, et audientiam sibi faciendam præfari initio solent, se ab exili atque humili rerum materia ad res dictu gravissimas atque maximas aspirare, id mihi in præsentia nequaquam concessum sit; ut cui nunc contrà vel invito atque nolenti à rebus maximis et gloriosissimis dicendis ad res obscuras, anonymorum latebras, et adversarii turpissimi per sequenda lustra atque flagitia necessariò sit descendendum. Quod etsi parum exordienti honorificum et ad reddendos lectorum animos attentiores minus accommodatum esse videatur, habet tamen quod exemplo haud absimili, cùm viris optimis et præstantissimis idem contigerit, consolari possit: siquidem et Africanus ipse Scipio, postquam ea gesserat quibus nihil in eo laudis genere felicius aut majus potuit, inclinatione rerum suarum perpetua et decrescente semper suæ virtutis materia usus esse videtur: et primò dux quidem summus, atque Hannibale superior, mox contra hostem Syrum et imbellem legatus, tribunorum deinde impotentia vexatus, suam tandem communire villam Liternensem contra fures atque latrones coactus est: in hac tamen rerum suarum declivitate atque descensu par ipse semper sibi et æqualis dicitur fuisse. Unde ego, utque aliis aliundè monitis, quicquid sortis aut provinciæ dederit modò Deus, multò licet priore angustius, atque tenuius, id non aspernari erudior. Sed quemadmodum dux bonus, (quidni enim bonos in omni genere liceat imitari?) contra hostem qualemcunque boni ducis officium explebit; vel si hoc nimis invidiosum est, ut sutor bonus, ita enim vir sapiens olim philosophatus est, ex eo quodcunque est ad manum corio calceamentum quàm potest optimum conficiet, sic ego ex hoc calceamento (argumentum enim cùm instituissem dicere puduit) trito præsertim jam antea atque dissuto, siquid concinnare quod legentium auribus tantùm non fastidio sit potero, experiar. Parsurus utique omninò huic operæ, nisi accusationes mihi nescio quas falsas, et mendacia objecisset adversarius, quam ego maculam aut suspicionem adhærere mihi minimè volo. Quando hoc necessariò tollendum mihi onus est, dabit quisque veniam, uti spero, si populo qui non defui pridem et reipublicæ, mihimet nunc non defuero.

Quoniam itaque "tuam fidem," More, quam in ipso libelli titulo tu "publicam" vocas, ego publicatam jamdudum et perditam scio, ita ultrò statim nobis obstringis, ut "siquid eorum in te agnosceres," quæ de te ego scripserim, "majorem in modum irascerere," ex ore imprimis tuo, quo laqueo solet improbus irretiri semper et capi, judicandum te omnibus atque damnandum addico. Cùm enim et ex perpetua calumnia, qua meum omne dictum aut factum in deterrimam partem trahis, meque obruere invidia quæris, et ex contumeliis quas semper iniquissimas undique in me arripis jaciendas, ex omnibus denique signis atque indiciis iræ facilè appareat vehementissimè te, quamvis id usque neges, et apertissimè irasci, effugere non potes quia

arguaris agnoscere in te ea, quæ vel "affinxisse" tibi me ais, vel in lucem protulisse.

Duæ sunt res quarum ego te postulabam: altera injuriarum, altera flagitiorum. Injuriarum, quòd libelli in nos clamosissimi author extitisses; nam quòd populum Anglicanum satis lædere existimares te non posse, nisi me eximiè præter cæteros læsisses, id ego honori mihi potius, quàm contumeliæ duco. Flagitia verò tua commemorare, ut dignum erat, idcirco non gravabar, ut ostenderem, siquidem is est habendus clamoris author, qui edidit, et alius certè præter te nemo hactenus comparuit, quàmcasto ex ore clamor ille prorupisset. Quid tu ad hæc? negas te authorem illius libelli; et ita sedulò, ita prolixè negas, cùm tamen liber ille nequaquam tibi displiceat, ut magis mihi pertimuisse videare, ne illum librum scripsisse, quàm ne illa in te tot probra admisisse reperiaris; de quibus sic leviter et timidè, sed simul versutè ac veteratoriè te purgas, ut nemo non subesse ulcus perspiciat. Haud incallido fortasse consilio; nam quis unum libellum scripserit, quàm quis multa stupra fecerit, difficilior longè est probatio; libellus sine arbitris confici potuit; hæc sine sociis, et scelerum consciis non potuerunt: illic vestigia penè nulla necessariò apparent; hic plurima indicia et præcedunt, et unà adsunt, et subsequuntur. Itaque, si pernegasses ad te librum illum pertinere, arbitrabaris eadem opera et fidem meam de reliqua tua vita saltem apud longinquos infirmari, et mea credulitate atque injuria, qua te scilicet temere violassem, tuam magna ex parte levari infamiam: sin ire inficias de libello non posses, restare tibi hoc solum prævidebas, quo nihil difficilius erat aut acerbius, ut de moribus et flagitiis haud perfunctoriè respondendum tibi esset. Verùm ego nisi hoc doceo, nisi planum facio aut te authorem illius libelli famosissimi in nos esse, aut te satis causæ præbuisse cur pro authore meritò haberi debeas, non recuso quin abs te victus in hac causa cum dedecore atque pudore turpiter discedam; nullam à me culpam neque imprudentiæ, neque temeritatis, neque maledicentiæ deprecor.

Prodiit hoc biennio anonymus et probrosus liber, "Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos" inscriptus; in quo libro, cùm Respublica Anglorum tota, tum nominatim "Cromuellus," eo quidem tempore nostrorum exercituum imperator, nunc totius reipublicæ vir summus, omni verborum contumelia laceratur: secundùm eum, sic illi anonymo visum est, maledictorum pars maxima in me conjicitur. Vix suis integer schedulis liber iste in consilio mihi est traditus; ab eo mox consessu, qui quæstionibus tum præfuit, alter mittitur: significatum quoque est, expectari à me hanc operam reipub. navandam, ut huic importuno clamatori os obturarem. Verùm me, tum maximè, et infirma simul valetudo, et duorum funerum luctus domesticus, et defectum jam penitus oculorum lumen diversa longè sollicitudine urgebat: foris quoque adversarius ille prior, isti longè præferendus, impendebat; jamjamque se totis viribus incursurum indies minitabatur: quo derepente mortuo levatum me parte aliqua laboris ratus, et valetudine partim desperata, partim restituta, utcunque confirmatus, ne omnino vel summorum hominum expectationi deesse, vel omnem inter tot mala abjecisse curam existimationis viderer, ut primùm de isto clamatore anonymo certum aliquid comperiendi facultas data est, hominem aggredior. De te, More, dictum hoc volo: quem ego (quamvis tu nunc, quasi insons omnium atque insciens falsò te accusari vocifereris) nefandi illius clamoris vel esse authorem, vel esse pro authore haud injuria habendum statuo. Et cur sic statuam nunc audies. Primùm ego, neque hoc leve putaveris, famam communem, consentientem, constantem sum sequutus; neque eam solùm quæ populi vox, et ab antiquis Dea credita est, et à nobis hodie vox Dei nuncupatur, sed eam etiam, ut legitimè tecum agi intelligas, quam jurisperiti ab authoribus et probis et benè notis exortam, fidem adjicere testimonio docent. Verè hoc dico et religiosè, me toto biennio nullum neque popularem, neque peregrinum convenisse, cum quo de isthoc libello sermones mihi fuissent, quin omnes una voce te ejus authorem dici consentirent, neminem præter te alium nominarent. Ita universim obtinuit hæc fama, ut te possim ipsum hujus rei testem producere. Recita tuum ipse testimonium.

Testimonium Mori, pag. 10.

"Neque verò tacui, si cui fortè subiit aliquid ejusmodi "suspicari, sed palam et exertè respondi reclamans, con-"questusque sum invito supponi mihi fœtum alienum, "siquidem illius auctor libri vel ex parte vel in totum "existimarer."

Quamvis hoc falsum sit tacuisse te, aut reclamasse quod plurimi testantur, qui te de eo libro et confitentem et gloriantem audierunt, dum hoc tutum tibi, aut lucro aut honori credidisti fore, hìc tamen vides, quàm hæc fuerit concepta altè, nec sine causa proculdubio, hominum opinio, ut ne familiaribus quidem tuis persuadere potueris, quo minùs "reclamantem" te et "conquerentem" atque "invitum" illius libri authorem "vel ex parte vel in totum existimarint." Quid si ego, qui te nostris partibus inimicissimum esse, et de republica nostra pessimè solere loqui intelligerem, hac plusquam fama nixus, hac hominum non vulgarium communi opinione atque consensu adductus, hoc pro certo sumpsissem, te hunc libellum composuisse? Tu contra quid affers, quamobrem tantæ hominum, etiam amicorum tuorum consensioni de inimico nostro facilè habere fidem non debuerim? Factum negas. At quotusquisque est reorum, qui multis etiam testibus in judicio convictus atque damnatus in ipso supplicii loco, ubi etiam pœna capitali jamjam plectendus est, pernegare crimen suum non soleat; immò secretum quodvis anteactæ vitæ facinus suum proferre in lucem non malit, cujus pœnas meritas dare se nunc dicat, quàm de illo crimine confiteri de quo sit condemnatus? Accedit quod is tum negat, cùm sententia jam lata, cùm expedita et imminente jam securi, nihil juvat neque prodest negare: tu propterea, quòd prodest, quòd est cur metuas, quòd manendum tibi in iis provinciis si faterere non esset, idcirco negas. Pacis articulos inter nos et Fœderatas Provincias "Latinè conditos" vertisse te

dicis. Legito itaque nonum, decimum, et undecimum, quos tu cùm vertebas, solùm vertere debuisti.

Articulus pacis nonus.

Quod neutra dictarum rerump. hostes alterius reipub. declaratos vel declarandos, in ejus dominia recipiet, neque eorum alicui in prædictis locis vel aliò quocunque, etiam extra sua dominia auxilium, consilium, hospitium, concedet, nec istiusmodi hostibus ullum auxilium, consilium, hospitium, favorem, pecunias præstari permittet.

Articulus decimus.

Quòd si alterutra dictarum rerumpub. aliquem suum fuisse et esse hostem, et in sua dominia receptum esse, aut ibidem commorari per literas suas publicas alteri significaverit, tunc illa resp. quæ hujusmodi literas receperit, intra spatium viginti octo dierum tenebitur dicto hosti mandare, ut extra sua dominia exeat. Et siquis prædictorum hostium intra quindecimum diem non exiverit, singuli morte et amissione bonorum multabuntur.

Articulus undecimus.

Quod nullus hostis publicus reip. Angliæ in aliqua oppida, vel alia loca recipietur; neque Domini Ordines Generales alicui hujusmodi hosti publico in locis prædictis, pecuniis, commeatu, aut alio quocunque modo auxilium, consilium, aut favorem dari permittent.

Hæccine audis? quàm diligenter, quàm severè ab utraque republica tribus continuis articulis cautum atque provisum sit, nequis alterius hostis ab alterutra hospitio vel tecto recipiatur; qui hostis declaratus vel declarandus ab alterutra sit, ei ut aqua et igni ab altera sit interdicendum, ut morte etiam multandus sit, ni intra dies quindecim post denunciatum sibi discessum sarcinas collegerit? Hæccine, inquam, sine metu ac trepidatione audis? qui si hostis esse aut fuisse deprehendêris, nosque ut viros fortes decet, in sententia persistemus, neque articulos otiosos ad numerum duntaxat composuimus, ubi tua illa stipendia, et sacrarum historiarum professiones? cui de tota illa ditione intra paucos dies decedendum erit; et relictis historiis, illa vitæ tuæ fabula nequissima nescio quibus in terris peragenda. Quis enim hostis noster magis publicus est dicendus, quàm is, qui libro famosissimo in vulgus edito totam Angliæ rempub. inhumanissimis verborum contumeliis proscindit atque dilaniat? latrocinii, cædis, perduellionis, impietatis, parricidii, immò novo prorsus vocabulo deicidii demùm incusat; omnes principes, populos, nationes in nos, tanquam in monstra ac pestes generis humani ad arma, quantum in se est, concitat; et quasi ad commune atque sacrum bellum nobis inferendum hortatur? Hunc tu confecisse librum nisi pertinaciter negares, nullus nunc locus consistendi iis in locis tibi esset. Cum igitur tibi tam sit omnino periculosum fateri, cùm incolumitatis et commodorum tuorum, ac prope salutis tam vehementer intersit librum istum ejurare, cur tua inimici et improbissimi hominis negatio contra famam constantem, immò verò quod plus est, contra tot hominum satis perspicacium, et amicorum aliquot tuorum opinionem valere debeat, non video. At enim dicis, non te solum negasse; testem habere "reverendum antistitem Ottonum," qui clarissimum Duræum "admonuerit te illius libri non esse auctorem, sibi probè notum auctorem longè alium." Itaque ex ipsis Duræi literis ostendam, neque probè hoc novisse Ottonum, neque testem omnino esse, vel siquid testatur, ex eo reddi te multo quàm antea suspectiorem.

Ex Literis Duræi, Haga, April $\frac{14}{24}$ 1654.

Quod ad responsum Miltoni ad eum librum, cui titulus Regii Sanguinis Clamor: equidem à ministro quodam Midelburgensi, qui Mori perfamiliaris est, certior sum factus, Morum non esse illius libri authorem, sed ministrum quendam Gallicum, quem Morus sub conditione silentii eidem nominavit.

Et ex alteris Amsterodamo, April $\frac{10}{20}$. 1654.

Cum D. Ottono colloquutus sum; hic quidem acerrimè regius est, et Moro perquam intimus; idque mihi dixit, quod superioribus literis ad te scripsi, Morum non esse "Clamoris Regii Sanguinis" authorem.

Ex quibus hoc in primis nemo non intelligit, Ottono, ut qui partibus regiis addictissimus, nobis inimicissimus, Moro à secretis sit, ne si sua quidem fide quicquam afferat, credendum esse. Nunc autem cùm apertè fateatur Ottonus, quicquid hac de re sciat, abs te hausisse, tua sola authoritate niti, tuum hoc apud se depositum arcanum esse, non hoc Ottoni testimonium, sed tua adhuc sola negatio est: immò verò potiùs tua clara confessio dicenda erit, illius te libelli vel componendi vel procurandi cum paucissimis esse conscium; si non authorem, at certè socium et administrum; vel tua opera vel tuo consilio librum illum fuisse editum. Quod si ita est, ut est sanè per tuum testem, ex tuomet-ipsius ore verisimillimum, equidem haud metuo, ne te falsò insimulasse dicar, si vel authorem ipsum affirmaverim te, vel eodem numero habuerim. Quis non jam planè perspiciat, quàm penitùs ex sinu tuo liber iste prodierit? quàm non de nihilo constantissima de te ista fama invaluerit? verùm adhuc clarius hoc idem statim perspicere cuivis licebit. Jam enim à fama, quod postmodum apparebit, minimè fallaci, ne vocis invidia contra me utaris, ad justam probationem et compertissimos mihi testes transeo. Accipe in primis literarum partem, quæ haud ita multo pòst Lugduno Batavorum sunt datæ, quàm libellus iste clamosus Hagæ-Comitis est editus. Missæ sunt hæ literæ ad amicum quendam meum ab homine et docto et prudente, et rerum peritissimo, mihi satis noto, et in Hollandia notissimo: in quibus libelli cujusdam famosi facta mentione, hæc statim verba subjungit.

Literæ Leidenses, Septemb. 27, stilo novo, 1652.

"Nec majoris momenti est iste Mori liber, cui titulus Clamor Regii sanguinis ad Cœlum: satisque vendibilis fuit, donec author illius vitiata Salmasii uxoris ancilla, ipse suam existimationem commaculavit." Hæ literæ, eodem puto mense, integræ sunt evulgatæ, inque actis diurnis apud nos quinto quoque die hebdomadæ prodire solitis, palam extant; ejusque authoritate

vel qui misit eas, vel qui edidit, fidem facilè suam tuentur, meam absolvunt. Hæc habui neque levia, neque ullo modo contemnenda, cur hunc Regii Sanguinis Clamorem opus tuum esse crediderim: famam constantem, non vulgi, sed amplissimorum hominum per biennium totum opinionem atque consensum, literas viri intelligentissimi atque honestissimi vicina ex urbe missas, quibus an quid certius in re præsertim longinqua de inimico et extraneo homine, et omni infamia jamdudum cooperto, expectandum fuerit aut requirendum, haud scio. Age vero; ne tu me tristem nimis et obstinatum queraris, aliquanto laxiùs te habebo, quo deinde fortiùs teneam atque constringam: quoniam attributum tibi librum elegantulum sic aversaris atque horres, contra hæc omnia quæ afferre hactenus potui tam valida, tuam valere singularem et suspectissimam negationem patiar; remittâm tibi hoc totum atque largiar, non esse te hujus libelli, qui Regii Sanguinis Clamor inscribitur, authorem; et tamen, quod jam forsitan expectas, non sic abibis. Constat iste liber et coagmentatur proœmiis quibusdam et epilogis, epistola ad Carolum, altera ad lectorem, clauditur carmine, altero in Salmasium "Eucharistico," altero in me diffamatorio: si ullam hujus libri paginam, si versiculum fortè unicum scripsisse aut contulisse, si edidisse, aut procurasse, aut suasisse, si denique edendo præfuisse, aut vel operæ tantillum accommodasse te repererо, quandoquidem nemo alius existit, tu mihi solus totius operis reus, et author, et clamator eris. Neque verò meam hanc severitatem, aut vehementem animum esse dixeris; idem apud omnes fere gentes jure et æquissimis legibus est comparatum. Quod ab omnibus receptissimum est adducam, jus civile imperatorium.

Legito Institut. Justiniani, l. 4, de injuriis, tit. 4.

Siquis ad infamiam alicujus libellum, aut carmen (aut historiam) scripserit, composuerit, ediderit, dolove malo fecerit, quo quid eorum fieret, &c. Adjiciunt aliæ leges; "Etiamsi alterius nomine ediderit, vel sine nomine." Et omnes decernunt eum pro authore habendum esse atque plectendum. Quæro nunc ex te, non utrùm Regii Sanguinis Clamorem, sed an præmissam Clamori epistolam Carolo dicatam, ullamve ejus particulam feceris, scripseris, edideris, edendamve curaveris? quæro an alteram ad lectorem, quæro denique an illud infame carmen condideris, aut vulgandum curaveris? nihildum ad hæc respondisti; si Clamorem ipsum tantummodo abdicasses, omnemque ejus particulam gnaviter ejurasses, salva fide evasisse te putabas, nosque probè ludificasse; epistolam videlicet ad Carolum filium, aut ad lectorem, carmen etiam iambum, Regii Sanguinis Clamorem non esse. Tu itaque sic breviter habeto, ne tergiversari in posteram queas, aut prævaricari; ne diverticulum ullum, aut latibulum sperare; ut jam sciant omnes quàm non mendax, sed veriloqua, aut saltem non de nihilo ista fama de te increbuerit, tu, inquam, sic habeto: me non fama solum, sed eo testimonio, quo nullum certius esse potest comperisse, te et libelli totius cui Regii Sanguinis Clamor est titulus, editionem administrasse, et operam typographicam correxisse, et epistolam illam ad Carolum secundum, Vlacci nomen præferentem, vel solum, vel "cum uno atque altero" composuisse. Id quod tuum ipsum nomen Alexander Morus exemplis aliquot illius epistolæ subscriptus, multis ejus rei testibus oculatis clariùs indicavit, quàm tu negare aut expedire te ullo pacto queas. Si dicis, importunitati quorundam amicorum te hoc dedisse, ut epistolæ nomen tuum apponeres, non aliunde quàm ex ore tuo sic excusanti tibi occurro. Qui solenniter affirmas, et eo præsertim loco paginæ 39, in quo, ut credatur tibi enixè flagitas "tueri te tua, aliena tunc demum forte curaturum cum excussus propriis fueris." Teipso itaque flagitante, credendum non est te nomen tuum illi epistolæ fuisse subscripturum, tua nisi esset: id quod sequente pagina penè confiteris, tuamque ipse fraudem detegis et fallaciam, qua fretus clamoris authorem te esse toties negas. "Nam quis non misereatur," inquis, "hallucinationis tuæ cùm præfationem typographo tribuis modo, modo adimis: Clamorem totum in me confers, qui ne particulam quidem ullam ejus extuli." Hoc cui non suboleat? cum præfationis seu epistolæ simul et Clamoris mentionem facis, Clamoris ne ullam quidem particulam conferri in te sinis; præfationis nullam respuis, nullam inficiaris: immò quasi errorem meum videris propemodum ridere, quòd satis constanter non dixerim tuam esse. Si insciente te et prorsus ignaro factum hoc dicis, ut nomen tuum subscriberetur, primùm credibile non est quenquam esse ausum mittendæ ad Regem epistolæ cum dedicato libro excusæ, alienum nomen ipso inconsulto subscribere. Complures deinde sunt, qui ex te ipso audierunt, cùm tuam esse illam epistolam vel interrogantibus faterere, vel ultrò ipse prædicares. Verùm tua necne fuerit, non admodum laboro; tune solus an "cum uno aut altero" eam composueris; quod et hic pag. 41 subindicare ludibundus propè videris. Te istius ego non epistolæ duntaxat, sed et libelli infamissimi solum propè conscium, te ejusdem editorem aut edendi administrum, te epistolæ ad Carolum aliquam multis exemplaribus divulgatæ subscriptorem notissimum, te scriptorem etiam confessum, te ergò omnium legum consensu atque sententia totius operis authorem ipsum tuo ore convictum atque constrictum teneo. Hæc quo dicam testimonio tam remotus, et unde mihi tam liquidò constare potuerint, si quæris, non fama, inquam, sola sed partim testibus religiosissimis qui coràm hæc mihi sanctissimè asseverarunt, partim literis vel ad alios vel ad me scriptis. Literarum verba ipsa expromam, scribentium nomina non edam; propterea quod in rebus alioqui notissimis necesse non habeo. Hem tibi imprimis ab homine probo, et cui ad hanc rem pervestigandam haud mediocris facultas fuit, literas Haga Comitis ad me datas.

Ex Literis Hag. Com.

Exploratissimum mihi est, Morum ipsum Clamoris Regii Sanguinis exemplar nonnullis aliis imprimendum obtulisse, antequam Vlaccus illud accepisset; ipsum corrigendis operarum erratis præfuisse; ab ipso exemplaria, ut primum quodque absolutum est, compluribus impertita ac dissipata.

Viden' ut hæc dilucida atque distincta sint, ut non

dubiis rumoribus collecta, sed data opera ac diligentia hominis iis in locis ac rebus versatissimi, pervestigata et inquisita, certissimis indiciis comprobata atque comperta? Atqui testem, inquies, unum jus omne rejecit. en itaque ex ore duorum testium, quo testimonio neque sacrum, neque civile jus quicquam amplius aut locupletius desiderat, firmatum à me omne verbum, ut dicitur, et corroboratum habebis. Accipe nunc sis quæ vir honestissimus idemque intelligentissimus et certò sibi cognita, et illic testatissima Amsterodamo sic scribit.

Ex Literis Amsterodamo.

Certissimum est omnes ferè per hæc loca Morum pro authore illius libri habuisse, qui "Regii Sanguinis Clamor" inscribitur; nam et schedas à prælo exceptas ipse correxit, et aliqua exemplo subscriptum dedicatoriæ nomen Mori præferebant, cujus et ipse author erat; dixit enim ipse amico cuidam meo, se illius epistolæ authorem fuisse: immò nihil certius est, quam illam sibi Morum vel attribuisse, vel agnovisse pro sua.

Verùm requiris adhuc tertium: non id quidem cogit lex, attamen indulget. Esto; largissima per me lege utere: potest fieri, ut terni opus sint testes: coarctatum tibi à me juris quicquam non dices. Addo jam tertium.

Ex alteris literis Haga Comitis.

Dixit mihi Hagæ Comitis vir quidam primarius, habere se Regii Sanguinis Clamorem, cum ipsa Mori epistola.

Vides quàm largiter tibi admetiar: clara enim hæc sunt, quis neget? tu tamen scito clariora apud me esse, quæ datæ fidei causa reticeo, quam quæ nunc palam exhibeo. Quod si adhuc tamen vis cumulum, fortassis accedet. Interea nunc libero ac soluto animo ad reliqua proficiscor; quandoquidem id quod Deum Opt. Max. precatus sum, adeptum me esse spero, ut nemini videar, viro præsertim bono et intelligenti, incertis rumoribus elatus temerè, accusationem contra te falsam instituisse, nec fictis criminibus innocentem, quod quereris, et immeritum perfudisse, sed tectum atque duplicem veris redarguisse, latentem atque sectantem tenebras in lucem protraxisse: quod quidem et ex ipsa testimonii claritate perspicuum esse reor, et in ipsis plurimorum hominum non conscientiis modò, sed et sermonibus, ubi hæc gesta sunt, clarius elucere. Quibus si ego testimonium denuntiare possem, obruerere, mihi crede, multitudine tot testium: quos tamen aliquando sponte sua veritati tam illustri, si opus erit, sua nomina palam daturos esse confido. Quòd si hanc probationis vim atque evidentiam, quam ne judex quidem severissimus repudiasset, tu falsam tamen esse, id quod incredibile est, contendere audebis, erit fortasse cur de tuo queraris atque deplores infortunio, aut iratum tibi atque infensum agnoscas Deum, qui per aliorum vel errorem vel mendacium assignati tibi hujus libelli illa alia tua dedecora in ecclesia diutius non ferenda, latiùs patefieri, et personam illam ecclesiasticam, quam circumfers impudentissimè, detrahi tibi voluerit; me cur incuses deinceps aut reprehendas non erit, immo nec unquam fuit, velles modò tua in nos commissa recognoscere; verùm illa mordicus inficiari nimiùm tibi expedit, et simul pergis lacessere. Noli igitur, quod jam iterum moneo, me inculpare, si rursus quæ nolis nunc vicissim audieris. Sed videamus quid sit. Primùm occurrit mihi, nec opinatò, mea pro Pop. Anglicano Defensio secunda, typis Vlacci malevoli mendosissimè ac malitiosissimè excusa; omissis nonnunquam verbis integris, non sine structuræ totius atque sententiæ vel depravatione vel interitu. Quod ego omnes volo monitos, qui mea curant legisse, nequid meum ex officina hominis inimici et veteratoris exire integrum aut sincerum existiment. Huic accessio est, Vlacci itidem mala merx, "Alexandri Mori fides publica." Ita ego quos à me longissimè summovisse ac protelasse sum ratus, eos vel invitus sub iisdem pellibus conjunctissimos mihi reperio. Sic est profecto; qui liberrimè riserit hos homines, sibi devinxerit. Cavendum sanè et procul fugiendum erit cui putaverint isti nasum esse aduncum; ne aliquando satis irrisi, irridentis naribus duntaxat uncis ipsi sese tanquam uniones hinc atque inde suspendant. Cognoscite verò nunc adversarium, siquis unquam fuit, degenerem, iniquum, odiosum. Nam ut primùm, nescio quo casu per amicum meum, non id agentem ut ab isto gratiam iniret ullam, intellexit me ad Clamorem Regii Sanguinis responsum in se edere, æstuare mens hominis conscia, et omnes in partes versare se cœpit. Inter alia trepidantis atque degeneris animi indicia, qui libellum modò famosum tam cupidè, tamque improbè in alios edidisset, libellum nunc supplicem ad legatum fœderatorum ordinum apud nos commorantem scribit, orans atque obsecrans, uti cum Dom. Protectore quam instantissimè de supprimenda mea defensione ageret. Cùm responsum tulisset impetrari nequaquam id posse, exire nihilominus in lucem, jamque adnavigare animadversorem in se librum cum spicilegio quodam et collectaneis facinorum suorum conturbatus, et huc, illuc cursitans, circumspectissimus deinde homo, totus in speculis est; oculos ab litore dimovere vix audet; ubi advenisse librum cognovit, suumque statim indicem sensit, prece nescio an pretio exorat librarium, ut exemplum illius libri ullum ne divenderet, donec ipse responsum suum confecisset; id est, ut commercii fidem violaret, donec iste "fidem publicam" conflasset. Ita bonus ille vir quingenta plus minus exempla rectè et emendatè edita suo arbitratu premit, dum Vlaccus interim jacturam alienam suum ratus compendium, quot sibi videtur mendosa imprimit. Bene agis, Vlacce, ut consuevisti; sed auctarium hoc damni quid sibi vult adjectum? cur appendices vos ipsos adjunxistis mihi, hominum importunissimi? nemone ut possit me velle, quin vos quoque vel ingratissimum unus unà ferre cogatur? Ergo ego, ut videtur, non cæcus, sed cæcias. quos volebam propellere nebulones, attraxi. Tu verò, adeone tibi, More, tuoque sive genio sive ingenio diffisus es, ut victurum te, et in manus hominum perventurum desperares, nisi te mihi asseclam quocunque irem, malè conciliatum agglutinares, et emptoribus etiam nolentibus te obtruderes? verùm expertus jam didici quid sit picem attrectare; et erat hoc, opinor, haud minus Vlacci astutia provisum, qui non typographus solùm, sed arithmeticus, quod jam fateor, vetulus,

metuebat ne "Alexandri Mori" neglecta "fides publica" jaceret, seque à societate segregaretur, nisi hanc artem aligationis, verè cauponariam, adhibuisset, et vile ac vitiosum vendibili miscuisset. Age verò, quoniam necesse est cum Defensione pro Pop. Anglicano, Alexandri Mori fidem publicam coëmere, quanquam parva hæc, utcunque nummulorum jactura erit, discere ex te avemus, quid sit "Mori fides publica?" utrum confessionem tuæ fidei publicam nobis exhibes, an quid in symbolum? Hæc enim tua fides publica est, opinor; privata an sit dicant, qui te Spir. Sanctum non agnoscere accusant. Quid ergo est? tuamne dicamus fidem esse publicam, an fidem publicam esse tuam? Tuam fidem, sicut et pudicitiam esse publicam, non est difficile ut credamus. Qui enim alienas uxores et ancillas vis esse publicas, quidni tua omnia, pudorem etiam ac fidem publicam esse velis? An verò hoc est quod dicis, fidem publicam esse tuam? at hoc quî potest fieri? Tunè fidem publicam pro scorto abduxisse te putas, tua ut simul esset et publica? aut captiosus hic titulus est, aut sensu vacuus. Si tua fides hæc est, quemadmodum est publica? si publica est, quemadmodum est tua? Relinquitur ut vel imprudens hoc titulo significasse videare cum Alexandri Mori fides publica sit, adeoque non tua; rursus cum tua sit, ideoque non publica, hanc quam affers fidem repugnantem et implicitam, nec publicam esse nec tuam. Quid ergo? aut dubiam, aut inanem, aut denique nullam. Quod si contendis hanc fidem omnino esse publicam, quæ tua tanta impudentia est, More, ut cum fidem ipse nullam habeas quam pro te afferas, tot flagitia perpetrare fide publica existimes tibi licere? ut nunquam aliàs dici veriùs, quàm de te versiculus iste videatur, quicquid peccat Morus, plectitur fides publica. Hæc tibi uni licentia si concedatur, non tu Alexander Morus, sed Alexander ille Phrygius mea quidem sententia nominaberis. Beatum interim te, cui militet fides publica. Contra quem autem? contra meas nempe "calumnias." Quas tandem illas? an quòd infamis libelli Clamoris Regii authorem te affirmaverim, nunc etiam justa probatione arguerim? at verbum de isto Clamore in tua fide publica nullum. An quòd hortensem te adulterum, domesticum Pontiæ stupratorem enarraverim? at horti percautè tu quidem ac timidè mentionem facis; facta utrobique flagitia aut non omnino, aut oblique tantum et frigidè negas. Quid ergo fidem publicam sollicitare opus erat iis de rebus, quas audacter ipse negare non potes? nihil sane, nisi quòd circumforanei pharmacopolæ et vanissimi circulatoris hoc solum tibi defuit, ut elogiis ac testimoniis, nescio quo pacto adscitis atque correptis, et ostentata fide publica te venditares. Tibi igitur si "scurra" sum, minus commoveor; quandoquidem is, qui ab oraculo sapientissimus, ab tui similibus scurra Atticus est dictus. Cur autem scurra tibi videor, More? an quòd nequitias tuas interdum falsè perstrinxerim? ne tu stultior sis, More, et adhuc magis ridendus, si quenquam putas, modò emunctæ naris sit, ad tuos fœtores, nisi fale conspersos, posse appropinquare. Sed vide, quàm tibi temperaverim, quàm leniter tecum egerim: Cùm enim in ipsa fronte libri nullo negotio potuerim tibi paria retulisse, et affixo tibi cognomento appositissimo atque meritissimo ita scripsisse, "Contra Alexandrum Morum adulterum et cinædum," cohibui me; partim tui misertus, partim ut legentium oculis atque auribus nonnihil consulerem, ne subito occursu tantæ fœditatis atque offensione averterentur.

Sed de his plus satis; infantissimo nunc titulo ad librum ipsum veniamus: id quod te, ut video, non delectat; nam rectà eunti viam obstruis; et ægrotantem doctorculum nescio quem Crantzium cum lectulo et culcitra, tanquam aggerem aut vallum obdis tibi et transversum extrudis. Qui "æger," ut ipse ait, et ni fallor ægerrimus, id est maledicendi cupidissimus, haud scio an ventilata lodice vix se in cubitum erexerit, ut hæc sua febriculosa somnia deliraret. Mox quasi testamento jam facto subjicit, "Scripsi propria manu et subsignavi licet æger corpore." Age jam tu, si vis, animam; nos resignemus; et lectori imprimis quid legaveris inspiciamus: multam, opinor, salutem; ne unciolam quidem; quid ergo? plorare: "Lege si potes et luge." Me verò, quòd ignotus minimè expectabam, secundum hæredem quincunce toto maledictorum aspergis. "Lege," inquis, "et luge sæculi vicem, in quo maledicentiæ tantum licet:" Luge potiùs tot insipientes doctorculos, quos nisi maturè caveat hoc sæculum, vereor ne propediem et lugeat et luat. Tu vero tum luxisses, cum inaudita audacia Salmasius homo privatus, extraneus, nulla injuria lacessitus, in universam Anglicanam remp. atque senatum fœdissimis contumeliis bacchatus est: tum luxisses, cùm probrosus ille anonymus Clamorem Regii Sanguinis in nos eructavit, nec acerbissimis modo verborum contumeliis ad rabiem usque furit ac sævit, sed nobiscum si agi oportere, decere, convenire, rationibus et argumentis, ut ipse putat, Christianis defendere conatur. Cognosce nunc, si potes, tuam ipse iniquitatem: cum externi, ad quos nostra nihil pertinent, nobis vel acerbissimè maledicunt, et maledicentiam ipsam defendunt, vis omnes "legant:" cum ego et pro meo in patriam officio, et magistratuum jussu, meos cives ac populares, me denique ipsum probris omnibus læsum defendo, vis omnes "lugeant." Tum cavere lectorem jubes, ne me "credat historicum." At neque tu Albertus es Crantzius; et hoc tibi edico caveas, ne ego antequam peroravero te citiùs mendacem, quàm tu me "fabulatorem" coarguas. "Quis et qualis sit iste Miltonus," inquis, "ignoro." Non displicet; neque enim tanti est tuum nosse aut non nosse: Ego verò te statim novi et morbum tuum. "Quis sit," inquis, "ignoro; libelli ejus satis docent." Indocilis ergo Crantzius, qui ignorat; temerarius item atque injurius, qui ignotum illæsus lædis, qui per calumniam ac maledicendi præproperam libidinem ex libro de divortiis, loco non citato, verbis aut non plenè aut perperam adscriptis, blasphemiæ falsò insimulas. Tu antè, quisquis es Crantzi, in malam pestem abieris, quam dixisse me "Doctrinam Evangelii et Dom. nostri Jesu Christi de divortio esse diabolicam," usquam inveneris. Quòd si dixi fortasse, quam inde conficiunt vulgares interpretes doctrinam, qua post divortium necessariò factum, omne aliud matrimonium interdicunt, esse diabolicam, id esse blas-

phemiam quo tu pacto evincis? nisi si fortè theologorum dictatis quibusvis contradicere, nunc primùm blasphemia est credenda. Quod autem affirmas doctrinam de divortiis "ab omnibus patribus à theologis veteribus et hodiernis, ab omnibus academiis et ecclesiis Britannicis, Hollandicis, Gallicis" eodem modo explicari, scito te vehementer hallucinari: et ignorantiam doctori tibi et præsertim reprehensori turpem prodere: quam si vacat, in eo libro, qui à me "Tetrachordon" est inscriptus, exues. Poteris ibi, si libet, discere, quam ego tueor sententiam eam et patrum aliquot, et summorum postea theologorum Buceri, Fagii, Martyris, Erasmi fuisse; quorum hic justo tractatu Phimostomum quendam doctorem, tui comparem, eademque ferè blaterantem refellit. Interea non miror laborare te tantopere de inhibendis divortiis, cùm animadverto etiam domi tuæ haud leve accidere divortium solere; nimirum sensûs communis ab loquacitate tua. Quis enim mentis compos aut sententiæ suæ sic loquitur? "In Salmasio vix ipsi inimici aliud requirunt, quàm quod fuerit iracundior, et male conjugatus." Patere te doceri, doctorcule, quod pueruli sciant. Non requirebant illi quod fuit, sed quod non fuit. Ais me "Eunuchum dixisse Salmasium," quod nunquam dixi; duos tantummodo versus ex Eunuchi Terentiani prologo desumpsi, ut scenicum plorantis exordium, et lamentabile ridiculum risu, ut par erat, exciperem. "Nihil minus quam Eunuchum" fuisse affirmas: id mea nihil refert. Tu tamen, quid hac in parte solus tam audacter pronuncies, cave. Adeòne legum nescius ac rudis es, ut ullam rem difficiliùs probare te posse sine duobus testibus arbitreris? Sed minitaris deinde; "siquando prodibit viri summi posthumus liber, Miltonius sentiet mortuos quoque mordere." Vos ipsi existimare potestis, qui vivum non pertimui, eundem mortuum quàm non reformidem.

Æternum latrans exangues terreat umbras.

Si mordacem in me mortuum emiseritis, scitote neque melle neque mulso placatum à me iri. Cognoscetis an et ego λόγον ἐπιτάφιον commodè possim scribere. "Dii boni," inquis, "quam niger est Miltonius, si fides Salmasio?" at ipsam inferorum fuliginem si secum trahat, me, Deo benè juvante, denigrare non poterit. Tu Salmasii in me convitia ut lætè nunc refers! quasi pulmentum ægroto tibi hoc esset: contra illa convitia cùm ego me, ut par atque æquum est, defendam, tunc tuum illud triste et querebundum rursus audiemus, "Lege et luge;" et illi "Dii boni" tui tunc rursus fortassè implorabuntur. Sed dic, quæso, sacrosanctæ theologiæ doctor, quos tu Deos bonos colis? vereor ne catechumenus hic potiùs, quàm doctor dicendus sis. Docent sacræ literæ unum esse bonum Deum. Tibi si Dii boni sunt, erit fortassis et bona Dea; cujus tu sacerdos et mystagogus Corybantem in me nunc agis. Ego quæ in Morum attuli, quanquam tu "falsissima esse" præfidenter affirmas, sciunt illi esse vera, qui rebus omnibus interfuere, quique nullum Genevæ Crantzium eo tempore cognoverunt. Hoc sanè miretur quispiam si hæc Mori fides publica est, quo pacto, quòve nomine tua ista privata fides huc nobis ex grabatulo in præfationem irrepsit. Iniquitas certè in me tua fidem de illa quam infercis hic tuam in dubium vocat, qui me accusas, quòd "innocentissimo typographo parcere non potuerim." Ergo Vlaccus qui me sibi prorsus ignotum petulantissimis conuitiis adscripto nomine palam appetivit, tibi "innocentissimus" est. Audi ergo iterum, theologe, cui tu sacræ scientiæ vix initiatus mihi videris, audi quam te tuosque mores theologia sacra et sapientissimus præceptor dedoceat: qui absolvit improbum, et qui condemnat justum, abominationi Jehovæ sunt æquè ambo. Verùm haud scio utrum in me ex ignoto factum modò inimicum iniquior, an in amicum ipsum ineptior sis Morum: cujus predicatas virtutes tot vitiis interpunctas, et prope alternas introducis, ut non ornatum, sed maculis tantummodo variatum, non Morum, sed morionem demisisse abs tuis laudibus videaris. Pictor sanè eximius primam laudis lineam cum litura ducis; "semper magnas inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis." Vitium narras, Crantzi, in ministro evangelii quam minimè tolerandum; præsertim cum "iis inimicitiis ipse," quod fateris, "nimia loquendi libertate, locum sæpe præbuerit." Deinde est arrogans et Gallicè "Altierus," et Spanhemii judicio et tuo. Hactenus nigro lapillo; nunc vario: "Fœlix ingenium, nisi crabrones irritasset." Æmulos nimirum suos, non ipse aquila, sed ut muscas olim scarabeus ille vespæ filius. "Nullum novit Salmasius nobiliorem genium, si laboris tolerantior fuisset:" Ignavus igitur Morus; et tamen semper genio satis indulsit. Additque ipse Salmasius "variè læsisse uxorem suam:" Unde protervus in matronas etiam Morus; "præter inconsiderationem" quoque "tali homine indignam:" Salmasio itaque judice, quid est Morus nisi morus? Hic autem fateor satis causæ fuisse, cur "ægrum" te subscriberes; manifestò enim febricitas. Qui sic tibi dixisse Salmasium ais, "siquid in" Pontia "peccavit" Morus, "ego sum leno et uxor mea lena." Festivè tu quidem in hoc dramate personarum numerum auxisti, et uberem ridendi ansam, sicuti otium esset, porrexisti. Verum siquid hujusmodi Salmasius amico tibi et privatim, siquid incommodius de se vel de uxore familiariter locutus est, id tu, nisi planè delirares, amicitiam saltem reveritus et arcanum domesticum, non tam stolidè hoc in loco effutisses. Sed redis ad laudes, "acutum judicium Mori;" adjunge "inconsiderationem" illam "tali homine indignam," res duas inter se conjunctissimas. "Fœlicitatem in concionando;" et infœlicitatem in scortando: par alterum in Mori laudibus appositissimum. Accedit corollari loco "trium linguarum peritia:" quæ professorem hunc tandem consummat nobis trilinguem; id est, cum supradictis virtutibus paulò plus quàm triobolarem. Cum voto denique finem facis ineptiendi; ut "Deus Christianorum" (modo enim reliquisse "Deos bonos" tuos videris) "hanc mentem inspiret potestatibus, ut hanc scripturiendi licentiam Christianis infamem compescant." Vos itaque priores compescant, à quibus hæc omnis licentia primò exorta est: mihi mei defendendi jus ac potestatem adversus contumelias vestras, uti spero, non eripient. Intelliges tum ipse, quàm ego libens omni hoc genere contentionum supersedeam. Atque tibi jam, ut puto, satisfactum est; idque eò ampliùs feci,

quòd doctorem te sacrosanctæ theologiæ cum amplissimo phylacterio agnoscerem; doctoribus autem mirificè delector.'

Nunc Vlaccum paucis dignemur: nam et Vlaccus responsat, typographus meus, et necessarius jam factus. Responsa hominis breviter collegam, ut perspiciatis quàm bellè quadrent. Es veterator, inquam, Vlacce. Sum bonus, inquit, "arithmeticus." Et tamen queruntur, qui tibi expensum tulerunt, pessimè te numerare. Ego ad probitatis normam te exigo. Hem tibi, inquit, "canonem logarithmicum! Sophistica hæc est, Vlacce, non logistica: perinde quasi idcirco solum arithmeticam didicisses, quod in ea falsi regulam doceri audiveras. Clancularius es, inquam, et obæratus aufugisti. Tu mihi "sinuum tabulas," et "tangentium," et "secantium" crepas. At quibus tecum ratio est, expensi tabulis te urgent: Atque ipsum est quòd sinuosum te nimis, et alieni cupidius tangentem, et male secantem queruntur. "Trigonometriam," inquis, "conversis sinubus in logarithmos artificialem absolvi." At artificia interim tua et versutias creditores luunt: Non trigonometram, sed tetragonum sine fraude cum illis te esse oportuit; non angulos et obliquitates, sed suum cuique metiri ac reddere. De cætero, ad tuam te confessionem ipsam rejicio. Londini, Parisiis, iniqui librarii, iniquum judicium, iniqui judices; tu solus integer et castus: at illi contra te unum omnes cum audientur, vera esse ea quæ de te dixi, nemo non fatebitur. In me autem quàm scelestus fueris, facile evincam. Primùm scripsisti ad Hartlibium, petens, ut mea, siquid haberem, posses excudere; et simul de mea oculorum calamitate, essemne omnino orbus luminum, sedulò et quasi dolens quæsivisti: mox proditorie, cum intelligeres nihil tibi à me excudendum venire, cæcitatem mihi, quam quasi sollicitè modò et dolenter inquirebas, eam statim sceleratè insultans palam exprobrasti. Nam typographus, inquis, sum; "quid ad typographos tam magnæ controversiæ, nisi ut operam suam?" Acutum sanè et typographicum! Non alius quisquam typographis plus hac in parte quam ego concesserim. Num ergò tu famosissimo libello tuum subscribere professum nomen quasi author esses, debuisti? et cujus ex libris lucrari cupiebas, neque nunc primum, ut audio, lucratus es, ejus nomen turpissimis contumeliis maculare, cum privilegio scilicet, licere tibi existimasti? "Bellum," inquis, "erat;" et simul miratur tua vastitas, quòd, facta pace, bacchationes in me privatim tuas et singularem insolentiam impunè tibi esse noluerim. Nescis enim, vappa, quid belli ratio, in causa etiam longissimè diversa, ab temulenta tua rabie discrepet. An siquis existimationem meam privatùs per causam belli famoso libro violaverit, ea mihi injuria devoranda est, ut ne possim, cùm visum erit, me justa et expectata defensione vindicare? "Non me puduit," inquis, "quanquam ignominiosè accusatum, alteram editionem adornare." At non omnes tibi similes sunt, Vlacce, ut non pudeat fidem, pudorem, omnia lucro postponere; cujus fœda cupiditas adeò vilem tibi et abjectum animum ingeneravit, ut tuis ipse typis teipsum graphicè nebulonem depinxisse non erubescas; eodemque tempore mihi maledicere, et meis ex libris quæstum facere. In quo quid cani similius fieri abs te potuit? cujus ego allatrantis capiti, cùm os illud vehementer inflixissem, exclamas tu quidem et quæritaris; mox ut esculentum esse comperisti, reversus blandulè, rodis simul et liguris. Tu verò mea ut non omninò attigisse debuisti, aut non corrupisse; nunc inimicus librum meum non solùm excudisti, sed ultione vilissima deformatum ac mutilatum et adversariis hinc inde obsessum exposuisti: quorum alterum rapacissimam lucelli cujusvis aviditatem tuam, alterum et tuam singularem militiam et tuarum mercium improbitatem declarat. Hæc tua sunt, Vlacce. Nunc remoto te circumpedo herum tuum aggredi tandem ab latere aperto liberiùs licebit. Qui quamvis non modò intus turpis, et sibi conscius, sed foris jam penè omnibus manifestus atque perspicuus sit, tamen cùm in audacia positam sibi esse spem unicam statuerit, absterso ore, ut in proverbio sacro scortum illud, et assumpta non solum viri sancti oratione atque persona, sed sapientissimi quoque titulo Ecclesiastes novus cum mala cruce, et sacrarum literarum professor profanus incedit. Adeò ut mirentur omnes in quo summa esse tot vitia reperirentur, in eo illa omnia potuisse ab impudentia tam longè superari.

Ego verò eorum quæ de te scripsi, More, cum "affinxerim" sanè nihil, affirmaverim autem ea quæ et creberrima passim fama, et mihi privatim testibus idoneis essent cognita, utrius hoc nostri "ad sempiternum dedecus" futurum sit, non id tuum, quod tamen tibi arrogas, judicium erit, sed, Dei voluntate, hominum integrorum sententiis dirimetur. Tu interim præfationis mihi (quid enim "tui præfatio" si nondum assequor) vel "vanissimi" vel "mendacissimi," quanquam uberrima tibi mendaciorum copia est, mitte "comparare." Testimonialium ut sis tibimet callidissimus æruscator, præfationum tamen coactorem te mihi nolo. Nam quod ais, quæ de te protuli "ejusmodi esse, nemo ut sit eorum quibus paulo propius innotuisti, quamvis iniquior esset, quin falsitatis perpetuæ coarguat," id usque eò veritati planè contrarium est, ut eorum qui te "propius" norunt, multi nuntiis, non nemo literis questus mecum sit huic me argumento facinorum tuorum tam uberi et copioso parùm satisfecisse; tantum abesse, quicquam ut finxerim, ut permultas, præclaras etiam, tuas res gestas silentio præterierim: se, si adfuissent, quod et optabant quoque nonnulli, largiore me palmarum tuarum accessione et copia facilè fuisse instructuros. Tuum ergo illud "miserere," quo tu et operarius tuus, par bipedum odiosissimum, "misereri meam vicem" vultis ridiculè videri, vobis vestrisque vicibus moneo reservetis, ego à me procul arceo: miserationes improborum cujusmodi sint, didici. Nam quid est, obsecro, quod miserationem hanc vestram inhumanam tandem commoverit? quòd "in te" nempe "hominem immeritum grassatus sim." At ô gemina impudentia, et consciorum par callosissimum! vosne ut audeatis vos "immeritos" asseverare, nisi fortè vocis ambiguo colluditis, quorum alter Clamorem illum infamem atque infandum edidit, alter excudit, uterque divulgavit? Discant hinc omnes, quæ vos "cum bono Deo" affirmare soleatis, quam sint pro nihilo habenda. Nec precationem feliciùs, quàm miserationem adscivisti; ut ad "justam no-

minis tui defensionem aggredienti veram et verecundam suggerat tibi Deus orationem, ab omni mendacio et obscœnitate prorsus abhorrentem:" Alterum enim nunquam es præstiturus, ut mendaciis abstineas; alterum iniquissimè precaris, ut cùm tua facta obscœnissima sint, orationem suggerat tibi Deus factis abhorrentem: quod contrà precari debuisses, ut suggereret tibi Deus non verecundam, sed obscœnam: sic enim tua facta verbis saltem propriis et non mendacibus Deo atque hominibus confessus esses; sic non hypocritam egisses; quod Deo longè gratius fuisset. Nunc non Deus te, sed tua illa Dea audit Cotytto, sive ea Laverna, sive utraque est, labra tacitè moventem:

> "Da mihi fallere; da justo sanctoque videri ·
> "Noctem peccatis, et stupris objice nubem "

Quæris quî sciam quæ tu tecum? Dicam. Vocale quiddam, si nescis, omnis, totusque homo est: non lingua, non vox hominis sola loquitur; vita ipsa, mores, facta, quid quisque velit, tacente sæpius lingua, clamant atque testantur. Tu itaque hæc tacitè; illa clarè; "Orationem videlicet ob omni mendacio et obscœnitate prorsus abhorrentem, hoc est inquis dissimillimam tuæ." De hoc utroque sigillatim à me tuo ordine respondebitur. A mendaciis exordiris: "nam ut hinc," inquis "ordiar, quid mendacius ipsa fronte libelli tui? quem," nescis quare, Defensionem Secundam pro Populo Anglicano vocem; "re quidem vera" inquis "teterrimam contra me satyram et ventosissimum panegyricum à te dictum tibi." Næ tu mendacia jejunus admodum et esuriens, sed inani morsu captas, si toto libro nihil mendacius ipsa fronte invenire potes. Quam ego et veracem esse, et per omnia libro consentaneam facile demonstrabo; quid enim appositius, quid accommodatius ad defensionem populi Anglicani, quàm si ejus vitam et mores turpissimos esse convincam, qui probrosissimo libello edito populum Anglicanum tanta injuria lacessisset? eum te esse confirmo. Quid si digressus aliquoties essem, et in materia præsertim tam trita et sæpe tristi lectoris nonnunquam recreare animum aliunde experirer? Tùne adeo pressus et minimè laxus homo es, ut latum unguem ab argumenti cancellis discedere quoquam licere non putes? quæ lex rhetorum tuorum digressiones istiusmodi reprehendit? Ego si exemplis, quod possem, oratorum illustrium explicarem quid hac in parte liceat et usitatum sit, efficerem ut appareret statim facili negotio, quàm tu harum rerum rudis atque ignarus sis. Nec solam satyram, quod ais, in te scripsi, sed ut perspicerent omnes, libentius me et multo studiosiùs bonos collaudare, quàm malos vituperare, clarissimorum aliquot nominum laudes, qui vel patriam armis et consilio egregiè liberassent, vel mihi saltem facta eorum defendenti favissent, (cum id etiam causam cohonestaret,) et passim admiscui, et plenius introduxi. Atque adeò ne hoc quidem, quòd serenissimæ Suecorum Reginæ gratias potiùs, quàm laudes persolverim, tu unquam ostenderis à defensione pop. Anglicani, cui illa impensè existimata est favisse, alienum fuisse. Quid si, quod objectas, me denique laudassem aliquantisper digressus? quis ea tempora, eas persæpe causas incidere non fateatur, ut propriæ laudes etiam sanctissimis modestissimisque viris indecoræ non sint, nec unquam fuerint? hunc etiam locum uberrimum exemplorum illustrare copia si vellem, equidem me omnibus facilè probarem tu obmutesceres. Sed me nusquam laudavi; nec, quod criminaris, panegyricum à me mihimet dictum usquam invenies. Singulare quidem in me divini numinis beneficium, quòd me ad defendendam libertatis tam fortiter vindicatæ causam præter cæteros evocasset, et agnovisse fateor, et nunquam non agnoscere debere: et præclaram hinc minimeque culpandam, ut ego quidem arbitror, exordiendi materiam sumpsisse. Petitus deinde ab illo Clamore Regio convitiis omnibus atque calumniis, et infimorum numero habitus, non me laudibus, quanquam id nefas non erat, contra adversarios despectores, sed nuda ac simplici rerum mearum narratione contentus, tuebar: id populi Anglicani quem defendebam, quanti interesset, uti ego meam existimationem non planè abjicerem nec obtrectandam quibusvis et obculcandam relinquerem, præfatus antequam mei facerem mentionem sedulò ostendi; offensionem denique si cujus fortè hac in re incurrissem, haud negligenter sum deprecatus. Hæc tu si propter invidentiam et livorem aut non legere aut meminisse non vis, quid est reliqui nisi ut crepes? nullum enim in fronte libri mendacium, nisi abs te per malitiam atque calumniam conflatum reperietur. Quanto mendacior "Alexandri Mori fides publica?" an te omnia in illo libro ex fide publica scripsisse audes dicere? atqui aut hoc tibi necessariò dicendum, aut libri illius fronti nulla fides est. Ita tu dum in titulo tuo putidus, in meo malitiosus es, aut fides publica frontem per te, aut tua frons fidem perdidit. Pergis de mendaciis "Alterum est," inquis, "authorem esse me libri, cui titulus, Clamor Sanguinis Regii." Quod cum ego verum esse firmissimis testimoniis jam suprà demonstraverim, teque illius libri certissimum curatorem atque editorem, omnium jure gentium et legibus pro authore habendum esse, sequitur ut quæ mei fallendi spe nixus hoc loco vociferaris, quasi author non esses, tametsi infirma per se, atque inania sunt, nunc fundamento illo fallaci subruto, sua sponte corruant atque subsidant: simulque ut totum illud mendacium, illa omnis "temeritas, impudentia, immanitas," qua me per summam impudentiam hinc oneras, in teipsum recidat. Exclamantem itaque et frigentem et tuo laqueo impeditum, te hic prætereo: nugas autem quasdam tuas sine risu non possum; per quas acutius et miserabilius exclamare te putas. "Nam licet," inquis, "ea crimina quæ in me conjicis vera essent, tamen contra jus et fas omne esset, quod nullius in nos authoritatis, quoddam tribunal excitas, criminationes publicè spargis." An nescis ergo, hominum ineptissime, idem hoc tribunal esse, eandem sellam atque authoritatem, jus idem criminandi et judicandi, quod ego vestro primùm Salmasio, mox Clamatori Regio defensione justissima eripui? vestrum ego nunc exemplum atque judicium in vos converto, vestro jure utor; vestrum ipsum tribunal, vestra subsellia, quæ in nos parastis, de vestris erepta manibus in vos justissimè statuo. "Deinde," inquis, "tametsi libri author illius essem, non tibi tamen integrum fuisset tot scommata

nihil ad causam pertinentia huic propinare sæculo." Videte, quæso, æquitatem hominis: Sibi et Salmasio licere vult omnia, calumnias, mendacia, contumelias; nobis vera in illos crimina retorquere, quasi ad causam scilicet minùs pertinentia, non licebit. Sanè qui res, rationesque rerum recto judicio ponderare solent, non dubito quin mecum sentiant, nihil vehementius ad causam pertinere, quàm quali quis vita atque moribus sit qui eam acerrimè defendat. Ego causam Regiam, qui vehementissimè defenderit, si aut corruptum esse aut facinorosum arguo, haud levi argumento impugnâsse me causam Regiam satis intelligo: Si mendacem, si turpem, si perfidum per omnem vitam criminatorem nostrum esse ostendo, eundem quoque in nos esse eò faciliùs fidem facio. Tu interim cùm duo tibi proposueris; "alterum," ut ostenderes "nec esse te libri autorem illius, nec id fuisse mihi persuasum;" alterum, "falsa esse quæ in te conjecta sunt probra," nihil horum efficis; sed dissolutus ac fluens, modò huc, modò illuc vagando, tum eadem inculcando, ignarus quàm in propinquo tibi effusè nunc, pabulanti latens à tergo atque intactus hostis instet, dum nescire me putas quid sit libelli authorem esse, aut quid tu feceris, in eadem perstas vel futilitate vel fallacia. "Quid commerui? quid peccavi? quando populum tuum læsi?" Cavillaris etiam; "quando boves tuos aut equos abegi?" Non tu boves meos abegisti, cacus pastor ut sis; sed alienas oves abduxisti, tuam deseruisti Phryx novus Alexander, vel etiam Cataphryx Morus. At "sciscitari ex amicis" credo poteram, quos isthic apud nos habes, nec "paucos nec vulgaris notæ." Quasi verò ego, qui "divinus," ut ais, "non sum," tuos amicos quinam essent, scirem, qui ante hunc Clamorem belluinum abs te editum, ne vagiisse quidem adhuc te aut infantem natum sciebam. Aut tu planè sensu, vel saltem logica destitutus es, aut ejus rudimenta non sic didicisses, relationes in sensum non incurrere. Itaque et inimicos esse tibi tam multos eosque tua non pietate, sed turpitudine quæsitos necdum audieram; neque ut "ludibriis" tam esses "opportunus," neque ut tu, Veneris nepos, "Junonem" sic iratam tibi haberes: quæ tibi essent infensa numina æque ignorabam, et qui essent Crantzio "Dii boni." "Anni duo sunt," inquis, "ex quo tuum hoc drama exornas." Quanquam hoc perridiculum est, quod optasses nunquam editum, id serò editum queri, et sum ego qui elaboratum rectè atque limatum siquid est, id diu accurasse si dicor, non reprehendendum me magis quàm scriptores quosque optimos putem, qui tarditatem scribendi imputatam sibi à sciolis facilè contempsere, tamen et hoc esse falsissimum ex procemio superioris libri intelligitur, ubi cur maturiùs non respondissem causam reddidi, et errare te vehementer scito, si operis tam ardui fuisse credis vel inanem clamorem refutare, vel te cuivis obnoxium ludos facere. Nec mihi tot subcisivis horulis "dicta illa Floralia," quæ vocas, quot tibi furtivis noctibus atque dieculis facta illa Fescennina stetere. Et "periisset" sanè, hìc enim tecum sentio, paradisus ille tuus, et ficus et morus et sycomorus, quibus nequitiam tuam, quantum potuit fieri, honestè adumbratam quoniam sunt qui rem oculis non visam, factam credi nolint, istius defensionis inanitatem ridens, vel argutè vel contemptim exposui: periissent, inquam, illi omnes non sanè flosculi, sed arbusculæ, nisi tu in horto mœchatus esses: ex hortensi et suburbana cultione tua, non ex urbanitate mea amœnitas ista omnis effloruit. Quod autem "in frontispicio satyræ in te meæ" (quæ non magis satyra est, quàm quæ est Marci Tullii in Vatinium quemvis oratio) "tanquam propylæum operis illustre collocasse" me aïs, "quid Morus Græcè significet," frustrà tu quidem propylæa somnias; non ita eram decori nescius, ut sublime quicquam aut tragicum in historia tua ponerem: Ego tuguriolum illud tuum in horto, tu Palatium illud vetus, in quo hortus ille erat, fortasse cogitabas; et in illa olitoris cellula, haud dubiè Palatinus adulter tibi videbaris. Id ipsum autem Græce significare te dixi quod etsi lingua nulla esset, reipsà te esse nunc dico. Illud tamen negaverim, quoties te tuo nomine Morum appello, "invidiam me velle," quod quereris, "ex nomine facere," et moriam tibi objicere; mihi enim id ferè in mentem non venit; sed professori Græcæ linguæ Græcum etymon Mori ita perpetuò salire per cerebrum tibi solet, ut nemo salutare te possit More, quin tu ab eo te stultum appellari morose admodum suspicèris. Hæc sunt et hujusmodi quæ tu paginis paulo minùs viginti, cùm authorem te non esse Clamoris Regii probare debuisses, nugatus es: in quibus singulis si otiari tecum diutius et morari vellem, ipse Morus essem. Nunc tandem seriò videris velle agere. "Non rumores, non sermones, sed literas testes dabis, admonitum me fuisse ne in hominem innoxium incurrerem." Literas ergo inspiciamus, quas in medium affers "amplissimi viri D. Nicuportii fœderati Belgii legati" ad te scriptas; quas tu, ut videtur, literas non ad probationis vim, quam nullam habent, sed ad ostentationem solùm legendas proposuisti. Is, quod singularem "viri amplissimi" humanitatem declarat (quid enim is non viri boni, qui tui indignissimi causâ tantopere laboraret?) ad Dom. Thurloium secretarium adit, tuas literas communicat. Cum nihil se proficere videret, ad me duos viros nobiles, amicos meos, cum literis iisdem tuis allegat. Quid illi? Literas illas Mori recitant, rogant, et legatum Nieuportium idem rogare aiunt, uti literis tuis, quibus authorem Clamoris Regii negares te esse, fidem haberem. Respondi non esse æquum quod postularent; neque tanta fide Morum, neque id fieri solere, ut contra famam communem et rem alioqui satis compertam negantis de se rei et adversarii solis literis crederetur. Illi, cùm aliud è contra nihil quod dicerent haberent, pugnare desinunt. Si hæc non credis, tute percurre legati literas, quibus ego nunc testibus in te utor. "Optabat eum non invulgare librum:" verùm id mei juris erat et potestatis. "Ne tibi hanc injuriam facerem, ut illud tibi opus imputarem:" At liquere sibi, aut unde sibi liqueret, injurium tibi hoc esse quòd imputassem, non scribit. Saltem ut "nihil vellem inserere, quod te tangeret." Quidni verò te tangeret quod ad te pertinet, nisi id ad te non pertinere demonstrasset? demonstrare autem non potuisse, argumento firmissimo est, quòd cùm Dom. Thurloio secretario idem denuò persuadere vellet, nihil habuit quod mitteret, præterquam idem illud exemplum literarum tuarum; ex quo et illud

facilè perspicuum est, "rationes" illas ad me allatas "ob quas optabat," ne vellem eum librum evulgare, nihil conjunctum cum reipubl. rationibus habuisse. Noli itaque tu literas legati corrumpere: nihil illic de "hostili spiritu," nihil de "importuno tempore:" tantùm "dolere" se scribit "noluisse me rogatu suo tantillum moderationis ostendere:" id est, noluisse me suo privatim rogatu tibi adversario publico rem gratam facere; opus excusum et jam penè editum revocare et de integro retexere. Excusatum me habeat "vir amplissimus," et præsertim legatus, si injurias publicas privatis intercessionibus condonare noluerim, nec sanè potuerim; multoque minùs eas injurias Clamoris Regii, quæ neque ad bellum neque ad pacem recens factam ullo modo spectarent. Bellum illud contra Anglos non contra rempubl. fuit: bellum vestrum non contra Anglos, sed contra rempubl. est. An siquis regiarum partium per bellum Regium quicquam in nos commisit, id per pacem Batavicam à nobis non erit vindicandum? siquis in rempubl. nostram contumeliosè quid scripsit, id post pacem cum Batavis factam non erit refellendum? an per alienum bellum plus Regiis in nos, quàm per nostram pacem nobis in Regios licebit? At non nos cum Regiis ut eorum Clamatoribus, sed cum iis provinciis pacem fecimus, à quibus causa Regia longissimè sejuncta est; eamque pacem in qua de hostibus nostræ reipubl. non modo non favendis, sed ne tectò quidem recipiendis nominatim exceptum est. At enim hoc "intempestivum," et "ἀπειροκαλον fuit quod alienissimo tempore cum omnia hic et isthic festis ob pacem ignibus collucerent," tu solus gelida perfunderis. Equidem non in eo positam ἀπειροκαλίαν existimabam tu lautus homo ista meliùs: doleo non satis perpensa à me officii momenta in te mei. At graviter peccatum est; tum enim "lætis clamoribus nostrum vestrumque cœlum consonabat." Quasi verò te ardelione et incendiario benè multato, non multo lætiùs illi ignes pacifici et sociales relucerent: quasi etiam "vestrum nostrumque cœlum" faustis clamoribus non multò lætiùs consonet; cùm infaustus et feralis inimicorum clamor compescitur. Quod tu itaque alienissimum tempus, id ego opportunissimum fuisse contendo: nec "obstrepuisse" me, quod ais, "Pacis articulis," sed acclamasse et plausisse. Postremò et me prorsus ignoras, et tibimet intra paucos versiculos manifestò mendax deprehenderis. "Abs te," inquis, "quo factum sit animo non interpretor:" Et statim, quòd "depositis armis, animum retineres armatum." Mirum ni ex eo bello quæstum feci, aut stipendium aliquod navale, qui factam pacem usque eò molestè tulerim. Dicam igitur quod me dicere neque ullum obsequium, neque necessitas cogit. Falleris tu quidem magnoperè, si quenquam esse Anglorum putas, qui Fœderatis Provinciis me uno sit amicior, aut voluntate conjunctior; qui præclariùs de republ. illa sentiat; qui eorum industriam, artes, ingenium, libertatem aut pluris faciat, aut sæpiùs collaudet; qui bellum incœptum cum iis minùs voluerit, susceptum pacatiùs gesserit, compositum seriò magis triumpharit; qui denique obtrectatoribus eorum minùs unquam crediderit. Unde tu nullam in me calumniam mendaciorem aut minùs congruentem affingere potuisti. "At illum rerum cardinem aucupatus esse videor, ut prodeuntibus demum articulis pacis obstreperem." Tu scilicet cardo rerum; in te pacis articuli vertuntur; hunc si attingas, actum de pace est. At quem hominem? quo numero? civem credo egregium, senatorem primarium, ornamentum curiæ: immò ne civem quidem, sed inquilinum, alienigenam, et Scoto-Gallum impurissimum, odiosum omnibus atque offensum, reipubl. hostem, qui si quò expulsus, ejectus, et in rem malam amandatus esset, ne tantillum quidem articulis pacis noceretur; immò satisfieret potius. Tu itaque desine, si sapis, politicari; et pacis articulos cave dehinc mussites, nequis te ex pacis articulis Regii Clamoris editorem ad supplicium poscat. Pollicitus sum, inquis, legato, "nihil indecens exiturum è calamo meo." Neque fefelli; vel siquid omninò illa in parte commisi, in me solum commisi, dum tuos excutere putores, tua tractare inquinamenta sustinui: et, quòd illic etiam præfatus sum, non tam quid me magìs decuisset, quàm quid te dignum esset spectabam. Nec tamen indecentiùs aut acerbiùs in te ego, quàm olim viri gravissimi in improbum quemque ac perditum et concionibus honestissimo quoque civitatis in loco atque conventu habitis, et scriptis palam editis invecti sunt. Verùm ad illud nunc venio quod virum sanctissimum et hujus ætatis longè castissimum offendit Morum; "illoto" scilicet "sermone utor, verbis nudis et prætextatis. Propudium hominis et prostibulum! Tene illota verba reprehendere, qui facta turpissima patrare non erubuisti? Jam non pœniteret profectò, siquid in hoc genere liberiùs paulo dixissem; etiamsi aliud inde nihil assequutus essem, nisi ut elicerem ex te dissimulationem hanc improbissimam, teque personatum omnibus vel hinc palam educerem hypocritarum omnium deterrimum. Quod autem tu mihi dictum libro toto ostenderis, quod verbum illotius, quàm hoc ipsum Morus? sed non in verbo neque in re, sed in te vitium omne atque obscœnitas tota est. Tu fauno quovis aut nudo satyro turpior, bona verba uti nuda essent tuis moribus effecisti. Tuam nulla umbra, ne ficus ipsa quidem, velare turpitudinem potuit. Qui te dicit, tuaque flagitia, cum necesse est obscœna dicere. Itaque si in tuum opprobrium vel nuda verba exeruissem, facilè me etiam gravissimorum authorum exemplo defendissem. Qui ita semper existimarunt, verba nuda atque exerta cum indignatione prolata, non obscœnitatem, sed gravissimæ reprehensionis vehementiam significare. Quis unquam Pisoni annalium scriptori, qui propter virtutem et pudicos mores Frugi dictus est, vitio vertit, quòd in annalibus questus est "adolescentes peni deditos esse." Quis unquam Sallustium scriptorem gravissimum reprehendit, quòd etiam in historia dixit;

"Ventre, manu, pene, alea, bona patria dilacerari."

Quid Herodotum, Senecam, Suetonium, Plutarchum, authores omnium gravissimos adducam? quos tu si negas verba etiam plusquam prætextata, resque satis turpes rebus gravioribus aliquoties immiscuisse, satis declaras te iis in authoribus versatum non esse. Hoc si omni tempore et loco indecens est, quoties tu Erasmo doctissimo qui Roterodami stat æreus, quoties Thomæ Morò nos-

tro, cujus tu nomen tuo commaculas, quoties denique ipsis ecclesiæ patribus antiquis, Alexandrino Clementi, Arnobio, Lactantio, Eusebio, dum obscœna veterum religionum mysteria vel denudant, vel derident, indecentiæ et obscœnitatis dicam scribere debebis? Verùm tu fortassè, ut sunt ferè hypocritæ, verbis tetrici, rebus obscœni, ne ipsum quidem Moseu ista noxa immunem abs te dimiseris; cùm alibi sæpiùs, tum etiam ubi Phiniæ hasta qua parte mulierem transfixerit, siqua fides Hebræis, apertè narrat. Ne ipsum quidem Jobum pudentissimum ac patientissimum, dum meretricem sibi uxorem nudato et prisco sermone imprecatur, si ipse alienæ uxori insidiatus unquam fuisset. Non te Salomonis Euphemismi censorem, non prophetarum scripta tuam turpiculi immò nunnunquam planè obscœni censuram effugerint, quoties Masorethis et Rabinis, pro eo quod disertè scriptum est, suum libet Keri adscribere. Ad me quod attinet, fateor malle me cum sacris scriptoribus εὐθυῤῥήμονα, quàm cum futilibus Rabinis εὐσχήμονα esse. Tuque frustra Marcum Tullium inclamas; qui si "in aureo" illo quem citas, "de Officiis libro," illud jocandi genus elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum arbitratur, quo genere non modò Plautus et Atticorum antiqua comœdia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt, id quod illic legisse poteras, non ille mihi quidem nimis angustos, non nimis severos decori statuisse fines videtur, ut cuiquam difficile sit intra eos fines sese continere; nedum ut ego me non continuerim. Noli itaque tu mihi homo inquinatissimus, de honesto et decoro ineptire; non est tuum, mihi crede; immò tu sic habeto, nihil minùs decere, nihil ab ratione ipsa decori magis abhorrere, quàm te talem, qualis es, lautum sermonem usurpare, aut illotum reprehendere. Sed videris nunc velle rem omnem in pauca redigere: "Non sum," inquis, "autor Clamoris." Non suades. "Res patet, dilucet, eamque pluribus argumentis affirmare tam sit ineptum, quàm in clarissimum solem mortale lumen inferre." Desine ampullas; dic tandem aliquid. "Ipse ego quantum possum reclamo." Nempe nunc denuò; minacitèr modò et regiè; nunc miserè. "Amici non tacent." Ex ore tuo. "Ecclesiastæ admonent." Fide tua. "Legati confimant." Ex literis tuis. Quid hoc omne aliud est, nisi illa initio tua singularis negatio, "Non sum author?" Verùm tu, antequam ad hunc locum pervenisti, jamdiu intelligis miser quo loco res tuæ sint; quos in laqueos te indueris; quibus à me vinculis obses tenearis: nunc quantum voles clama, te non authorem Clamoris esse; cùm omnium gentium leges atque jura, præconem te mihi pro clamatore, procuratorem pro authore tradiderint. Quid nunc authore fiat, aut ubi terrarum degat, nihil moror: vixerit sanè in Gallia, et simul in Hollandia "jucundum fuerit videre," quod narrat ipse, "quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis legati nostri" eo tempore conflictarentur: sit vel Satanicæ minister synagogæ, non laboro; hoc saltem unum benè fecit, quod te tam diligentem sibi tamque fidelem diaconum, non Evangelii, sed infamissimi libelli ministrum reliquit. Age nunc triumphos de me istos, quos ego flebiles tibi efficiam: profer in medium, si potes, mea illa "mendacia, meam illam imprudentiam, temeritatem, audaciam, pertinaciam et impudentiam," meum illud ingens piaculum quòd te Regii Clamoris affirmaverim authorem. Clama quantum potes è longinquo ad populum Anglicanum quem illo anteà nefario clamore edito tam indignè læsisti: nam accedere non audes. Vociferare, inquam, si satis in tuto es; "Quantum te, popule Anglicane, tua de Miltono fefellit opinio!" Hæc enim ipsa dum clamas, dum plaudis tibi, et tanquam elapso gratularis, nescis me lustra tua, et sylvas anonymas indagasse, nescis in plagis te meis esse: sentit pop. Anglicanus me non pœnitendum vel defensorem juris sui, vel venatorem ferarum suarum. En ego te reluctantem obtorto collo, traductum per ora omnium, pestem populi, in ecclesia verrem, cauda non minus, quàm obliquo dente maleficum, in conspectum omnium protraho. Teque belluam pop. Anglicano inspectandam, non ædilitatis, sed defensionis meæ gratissimum munus edo. Tu interea, nequid desit ad triumphum, quem de me, ut putas, deluso atque decepto agis, quòd authorem Clamoris te dixerim, adhibes, ut solet, jocos. Et "frontem," inquis, "immeritò perfricare diceris, tota enim jamdudum frons tibi periit." Noli nunc de me queri; noli "sarcasmos," et "sannas" et scommata," simulata rursus gravitate, reprehendere: memineris ut hi ludi à teipso instaurati et introducti nunc sint; ut reprehensos modò et damnatos ipse nunc revoces. Facetus esse cupis; non succurrit in præsentia: suggeram itaque ego jocos quosdam tuos; et quod triumphum maximè deceat, militares: quique admoneant te temporis cujusdam, in quo frons tua tam validè "perfricta" est, ut tibi tum multo maluisses totam frontem periisse. Meministi fortasse illius diei, immo verò diei, credo, et horæ et loci meministi, cùm tu Pontiam in domo Salmasii ultimùm, ut opinor, convenisti: tu illam, ut copulæ renunciares; illa te, ut nuptiis diem diceres. Quæ ubi è contrario pactum stupro conjugium dissolvere in animo tibi esse videt, tum verò tua innuba, non enim dicam Tisiphone, impatiens tantæ injuriæ in faciem tibi atque oculos, non sectis unguibus, furens involavit. Tu qui teste Crantzio (præstat enim non sine tua fide publica tantum certamen exordiri) qui teste, inquam, Crantzio "Gallicè Altier," Latinè feroculus esses, teste Deodato, "terribiles ungues ad tui tutelam haberes," pro virili tua parte ad fœmineum hoc genus pugnæ te comparas. Stat arbitra certaminis Juno Salmasia. Ipse Salmasius in conclavi proximo decumbens pedibus æger, ut prælium commissum audiit, risu penè moritur. At heu nefas! imbellis noster Alexander, et Amazoni congressus impar, succumbit. Illa inferiorem nacta, in frontem et supercilia nasumque hominis tum primùm supernè peccat: miris capreolis et Phrygiano opere totum jacentis vultum percurrit: nunquam tibi More lineamenta Pontiæ minùs placuere. Ipse plena jam utraque margine genarum, scriptus et in mento necdum finitus, ægrè tandem surgis: sed ne pœniteat te, homo ad unguem factus; non jam professor, sed tamen Doctor Pontificius: jure enim poteras tanquam in picta tabula scripsisse, "Pontia fecit." Quid autem? Doctor? immò codex jam factus, in quo ultrix Pontia sua adversaria exaravit stilo novo. Sensisti puto Vlacci tabu-

las tangentium et secantium ad radium cifrarum nescio quot lugubrium in pelle tua excudi. Tu tùm More "facie non integra" domum te proripuisti; fronte quidem exporrecta, quam vix contrahere jam poteras; superciliosus tamen et caperatus, quippe derepentè multò literatior; et quantum potes, abdis te quoque, reconditæ ut posses dici homo literaturæ. Eho noster Ecclesiastes! ubi es? quid lates? expectant te jam nunc, qui "tibi aures è superiore loco dicenti accommodare" solebant. Sed tibi misero nunc Pontia è superiore loco dixit, tuisque auribus ungues accommodavit. Redde nunc tuum vultum nobis, Ecclesiastes, antiquum sanè et rugis venerandum; cur apocryphus vis esse? cùm ipsa Pontia pontifice canonicus jam maximè sis et rubricatus. Quin etiam hinc critici, inde antiquarii ad fores te inclamant; tui videndi desiderio ardent. Emanavit, nescio quo pacto, novas quasdam inscriptiones Gruterianas apud te esse; alii Arabicas, alii Copticas aiunt; qui verius, Ponticas ex terra Taurica. Omnes uno ore consentiunt pulcherrimas esse oportere, utpote in ære frontis tuæ tam graphicè, Pontiano præsertim onyche, insculptas. Nemini respondet Morus, omnibus negatur, spernit omnium desideria; et delibutus unguentis domi, literas dediscere Pontianas mavult. Hæc habui, More, quoniam te mecum jocandi cupidum animadverti, quo ego tuum de me triumphum velut militari carmine exornatum volebam. Quidni enim pugnas tuas tum maximè commemorarem? quanquam palma quidem erat Pontiæ; illa tibi lemniscos tantummodo reliquit. Etenim quod tuum non est, tibi non attribuo; tametsi tu id toto libro, quasi absurdum meum insectaris, oblitus te procuratione et chirographo tuo fidejussorem mihi factum; oblitus, quod æs alienum tu esse dicis, id nunc legitimè non minus tuum esse, quàm cujum tu esse dicis. Tu itaque cæcitatem cyclopeam mihi exprobrasti; et quòd impudentius est, dum id negas fecisse, iterum facis: Qui nulli tum fuerant oculi, nunc "exemptiles" et "Lamiarum" sunt. "Narcissus" nunc sum; quia te depingente nolui Cyclops esse; quia tu effigiem mei dissimillimam, "præfixam poematibus" vidisti. Ego verò si impulsu et ambitione librarii, me imperito, scalptori, propterea quòd in urbe alius eo belli tempore non erat, infabrè scalpendum permisi, id me neglexisse potiùs eam rem arguebat, cujus tu mihi nimium cultum objicis. Tu itidem is es, qui clarissimum virum, Consilii Statûs tum præsidem, contumeliis incessisti; de quo iratior, quam de meipso, quæsivi ex te quid aliud esset calumniari perpetuò bonos, quam esse diabolum. Hinc tu pulchram nactus hypocritandi occasionem ex Crantziana videlicet calumnia, quasi ego "Christi doctrinam de divortio quemadmodum à theologis explicari solet, diabolicam" dixissem, qui ater modò eras et maledicentissimus, nunc albus repentè factus, et mitis et patiens "agis gratias," quòd "te communi cum cœlesti doctrina convitio honestem."—Hyæna! aut siqua alia est bellua, tam tetra fraude noxia atque infamis; tune cœlestem doctrinam tot tuorum facinorum asylum atque perfugium speras fore? Sed perge quò tendis: si enim theologorum quasvis explicationes pro cœlesti doctrina amplecteris, toto cœlo, ut te dignum est, erras. Quin et Apostoli gloriosum illud cum bestiis pugnandi martyrium tibimet tribuis nequissime; qui nuper non homo cum bestia, sed ipse bestia cum homine, id est cum fœmina, de fide connubiali abs te rupta pugnam tam inhonestam pugnasti. Reversus deinde ad mores pristinos, solitamque jactantiam, dicendo me provocas. "Neque verò," inquis, "mihi tantum derogo, quanquam nihil arrogo, ut te commodius aut faciliùs quàm me putem posse dicere." Concedo equidem, si tibi istum in modum furari licet: hæc enim ipsa verba, quibus copiam tuam venditas, ex oratione Marci Tullii pro Roscio Amerino apertissimè furatus es. Atque hinc puto est, quòd Francofurtanas nundinas librorum tuorum catalogo tam copioso nobis obtrudas cum editorum tum edendorum: ex quibus aliqui sunt quos videre gestiam; et imprimis illum "de gratia et libero arbitrio," ad amicam præsertim illam si scriptus est, cujus tu nunc gratiam, rejecta pro arbitrio Pontia, accommodato forsitan argumento ambis: tum illum "de Scriptura sacra," quorum scriptores multa humanitùs et imprudenter scripsisse ferunt te affirmare: illam deinde "pro Calvino," quem tu veluti prophetam extructo monumento Pharisæus exornas, vita et moribus jugulas: nam quæ "prodibunt" opera tua, quæ "premis et retractas, et ad umbilicum spectantia molitis," ea meritò suspicantur omnes esse turpissima. Illam "de piis fraudibus dissertationem" sanè expecto: nam de impiis abs te factis fraudibus abundè audivimus: enim vero "Commentarius ille tuus," quinam sit in quintum "Evangelium" futurus demiror; nam illa quatuor priora jamdudum factis abnegasti: unde et "Theoremata illa practica" mirè desidero, nam tu in practicis egregius homo sine controversia es; id quod de te tot fabulæ non fabulæ testantur. Ad illa autem "loca Novi Fœderis, et axiomata quibus ex Veteri Novum Fœdus illustratur," Pontiæ quoque notas vellem simul ederes. Et postremò isthuc memineris, te alterum volumen operum tuorum, quod Genevæ in bibliotheca publica etiamnum extat, totum omisisse: uti etiam inscriptiones illas, cum frontispicio mirabili, quas quamvis opus Pontianum, in tua tamen membrana tuas esse, adstipulante etiam Justiniano, rectè dixerim: nam noctes tuas, nescio an Atticas cum Pontia, sive dialogum morillum, alii spurium, alii duntaxat embryonem, qui subtilius non inter libros, sed inter liberos tuos numerandum existimant. Sed properabas credo ad alteram instituti operis partem, calumnias meas. Nam mendacia, id nempe unicum, quòd te authorem Clamoris dixerim, partem tui operis longè maximam tandem aliquando confecisse te significas. Cùm autem leve hoc merito cuiquam videri possit, etiamsi falsa aliqua persuasione imbutus attribuissem tibi librum istum, alioqui nec improbatum tibi, nec tua existimatione indignum, cur unam tantummodo noxam tam verbosè tam iracundè summa cum invidia rei per se levissimæ sic exaggeres atque exagites, perinde quasi in se omnes impietates et crimina complecteretur, nisi jam antea docuissem, id magis mirandum possit cuiquam videri. Sed ea nimirum arx erat unica, in qua spem omnem collocaveras; si persuasisses plerisque te authorem Clamoris non esse, meque mentitum, in altera

parte quam de calumniis vocas, de quibus quod pro te dicas nihil prorsus habes, sperabas te facili defensione usurum contra me scilicet mendacem jam antea compertum, teque omnes vitæ maculas apud longinquos et ignotos hac arte gratis eluiturum. Verùm ego cum præter spem opinionemque tuam te authorem Clamoris tergiversantem licet et reclamantem legitimè arguerim, non dubito quin ad flagitia quoque tua, et quas tu calumnias dici mavis, accuratiùs prout res feret exequendas apud omnes rerum æquos æstimatores fidem integram attulero. Nunc quàm frigidè, quàm invitè, quàm planè sontis in morem vafri ac vetuli has abs te dictas calumnias tractes, quamque infœliciter amoliri abs te coneris, reliquum est ut ostendam. Primùm cunctabundus, et incerto pede à prioribus castris in hæc altera cum multis impedimentis ægrè et ne vix quidem transis: quippe à mendacio non ad alterum mendacium, id enim non audes dicere, sed ad "calumnias" duntaxat et "rumusculos." Itaque ad mendacium illud toties jactatum, modò dimissum atque præteritum perpetuò recurris, cum præsens arguere, siquod esset, deberes: et adversarii quod miserum est, quàm tui securior, in illo errore, quemadmodum credi vis meo, quam in tua nunc apud te recta conscientia multò plus repositum tibi spei atque præsidii declaras. Atqui non meo, siquod fuit, mendacio, sed tua de veritate, siqua fuit, munire debuisti. At enim "authoritate propria meras calumnias intento, quas nullo argumento probo, nullo teste confirmo." Vis igitur dicam apertius rem ipsam? nam te, ut video, præ ista mollitie frontis non perfrictæ, sed inscriptæ modò, pudet dicere; qui ne stuprum quidem aut adulterium toto responso nominare homo pudentissimus et flos castitatis ausus es, ne "vanissimam fabulam" scilicet et obscœnam, id est tua facta "retexeres." Dicam ergo, et quia non abnuis, rerum ordinem sequar.

Est Claudia Pelletta quædam, pellicem posthac nominemus licet, nescio an tuam solùm; quæ, cum ancilla in eadem domo honestissimi viri Genevensis esset, in qua tu hospes eras turpissimus, cum calone et rhedario communis tibi fuit. Ea muliercula, postmodum nupta, quod stupri tecum habuerat commercium adulterio continuavit. Cedo "testes," inquis, et "argumenta." Nugator! quid tu testes ex me ubi non sunt, quæris, quas ubi erant, fugisti? Genevam revertere, ubi horum criminum jamdiu reus factus es. Dic velle te modò abolendæ calumniæ causa judicium his de rebus legitimum fieri; invenies qui tecum libentissimè his de criminibus experiri lege velint; qui vadari, qui sponsionem facere non recusent. Nec testes deerunt. Aderit imprimis Hortulanus ille qui te vidit, cùm in illud tuguriolum cum fœmina solus intrares; vidit, cùm illa Claudia tua clauderet fores; vidit postea egressum te, amplexantem palàm cùm muliere impudica, et usque eò petulantem, ut illum veterem hortorum custodem obscœnum, non ex ficu, ut olim, sed ex moro factum conspexisse existimaret. Aderunt et alii quos viri gravissimi, qui tuum nomen detulerunt, testes in promptu habent. Cujus tu testimonii vim veritus cum dimanasse rem illam sentires quam in occulto patrasse te arbitrabaris, ut infamis ille reus Siciliensis, non jam quid responderes, sed quemamodum non responderes, cogitare cœpisti. et paulo ante ferox judiciique cupidus (nam de aliis quoque multis rebus et antea et tum etiam deferebaris) demissus repentè et consternatus, abeundi licentiam (id quod plerique maximè volebant, ne in rem tam fœdam de pastore suo inquirere cogerentur) quasi jamjam abiturus petisti. Per hanc tu rationem liberatus judicii metu, cùm alibi non haberes quò te reciperes, omni munere cùm Ecclesiæ tùm Scholæ, omnique stipendio privatus, octo circiter vel decem menses in eadem urbe fœdis factis notatus detrectata causæ dictione vixisti: quo nullum majus argumentum contra te esse potuit. Nunc posteaquam oblatum tibi certamen defugisti, tuisque commodis carere omnibus, quàm judicium de illa re pati maluisti, posteaquam tuo ipsius judicio temet ipse damnasti, à me homine longinquo testes et argumenta ridicule sanè quæris. Quinimmò, ut dixi, Genevam revertere; et quando vadimonium illud tam malè obiisti, i sodes ad supplicium quod te illic manet adulterio debitum; si pristina illius urbis religiosissimæ disciplina nondum refrixit. Ad illa verò sponsalitia stupra tu quod attinet cum Pontia, quæ te ubique decantatum et digito monstratum insignem hominem illis in provinciis reddidere, multo minus est cur à me "testes" et "argumenta" postules. Famam ipsam communem, constantem, et illa centum vel potiùs mille ora, si vis, in judicium voca: hæc totidem sunt testes quibus si in foro sæpe creditum est, cur ego de adversario publico non crederem? cur ego solus quæ in ore omnibus et sermone sunt, adversarius tacerem? sed nec testes hic mihi, nec justo numero, nec literæ desunt; in quibus literis et libidines tuæ et illa perjuria quorum ope elapsus ex judicio es, cum horrore ac detestatione maxima narrantur. Sunt et muti testes qui etiam sine voce testantur; illa nocturna itinera quæ Hagacomitis Leidam cucurristi; illi nocturni et furtivi congressus cum Pontia; cum qua tu muliere per causam, ut aiunt, impudicitiæ divortium fecisti. Si tu eam parùm pudicè versatam interdiu cum aliis credidisti, cur alii te continentiorem noctu cum eadem consuevisse crederent? an expectas dum servulum tuum in te producam, nequitiarum tuarum diu conscium, donec, nondum planè amisso pudore, aufugere abs te in bonam frugem conspectæ ipsis oculis libidines tuæ pudefactum coëgerunt? Opus utique non erit servum illum ad quæstionem poscere: Ipse detestatus tanta in Ecclesiastico homine flagitia, latè prædicat. Tu interim ut lectorum, si non aures, at saltem oculos invitare possis, oratiunculam nescio quam infercis hîc putidissimam, historicorum more, lunulis adnotatam, quasi acutissimam nimirum et lectu dignissimam: non orationem, sed chorum quendam Battologorum introductum abs te aliquis putet; amicorum scilicet tuorum, hortantium ut "teipsum verearis;" ut "ungues tuos," quos tibi fatentur "non deesse," ad necessaria magis tempora, Pontianam credo alteram dimicationem, velis potiùs reservare: mecum ne velis "in arenam descendere." Sed perdunt suam operam amici verbosissimi, sua monita præclara, tot curta adagia, triviorum symbola, oleum nempe tuum Battologiæ professor: illis posthabitis me potius usus es consultore adversario, ut responderes cum tuo magno malo.

Non ut "tuum" ego "silentium in conscientiam ne verterem," sed ut conscientiam tuam suo, quod optat, silentio frui ne sinerem. Nam attendite quæso, et cognoscite nunc, si unquam aliàs, hypocritam numeris omnibus absolutum. Videt necesse sibi esse aliquid pro se dicere; se intuetur, quamvis invitus; videt in turpi præter turpe nihil esse quod possit responderi; circumspectat ecquid foris propè se refugii sit, ecquid adminiculi quo inniti possit; ecquid quo se tegere, sub quo latitare; ecquos in societatem et communionem scelerum suorum possit attrahere, ecquem ordinem aut genus hominum suis privatis rationibus illigare, ut causam suam quasi communem communi periculo et aliorum existimatione defenderet; nihil magis idoneum invenire potuit, in quod omne suum dedecus transferret, nihil in quod deonerare spurcitiam suam commodius posset, quàm ipsam Ecclesiam Dei: "Si mea," inquit, "propriè tantum res ageretur, imponere fibulam ori meo et obmutescere poteram exemplo Domini mei: sed universus ordo noster, et Ecclesia Dei per meum petitur latus." O scortum et ganearum antistes! cujus non ori magis, quàm inguini fibulam impositam oportuit; quanto tibi præstitisset obmutuisse, "exemplo Domini tui," cui Christus Dominus silentium cum capistro imperavit, quàm ecclesiam Dei hac tanta ignominia affecisse? Ais "universum ordinem vestrum à me licèt obliquè stigmate notari." A me ais? dic ubi; recita, si potes, locum; nisi fortè quòd ego in mercenarios, id tu in ministros Evangelii dictum putas. Erras More; et aliud fortasse multo justiùs haud absimile conquestus esses; non ego vestrum ordinem obliquè, sed te extra ordinem tua pontifex et obliquo et directo et transverso stigmate notavit. "Ecclesia," inquis, "Dei, cui mea omnia tempora consecravi, per meum petitur latus." Per tuumne latus turpissime? qui tantum abest, ut omnia tua tempora Ecclesiæ consecraveris, ut ipsa Ecclesiæ tempora, omisso nonnunquam matutino concionandi munere, furtivis libidinibus consecrasse haud semel dicaris. Ne repetam quid etiam temporis famosis libellis Ecclesiastes consecraveris. Per tuumne latus? at nihil omnino est quod graviore cum vulnere Ecclesiam petat, quàm tuum ipsum impurissimum, Ecclesiæ tam malè contiguum latus. Hoc si vis intelligi per tuum latus, id est, per tuam turpitudinem, propter tua scelera Ecclesiam opprobriis impiorum peti, macula aspergi, infamiam contrahere, hoc quidem verum esse non diffiteor. Itaque universus ordo tuus, et ministri præsertim Gallici, qui te optimè norunt, ne tuo illo pestifero latere diutius periclitentur, teipsum quantum possunt, tuique contagionem amovere ab se atque depellere conantur: causam ullam aut rationem tuam communicatam sibi nolunt; ne scelerum tuorum atque dedecorum participes fiant: ejectum te ex suo ordine, et exturbatum, ut meritus es, cupiunt; et illam, quam ais "fibulam" ori tuo impudicissimo affigere conantur. Macte estote integritate vestra atque constantia, viri Ecclesia digni; prospicite, ut instituistis, Ecclesiæ puritati, existimationi, disciplinæ exemplo: amovete à lateribus vestris immundum illud et verrinum latus, cujus non solùm ictu Ecclesia læditur, sed affrictu etiam polluitur. Nolite hanc indignissimam contumeliam pati, ut is, cùm flagitiorum suorum nomine meritis conviciis atque infamia petitur, non se peti, sed quasi is, quia cœnum hominis est, idcirco murus et munimentum Ecclesiæ esset, per suum latus Ecclesiam peti dicat. Abigite procul ab Ecclesiæ septis concionantem lupum; vocem illam hircinam tot stupris et adulteriis impuratam, populo verba dantem, imò vendentem, idque è superiore, quod jactat, loco, ne siveritis in sacro cœtu ampliùs audiri. Profectò si Ethnicorum legibus, verbi gratia Solonis cautum est, nequis rhetor turpitudine vitæ notatus, civilem concionem habendi ad populum, ne Atticorum quidem si disertissimus fuisset, jus haberet, additaque præclara ratio est, plus exemplo nocere turpem, quàm oratione quamvis castissima atque sanctissima prodesse, quo etiam nomine Timarchus, vir inter primos illius reipub. accusante Æschine, damnatus est, quanto est indignius scortatorem atque adulterum tanquam Dei nuntium et ministrum, ad Christianum populum sacras habendi conciones jus in Ecclesia perniciosissimum obtinere. Nolite committere, ut magistratus Ethnicus, Deique expers, religiosior atque sanctior in foro fuisse, quàm Christi sacra synodus in Ecclesia esse videatur. Nolite vereri, quem iste scrupulum callidus injecit, si eum quem approbastis, cui sanctas manus imposuistis, cui gregem Dei commisistis, perspectum nunc adulterinum et spurium ejeceritis, nequis vestrum judicium aut prudentiam desideret; neque enim Paulus hac in parte, ut nostis, vidit omnia: illud veremini, si pastoris in munere talem retinueritis, ne omnes non judicium modò et prudentiam, sed religionem quoque et pietatem et gregis denique curam in vobis requirant. Hæc ad pastores de te, More; nunc ad gregem pro me pauca dicam. "Patriæ," inquis, "meæ greges qui pascuntur inter lilia, nescio quam in invidiam vocas." Utinam ne ista lilia, spinas esse aliquando sentiant; verùm non ego tuæ patriæ greges in invidiam, sed tuus Clamor Regius ad societatem sui furoris vocare cupiebat. Quem enim non irritassent istiusmodi opprobria? "maximè omnium Galli nostri reformati, non modo horrendo facto perculsi, sed ejusdem injusta infamia pressi, plurimum allaboraverunt, ut parricidium et parricidas cognoscerent." Hæc et multa alia acerba quidem et planè hostilia Clamor iste Gallorum sub nomine reformatorum, in nos clamitavit: ad quæ omni respondi solum, Gallis etiam reformatis impositam eandem olim necessitatem fuisse, ut suum quoque Regem hostis numero haberent. Verum ego incogitantior (quid enim de me non fatear potius, aut non indictum velim, quod Ecclesias Galliæ reformatas, quas esse scio nobis omnibus charissimas, in invidiam vocare possit) incogitantior, inquam, fui, qui isti insanissimo Clamori vocem ullam Ecclesiarum aut fratrum interjectam esse credidissem. Scimus eos quo sub regno vivant, quibus in periculis, quibus in angustiis Evangelii causa versentur; et tamen amplum hoc sibi esse, si tueri sua queant. Nos ut vel minimam nostra causa invidiam apud suos reges aut offensionem susciperent, nunquam petivimus; ut de nostris factis aut consiliis suum sensum declararent, tametsi fratrum judicia plurimi semper fecimus, tamen ne hoc iis periculum crearet, nunquam

postulavimus; preces eorum, non sententias aut suffragia prodesse nobis censuimus, suam autem erga reges fidem ex suo in nos odio verborumque acerbitate perspici aut probari non arbitramur. Multa deinde præteris, "quæ nimis meum in religione animum produnt;" et sapis: fac et illud quoque prætereas, quòd "te hominem sacris addictum" Cotyttiis, credo, aut Isiacis, non Evangelicis (nisi addictum ita ut devotum intelligis) "adversarium," quod ego mihi honestissimum duco, nactus sum. At enim illi "qui diversum à nobis in religione sentiunt," sic enim tibi prospiciens, Ecclesiæ prospicere videri velles, "ex ista fabula Ecclesiis nostris insultandi ansam arripiunt, quasi patiantur, ipsæ qualia vulgò turpia dictu sacrificulis objiciuntur suis:" et meritò quidem, si patiantur, verùm spes est, non esse passuras: salus certè unica rerum est, si pati noluerint. Si enim patiantur, quæ tu in me tela levissime conjecisti, ea in te ego acutissima retorqueo. "Satanæ triumphus paratur, scandalum infirmioribus creatur, inimicis gaudium, sociis dolor, fidei damnum." Hæc vera sunt non me accusante, sed te impunito. Talem esse quenquam in reformata videlicet Ecclesia ministrum adversarii gaudent: accusat aliquis? multum, mihi crede, de isto gaudio protinus remittunt: damnatur is incorruptis et integerrimis Ecclesiarum suffragiis? Nihil æquè dolent: nam qui presbyterum reformatum flagitiorum incusat, accusat idem sacerdotes omnes et sacrificulos eorundem facinorum sibi conscios: qui illum absolvit, hos multo faciliùs absolvat necesse est. Frustra nos quidem opinionum quarundam et dogmatum, frustra etiam fidei reformationem gloriamur, nisi morum sancta censura pariter quoque vigeat. Non doctrinam tantùm reformatam, sed doctores reformatos esse convenit, si ereptam "sacrificulis," ereptam "Satanæ insultandi ansam" cupimus. "Magnum," ais, "honorem habere me ordinibus Fœderati Belgii, quos indigere putem notore me:" monitore opinor volebas dicere. Immò verò tu illis quem honorem habuisti? quorum existimatio gravissima tam apud te parum potuit, ut eorum de te opinionem fallere turpissimè malueris, quàm flagitiosam vitæ tuæ licentiam refrænare; quique ejusmodi homo cùm sis, arrogare tibi tantum potes, ut existimes tot viros graves atque prudentes te "notore," etiam "è superiore loco" indigere; tuo "admonitu" posse unquam sapere; ut idcirco os tuum è suggesto importunissimum tantæ gravissimorum hominum frequentiæ, et præsertim sacræ concioni offerendum sit. Qui denique apud quos tanto te in pretio esse dicis, iis nihil aliud nisi aut minimum judicium, aut maximam doctorum penuriam relinquis. Minimum profectò ipsi sibi honorem habent, qui abs te doctore et Ecclesiaste meliores discedere se posse crediderint. Verùm tu nihilominus buccam inflas: "Quid nunc, inquis, memorem tot illustres ac principes viros, tot proceres, tot Ecclesias, tot academias, quæ me fovent et ornant, vel optant et exambiunt." Et ego, quid, inquam, nunc memorem tot agyrtas, tot empiricos, tot seplasiarios, tot circulatores, quos Romæ aut Venetiis iisdem penè verbis suas pyxides et pharmaca vendentes, præteriens audivi. Atqui "dum hæc scribo," inquis, "literas accipio quibus ad Ecclesiastæ ordinarii munus et sacræ theologiæ professionem invitor in urbe nobilissima." Nam hoc certè habes, in quo omnes doctores circumforaneos ventalitios ambitione superas. Primùm per amicos tui similes occultam das operam, ut quot potes ex locis inviteris: posteaquam id difficile repertum est, ex quo jam passim notus es, hoc solum (quæ tua animi egestas atque mendicitas vera est) miserè contendis, et nonnunquam perficis ut omnino inviteris, quamvis ea diserta lege et pactu interposito, ut omnino ne venias. Hoc modo invitatum te nuper in Galliam, et ni fallor, Montalbanum, invitatum et Franekeram, vel Groningham intelligo: Harum utram in urbem sanè nescio, in alterutram sat scio: de loco enim fateor nondum satis liquere, de re satis. Hanc demum rationem excogitare coacti sunt homines importunitate tua fatigati et victi, qua et abs te simul tanquam à peste sibi caverent, et tuæ miseræ gloriolæ multo cum risu vela panderent; teque erraticum sophistam et planum tuismet ventis ludibrium commendarent. Sed ne cui forte vanior quàm mendacior esse videaris, in illud nunc incidimus usitatissimum tibi et impudentissimum artificium quoddam tuum maledicendi simul et maledicentiam vituperandi. Quoties enim strenuè conviciando vel ad inopiam vel ad ravim, quasi ad incitas redactus es exhausto penu, dum novum virus colligis, subitò bonus et bellus abhorrere te fingis à conviciis omnibus: nolle te scilicet "luto ludere," nolle "sordes mihi regerendo manus tuas coinquinare; non placere tibi de cane latrante victoriam;" malle te "omittere latrantem caniculam." Quid hæc quæso nisi convicia sunt? quæ dum deponere te dicis, totis viribus intorques; ita caudam atterere et simul ringere idem tibi est: idque ipsum agis, dum agere te negas; usque eò totus ex mendacio conflatus, ut ne verax quidem utrovis modo sine mendacio esse possis: si enim negas te nunc maledicere, quod tu negas, verba ipsa, te invito, fatentur; si fateris, tua eadem verba id ipsum, quod fateris, negant. Quid est, si hæc non est "maledicendi ars" illa, quam tu "Dæmonum Rhetoricam" infamis libelli editor "vocare te" ais "solere?" Sic tu nimirum homo sanctus et veriloquus, "Christum didicisti et doces:" id est, dum latrare te negas, mordes. Tibimet tam apertè mendax, in me ut sis religiosior, non expecto: tentas, ut video, omnia, captas omnia; siquem fortè rumusculum, aut susurrum aquilones cum fugitivis famigerantibus ad vos perferunt, aures arrigis: Hinc illud, "non is es," inquis, "de quo mentiri fama vereatur;" minùs quidem tu hic subdolus es, quàm soles. Famam etiam mendacem mihi minitaris; dici nempe "me aliorum ingenia ex moribus meis æstimare, nulli non vitio quod insequor obnoxium." Ergo ego scortator, ut fama mentitur, ergo adulter; hæc enim in te crimina insector. Fac sanè periculum famæ; age, insimula, dic, siquid habes, audacter et clare; tempus, locum, nomina simul ede; quod ego in te facio. Dic cum qua Claudia Pelletta, dic cum qua Pontia, dic siquo in horto, siqua in domo, noctu an interdiu, siquod in judicium adductus unquam sim, siquod unquam recusaverim: hæc tibi omnia dicenda sunt, hæc ego in te omnia demonstravi. Invenies profectò me ad injurias meas

tuaque crimina persequenda attulisse hanc dicendi libertatem, et anteactæ vitæ meæ certissimum indicium atque fructum, et agendæ posthac firmissimum propositum. Nunquam me libertatis hujus pœnitere audies, ut Lucium Crassum pœnituisse olim ferunt, quòd Caium Carbonem unquam in judicium vocavisset; cùm hac sua severitate præcisam sibi aut circumscriptam in posterum liberius vivendi veniam apud omnes arbitraretur. Is Caium Carbonem civem improbum in judicium senatûs populique Rom. vocavit: ego te, More, et meo et pop. Anglicani nomine, quem tu infami Clamore edito prior lacessisti, illo Carbone multò nigriorem, judicia patria detrectantem, sæculorum omnium judiciis trado. Quid tui interim famigeruli de me mussitent aut loquantur, unicè securus. Tu senties eam esse vitæ meæ et apud me conscientiam, et apud bonos existimationem, eam esse et præteritæ fiduciam et reliquæ spem bonam, ut nihil impedire me aut absterrere possit, quo minus flagitia tua, si pergis lacessere, etiam liberiùs adhunc et diligentius persequar; teque simul tuasque etiam famæ quas meditaris corruptelas et perspexero facilè et risero. Interea, ne cui dubium sit, quin tu omnia pervestigando nihil prorsus in me habeas quod verum crimen sit, aut si haberes, quin ad cupidissimè statim et malitiosissimè diceres modisque omnibus amplificares, videamus quàm non crimina quæ sint, des crimini; etiam rectè facta quàm odiosè calumnieris. Primùm "cur Clamori autoris anonymi responderim" quæris, "et non tot aliis qui nomen ediderunt suum." Quis adversario tam aliena et inepta interroganti rationem redderet? ego tamen ut quàm æquanimiter tecum agam, videas, reddam. Cur Clamoris authori responderim, rogas? quia jussus, inquam, publicè ab iis quorum authoritas apud me gravis esse debuit: vix alioqui manum admoturus. Deinde quia nominatim læsus: nam et tu hîc, quamvis id minimè velis ut existimationis aliquam meæ quoque rationem ducam, veniam vel invitus dabis, quam omnes boni dant, scio, libentissimè. At cur "non aliis," inquis, respondisti? "Clamant et illi, nec minus fortiter:" rursus respondeo, ut prius, quia ad rationes publicas non vocatus non accedo. Deinde, quia non læsus; nam et hoc, quamvis tu id maximè velles ut impunè tibi quenquam lædere liceret, non est leve. Deinde quia ex vestro ipsorum judicio tantum Salmasio tribuimus (quem defensorem Regium, quasi solus is esset et instar omnium, nominare soletis) ut post illum posse quenquam alium dicere quod momenti esset non existimaremus. Vis plura? quia liberum erat; quia non vacabat; quia denique homo sum, humana mihi latera sunt, non ferrea, tu licet Alexander ærarius sis. Aliud quiddam opus est, ut mihi videtur, quo tot importunis Clamatoribus ora melius obturentur. Quàm multa tuus ille Stentor anonymus clamitabat, quæ à Salmasio clamata priùs et conclamata erant? quibus ego toties repetitis, quamvis cùm miseria ac tædio sæpiùs respondissem, tamen quia cum isto vociferatore verboso certare ubique non libuit, "languet" tibi scilicèt "oratio mea, quoties pro populo dico:" tibi, inquam, cui "Gallica nive frigidius est" non esse tautologum. De me si accuratiùs dixi, non eò id feci, quo ego minùs populo quàm mihi studerem, sed propterea quòd tuus Clamor tum quidem novum aliquid suppeditabat, unde possem ab odiosa crambe vestra nonnunquam respirare. Quod itaque facetè inquis "non immeritò Defensio pro Populo secunda dicitur;" quoniam id faustum est, ex ore præsertim adversarii, omen accipio. Tu licèt novum quotannis clamorem edideris, rumpas te priùs licebit, quàm Clamorem secundum edidisse dicaris. Alterum meum crimen est quòd in laudes Reginæ Suecorum serenissimæ per occasionem ab adversario ipso datam, digressus sum: et inter alia dixeram (satis modestè quidem ut opinor) nequid adtribuerem mihi quòd Reginam contra Regiam, ut videbatur, causam, tam mihi faventem reperissem, nescire me planè qua mea sorte id evenisset: malebam ad sortem, ad sidera, ad, siquis est occultus vel animorum vel rerum, consensum aut moderamen, quàm ad meum quicquid erat vel ingenii, vel acuminis, vel copiæ referre videri. Hanc tu calumniandi simul èt parasitandi materiam nactus, fremere exemplo, quasi indignum hoc esset; et "lutum" illud in visceribus tuis concretum, in ore mox tibi, ut frequentissimè solet, fluitare. Age, despue; quid est? "eam," inquis, "propterea tam importunè laudabas, ut cum ea te componeres lutum." Tune Morus es an Momus? an uterque idem est? utro te nomine appellem dubito: quis enim præter Morum aut Momum tam sinistrè ac perperam interpretatus hæc esset? quod ullum dictum modestissimum hæc tanta malitia non depravaret atque perverteret? Tum illud simul depromis ex peculio tuo servile et parasiticum; "nesciebat Christina se tibi esse tam familiarem." Tene scabellum hominis ex tuis loculis et immunditiis Christinæ suggerere quid nesciat, aut quid dicat? atqui sciebat se illa pro sua singulari in literatos benevolentia Salmasio familiarem; cui me tamen arbitrio suo liberrimaque sententia haud semel dicta est prætulisse. Sed "hoc unum," inquis, "Regina non meruit abs te laudari." Abs te ergo illaudatissime? concedo libens! quis enim obstare potest, si tibi modò libeat vel invitissimi cujusvis laudes contaminare? experire sanè; persequere modo istud, quod veluti specimen laudationum tuarum egregium hoc loco inseruisti; "quam supra mortalitatis modum inusitata naturæ vis, et stupendum ingenii lumen evexit." Perge, inquam, et macte isto ore: ab isto exorsu quantumvis in sublime evoles per me licet: isto enim tenore, si perrexeris, mirificum tu quidem fastigium ac propè nubiferum tam altis substructionibus impositurus videris. Mihi, fateor, non placet sic altè insurgere; unde statim necesse erit, vel ridiculè ruam, vel inter nubes frigescam. Attamen "iis," inquis, "dotibus insignis es, quæ possunt etiam heroibus animum laxantibus placere." Esto; sunt et tua dotes et præsertim scripta, quæ heroibus placere quiddam aliud laxantibus, possint. Et in primis ista tua quæ sequitur sapientissima et ministello te digna ad typographos conciuncula; quam idcirco prætereo: nam ad tertium jam crimen meum perveni; quòd dixerim nimirum, uno cum famulo me peregrè fuisse. Crimen grave; quo ego nomine haud uno in loco perstringor: id scilicet nefas erat meminisse, ne versificatores vestri, qui ex egestate nescio qua emersisse me per

hanc rerum apud nos conversionem versificabant, cecinisse falsa reperirentur. Jocum verò hic tuum, quando hæc tam rara avis est, non possum prætermittere. Non equidem vobis "typographis litem unquam intenderim, non certè magis quàm illi servo qui Miltonum euntem peregrè comitabatur." O longè et miserè petitum! quid hac capitis cucurbita facias, ex qua, ut id maximè labores, nullam salis micam potis es extundere. Sed quietus homo et fugitans litium es; itaque non meo sed ne tuo quidem servo intendis, qui domesticæ turpitudinis tuæ fugitivus, secretiora flagitia et nefarias libidines tuas divulgavit. Quartum est, siquidem id crimen dici meum debet, quod tuum est mendacium, "in eodem" scilicet "libro, quem scatere," ais, "discinctorum nepotum festivitatibus, ausum me censuram agere, et graviter concionari de republ. deque civium officio." Quis non germanum te nunc dicat epicureum? cùjus neque in moribus honestas, neque in scriptis urbanitas ulla reperiatur. Mirum non est si hoc nomine facetiis omnibus infensior sis, cùm quia negantur tibi, tum quia te pungunt: non mirum est, inquam, si tibi tam ulceroso sal omnis inimicus est. Id mirum, professor cùm sis, cur mihi succenseas qui sic diligenter salarium tibi curo. At verò quos tu "jocos è lustro popinaque desumptos" falsò ais (nisi desumptos ex lustris idcirco dicis, quòd te illic latitantem extraxerint) eos si cæteri omnes non inhonestos aut illiberales, sed honestos atque urbanos, tuamque putredinem perfricanti sales concessos non negaverint, tum quidem tua professoris insulsi ignorantia, ut persæpe alias, hinc satis manifesta est, qui id parum convenire dicas, quod Marcus Tullius in oratore summum esse statuit, ubi de oratione L. Crassi in Cn. Domitium summa cum admiratione sic loquitur. Nec enim concio major unquam fuit, nec apud populum gravior oratio, quàm hujus contra collegam in censura nuper, neque lepore et festivitate conditior. Et paulo infra, id uni Crasso contigisse ait, ut non solùm venustissimus et urbanissimus, sed et omnium gravissimus et severissimus et esset et videretur. Quin etiam Platoni et Socraticis nihil magis convenire aut decuisse visum est, quàm rebus interdum severissimis intermistus atque inspersus lepos. Hæc ego viris doctis et intelligentibus quin et supra et nunc denuò satis probaverim, non dubito. Te interim non reprehendo, qui "mollior," inquis "debuit esse transitus à naso ad supercilium:" nam digitorum Pontiæ credo adhuc meministi, quàm iste transitus abs tuo naso ad supercilia minimè mollis fuerit. Fœlicem te quidem, si hoc tum mulierculæ persuasisses: sed de oratorum transitionibus, More, judicium longè aliud faciendum est. "At leges scribo," hoc quintum crimen est, "quibus se teneat non populus modò, sed illi etiam qui me præceptore nihil egent." Quid tu mihi quo quis egeat, homo levissime et arrogantissime? tene "superiore ex loco" egent Fœderati Ordines concionatore, me ex inferiore, quod omnibus ex æquo civibus licet, nostri non tam egeant libero hortatore? non est, More, cur ego me natum in mea patria tam inutilem existimem, cùm te in aliena tam arrogantem videam; non est, quam ob rem te mercede concionantem, quàm me gratis monentem rectiora putem posse suadere. Hæc mea quinque sunt peccata mortifera; nam illa septem, opinor, conficere nequisti. Ex quo intelligitur, inania quàm fuerint quæ "condonasse" mihi te dicis, cùm sint tam levia, quæ crimineris. Nisi et illud fortè criminosum mihi vis esse, quòd Deum testem invocarim; et certè parùm abest ut istud quoque in criminibus meis numeres. "Hinc illa," inquis, "nimium sane sollicita protestatio." Quænam ista fuit, More? audies vel invitus; nec illam nunc recito, sed iisdem conceptis verbis (neque enim pœnitet, et hic etiam peregrinationem meam calumniaris) rursus Deum testem invoco, me illis omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuò cogitantem, si hominum latere oculos possem, Dei certè non posse. Hæc tibi "nimium sollicita protestatio" est, More: cui non magis sollicitum est, Deum testem invocare, quàm invocatum pejerare. Quàm multi et quàm multis de rebus te accusent, non ignoras: aude modò, siquid in te integri, siquid incorrupti est, iisdem quibus ego nunc præivi tibi verbis, teipsum defendere. Dic age in hæc verba: Deum testem invoco me ab omnibus illis flagitiis quorum insimulor, integrum atque intactum semper vixisse; me neque Claudiæ, neque Pontiæ, neque ullius omnino fœminæ stupratorem esse aut adulterum. Non audebis, opinor, tametsi facilè perjurus esse diceris, in hæc verba præeuntem me sequi. Verùm si Dei non audes, hominum saltem fidem implora. Genevam, inquam redi, permitte te illic magistratibus et populo; dic illis ut castum et innocentem hominem, falsò insimulatum, deceat: Viri Genevenses, multorum apud vos et gravissimorum criminum accusor; si ita vixi, si inter vos ita versatus sum, ut hæc per idoneos testes et argumenta probari vobis possint, en sisto me; legitimum pati judicium, quod antea recusavi, nunc non recuso. Hoc multo minùs audebis, sat scio: malis tergiversari, ut supra dixi, malis aliunde perfugia et latebras et diverticula veterani scortatoris in modum quærere. Veruntamen "honestam" fuisse illam "orationem" meam fateris; sed "præcedenti parùm consentientem." Cuinam præcedenti obsecro? vellem recitasses: ego enim aliquot retrò paginis pro certo habeo, ne minimum quidem obscœni vestigium inveniri posse, quia tanto intervallo de te nulla fit mentio. Quòd siquem alium locum intelligis, ubi in tua vitia salsè animadversum est, velim te scire, quicquid tu ex "Platone" detorsisti, neque alienum esse neque inverecundum eodem in libro cum acrimonia et sale ("profligati" enim "pudoris" verba nusquam illic reperies) et turpia insectari, et de "Deo cogitare." Sanè si oratoris præceptum hoc verum atque honestum est, in eodem vultu convenire et pudorem et acrimoniam, quidni itidem in eodem ore conveniant? Nullius enim pudentis pudorem minuit vehemens et falsa turpitudinis exprobratio vel etiam irrisio, sed pudorem, in quo prius non erat, impudenti reo nulla res efficaciùs incutere videtur. Tu vide, ut cum pudore et "cogitatione Dei" tua stare perpetua possint mendacia, Ecclesiastes adulterine; qui scripsisse me ais "Romæ martyrii fuisse candidatum; structas ab Jesuitis vitæ meæ insidias." Ad quod utrumque mendacium diluendum opus est nihil aliud,

nisi ut quis locum ipsum libri inspiciat: et cur ea de re aliquid omnino scripserim, conjectura per se assequi nemo facilè non poterit, cui id modò credibile non sit eum "ob flagitia in Italiam profugisse," qui religionis ibidem confitendæ periculum toties adierit. Nugaris deinde multa, et "machæras et legiones" garris Pontiæ mastigia. Verùm hæc satis risimus: nunc luculentam et insignem calumniam quæso attendite; ut cognoscatis qua fide vel in sacris etiam literis, quas cum summa ecclesiæ ignominia profitetur, versari soleat; quàm nulla isti falsario Ecclesiastæ religio sit verbum ipsum Dei sacrosanctum corrumpere, si id commodum sibi fore crediderit. Ego ut refellerem eos, qui grammatistæ aut critico magni titulum et cognomen largiri ineptissimè solent, sic scripseram: Is solus magnus est appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit aut docet, aut dignè scribit. Quis hac verissima sententia offendatur, nisi grammatista? Quid hîc noster professor? id est, inquit, qui res magnas docet, "ut Miltonus de Divortiis," aut dignè scribit "ut Miltonus idem pro Populo, bis magnus." Lepidum sanè interpretamentum, More! et ejusdem planè artificii, quo Evangelii etiam locum illum de divortiis non verbo, sed factis interpretatus es. Licet ob scortationem dimittere vel uxorem vel sponsam: Morus cum desponsata sibi Pontia scortatus est, ergo, licet Moro sponsam ob scortationem dimittere. Vos "O tot Principes, tot Proceres, tot Ecclesiæ, tot Academiæ, quæ hunc hominem fovetis et ornatis, vel optatis et exambitis," evocate nunc certatim hunc vobis, quà sacrarum, quà profanarum literarum interpretem tam fidum et religiosum; ut sacras profanare literas apud vos quà actis, quà commentis suis possit. Vel si id minimè vultis, nam doctorem hunc commentitium longè latèque olfecisse jamdiu videmini, date saltem et concedite hoc palpum tumori hominis et gloriolæ: evocate quæso per literas quàm honorificas ludionem hunc cathedrarium; sed cum hac cautione, si salvi esse vultis, clam interposita, cum hoc urbanissimo interdicto, ut nullo modo accedat. Miros profectò reddet ludos inter tot cathedras, dum professiones et prælectiones et murmura et plausus et Pontias novas sibi somniat. Sed dimitto nunc hominem, quia me prope dimittet. Aliò se vertit; imò verò "quò se vertat," non habet. Simulat velle nunc de vita et moribus suis causam pro se dicere. Exordiri jam putares hominem, et velle aliquid præfari; cùm in ipso statim præfationis vestibulo, elusa omnium expectatione perorat. Tam tenue se esse argumentum, tam turpe etiam dum reperit, vel ipsa rerum inopia subitò exarescit, vel ipsa fœditate perculsus et quasi sideratus obmutescit: Vultus, vox, latera deficere videntur; animus tamen veteratorius, et ut dixi antea, indurati utroque jamdiu foro veteris et crebri sontis artes non deficiunt. "Quò me vertam?" quò te vertas, miselle? quis unquam nocens reus demissa barba sordidatus et squalens tam miserabili prooemio deprecatus unquam judices est? quo te, si innocens, si insons, si tutus undique tibi esses, quò te, inquam, nisi ad te verteres? tecum loquerere, te consuleres, extra te ne quæreres? Sed heu miserum te! discordia tibi tecum gravissima jamdiu est. Nihil tibi invisum magis, quàm tecum habitare, apud te esse; neminem libentiùs, quàm te ipsum fugis. Frustra: tecum enim fugis miser, te sequeris: Quod agitat intus est, intus et flagellum et tortor argus ille tuus, qui te semper non "Junoniis," quod quereris, "artibus," sed piaculorum tuorum oestro agitatum, cinctus mille oculis ac testibus persequitur. Quid nunc agas? nam æstuantem te misere et pendentem video. An "tuas ipse laudes vesanus decantares?" vesanus profectò sis, si id suscipias; vesanus, si id unquam cogitabas. "Vitamne conscribas et facinora omnia tua?" pervellem equidem; sed vereor ne non "Morus," sed "Florus" nimiùm in tuis floralibus, id est, multo brevior quàm par esset, futurus sis. Vereor ne invideas nobis tot lepidas fabellas, qui unam solùm "retexere," hortensem nimirum illam, tantopere gravatus sis. Sanè qui illas lites Junonias omnes, qui illa jurgia Salmasii prætermiseris, qui prælium illud nobile Pontianum mihi tantis rebus parum idoneo reliqueris, qui denique totam illam Pontiæ Sestiada sicco pede prætericris, præteribis opinor silentio Tibaltianam quoque illam, et illius nuper domus calamitatem, ubi tu procax in ancillam, proditor in herum extitisti: nam ancillis, ut videtur, quocunque vadis, nullum abs te refugium est. Tacebitur et vidua illa quam tu, solatii tum plenus, nunc inops, cum de marito recens mortuo velle consolari præ te ferebas, ejus pudicitiam tentasse diceris: Nec dices credo qua domo egredientem te cum scorto intempesta nocte Amsterodami illa mulier vidit; quæ delinita primùm pollicitationibus tuis, mox decepta, novissimè nomen tuum ad presbyteros detulit; qui tuum nomen recipere, quod ob priora facinora ejiciendum ex suo ordine et circumscribendum statuebant, ne aucto scelere, cùm augeri pœna tua non posset, augeretur ordinis infamia, recusarunt. Quid ergo? "an quæ fecisses uno cum servo itinera" nocturna illa nempe Hage Leidam "posteris narrares?" ne hoc quidem sat scio, voles: verùm illa servus ipse passim copiosè narrat, et permulta alia præclare abs te gesta: cætera jam tritissima plurimisque per ea loca testibus confirmata. Age vero; post dubitationem sanè miseram quæ te perplexum tamdiu atque suspensum tenuit, post tui fugam, quò tandem fugis? quo ad extremum te recipis? "fidei," inquis, "publicæ monumenta consulamus." Acta tua credo jam publica, quæ in bibliotheca Genevensium enumerata centum prope articulis, tuorum scelerum monumenta posteritati servantur. "A Geneva exorsus," inquis, "fabellam nescio quam poetarum authoritate subnixam instituis." Ferax tu quidem sæculum poetarum dicis, qui tot una in urbe, tibique omnes infestos quæraris; nigrum te aliquem oportet esse, ipsoque moro nigriorem, quem tot poetæ oderint; festivum quoque hominem, qui quorum authoritas testium te jugulavit, eorum nunc poeticam iniquiorem in te causeris. Verùm ista te festivitas nihil in hoc tempore adjuvabit. Permulti sunt in illa civitate viri honestissimi, nonnulli presbyteri, doctores, ministri, nescio an poetæ, qui fabellam tibi hanc in foro agere cupiunt; qui non sua carmina recitare, sed tua crimina pro testimonio dicere parati jampridem sunt. Nemo sic unquam poetam recitantem, ut tu hos omnes contra te testantes et fugisti et fugies.

Adeone verò singulari impudentia occaluisti, ut institutam in te legitimè accusationem testatissimam, cujus vim atque authoritatem cùm sustinere non posses, discedendi, et veluti in exilium abeundi licentiam exorasti, hanc tu quasi " fabellam nescio quam" eludere et uno verbo leviculo sic amoliri abs te posse, existimes? At " permulti sunt," inquis, " in hoc Belgio, qui me Genevæ familiariter usi optimè omnium norunt quàm non ibi nullo in pretio fuerim." Audi igitur quæ sint honestissimorum hominum de te judicia primò Genevæ, deinde in Belgio. Duorum verba ipsa ex literis desumpta, in medium proferam.

Literæ Genevæ datæ pridiè Id. Octob. 1654.

Mirari certè nostrates satis non possunt, ita te interiora ignoti aliàs hominis nosse, tam nativis coloribus depinxisse, ut ne ab illis quidem, quibus familiarissimè usus est, tota hominis histrionia vel certiùs vel feliciùs potuisset adumbrari: unde hærent meritò et ego cum illis, quâ fronte ἀναισχυντος licet homo et oris improbi, in publicum rursus theatrum prodire sit ausurus. Illud enim summum fœlicitatis tuæ hac in parte compendium, quod non vel ficta vel ignota aliàs hominis scelera attuleris, sed quæ omnium et amicissimorum etiam ore decantata, integri cœtus authoritate et assensu, immo plurium adhuc scelerum accessione luculenter possint corroborari.

Et infra. Credas velim vix ullum hîc reperiri amplius, ubi multos annos publico munere, sed cum summo hujus Ecclesiæ dedecore functus est, qui prostituti pudoris homini patrocinium suum vel audeat vel sustineat amplius commodare.

Hæc sunt eorum voces, qui penitissimè te nôrunt: quam turpem tui memoriam Genevæ reliqueris, hæ literæ, aliæque benè multæ si proferrentur, docerent. Nunc in Belgio aliisque locis qua fama sis, " quo in pretio," cognosce. Viri probatissimi tibique noti non literas solùm, sed quoniam abs te priùs nominatus, idque in tua causa, atque laudatus est, nomen quoque edam. Is est vir gravissimus Joannes Duræus; qui dum Ottoni sola fide nixus interponit se, mecùmque agit, ut innocentem te scilicet missum facerem, non potest non fateri simul quàm longè alia de te cæterorum penè omnium existimatio, aliusque sermo sit.

Ex literis Duræi Basilia, Octob. 3. 1654.

Quod ad Mori vitia improbitatemque attinet, non videtur Ottonus ita de eo sentire: scio tamen alios pessimè de eo loqui, manus ejus in omnes pene, manus omnium in eum esse, plerosque etiam Gallicæ synodi ministros dare operam ut ei pastoris munus abrogetur. Neque hîc aliam Basileæ reperio de eo hominum opinionem, quàm quæ in Belgio est eorum qui eum minimè amant.

O pulchrum elogium! quo tu omnium penè mortalium judicio Ismaeli hosti Ecclesiæ, quàm ministro pacis et evangelii similior judicaris. Hunc tuæ ubique gentium existimationis testem integerrimum, si potes, rejice. Mihi credulitatem desine objectare: " Nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt," tua tibi verba regero. Hæc cùm ita sint, perficiam haud multo negotio, ut intelligas, quàm exiguum tibi in aliis præsidium sit, cùm tam exiguum tibi in teipso fuerit. Quod enim potest aliena fides testimonium de te aliis perhibere, cùm tua fides perhibere nullum quod juvet aut cui confidas, de temetipso possit tibi? Et videte quæso quàm dissoluto animo, quam abjecto desertor sui et perfuga ad patrocinium alienæ fidei ab se transfugiat. " Neque vero," inquit, " tempus teram in eorum sollicita refutatione, quæcunque tu garris." Laudo te læti animi atque jucundi, nihil tu magis sollicitè, quam sollicitudinem ipsam vitas. Mea modò " nimis sollicita" tibi fuit ad Deum " protestatio:" nunc tuam non minùs " sollicitam" putas tuorum criminum " refutationem." Atque ego si duntaxat " garrio," haud multam sanè sollicitudinem tua refutatio desiderabit. Ignavissimus profectò sis, aut malè conscius necesse est, cui tam facilis tuimetipsius defensio, tam gravis et " sollicita" videatur: ineptus planè et ridendus, qui nullum tempus inutilius terere te putes, quàm in eo ipso quod ad rem, siquid vides, et ad causam maximè pertineat. Nam " quid proficiam," inquis, " si fabulam hanc penitus retexuero? statim aliam ordieris." Sanè quidem difficile id esset nemini; neque de nihilo te urit ista suspicio. Tanta enim tu solus fabularum sylva es, ut ex tuis unius rebus gestis atque nequitiis suppeditare centum triviis atque circulis unde multos in dies rideant satis fabularum unus possis. Atque adeo hujus fabulæ actum jam quartum peregimus: exit Morus; aliam credo vult personam induere. " Ut semel," inquit, " defungamur, quod fuerit Ecclesiæ Genevensis, quod civitatis illius de me judicium hæ docebunt literæ testimoniales, alia occasione datæ." Ita est; ad elogia nunc transit sua; actus quintus incipit; nova planè persona, sed eodem tamen subtus latente Moro, prodit cornicula, sed et ea quoque personata: miris nescio quot repentè plumis adscititiis atque coloribus ita indutus, ut phœnicopterus nescio quis potiùs, et exornati quiddam monstri simile videatur. Aves Aristophanicas expoliasse hominem diceres; sed mala ave, ni fallor; cum se non jam fabulam agere, sed apologum Æsopicum in se verum demonstrare nudatus intelliget. Cùm enim hasce plumas nec tuas esse, More, et partim obsoletas, quæque sua sponte mox defluant, partim falsis coloribus fucatas, partim dolo, malisque artibus surreptas docuero, dubium non est, quin delusus abs te olim grex avium, nunc factus certior qui sis, de repetundis plumis jure tecum sit acturus; et ablato quisque suo, obscœnam sub phœnice upupam non deplumem te modò, sed depygem demum relinquat: Primæ omnium " literæ Genevensium testimoniales" cristam tibi erigunt: quas illi multò mallent, sat scio, aut nunquam tibi datas, qualis postea evasisti, aut abs te nunquam prolatas. Semper ego quidem de Genevensi civitate, pro eo ac debeo, honesta omnia et sentire soleo et loqui: religionis cultum purioris, primumque studium, in republica deinde prudentiam, æqualitatem, moderationem, constantiam propè admiror; qua se tam arctis finibus, inter vicinos hinc inde potentissimos et imminentes, summa in pace ac libertate per tot jam annos conservat et tuetur: rectiusque in re vix mediocri et meliùs id agit quòd civilis vitæ omnis principium atque finis est, idque populo suo

fœliciùs præstat, quàm summis opibus instructi, summis opinione hominum adjuti consiliis reges maximi servientibus præstant suis. De Genevensibus igitur, quod eorum laudem, et existimationem possit imminuere, non est ut quicquam velim aut queam dicere, etiamsi de his literis testimonialibus ea dicerem, quæ et ab aliis dicta olim ipsi fatentur, et ad me recentiùs allata sunt. Sed necesse non est; non dicam igitur qua occasione sint datæ; propterea quòd ipse non hac, sed "alia occasione" datas esse ait. Non quæram, utrùm summa Ecclesiæ senatusque voluntas honorarium hoc Moro testimonium sua sponte concesserit, an impudentissima hominis postulatio, cùm accusatus gravissimorum criminum nequisset se defendere, ab iis duntaxat abstulerit qui Ecclesiæ pastorumque communi existimationi perperam metuentes, amandare ab se hominem quoquo modo malebant, quàm hæc publico judicio severiùs perquiri, nec sine offensa fortassis infirmiorum palam agitari. Non dicam, id quod multi tamen dicunt mihique confirmant, nec conventu frequenti, nec solito conveniendi die datas hasce literas: ne id quidem dicam scribenti adstitisse Morum; unde illud fortasse "tralatitium," et "exambire" ex elegantiis Mori selectioribus tam in promptu erant; et "rupta concionante Moro subsellia, gemmæque illæ clarissimæ;" quæ omnia usque eo vel cupiditatem scribentis vel judicium non grave significant, ut non solùm nimio laudandi studio laudes ipsas corrupisse, quod vitium ab eo qui totius nomine Ecclesiæ scripsit, quam maximè abesse debuit, sed indignissimum ornare dum studet, non tam vivum decorare, quàm mortuum et putentem illis odoribus differtum funerasse videatur. Non dicam denique illa nomina in conventu subscripta non esse, circum vicos cursasse Morum, et pastores domi singulos adortum, quo sibi faciliùs hasce subscriptiones expugnaret; propterea quòd erant in conventu qui reclamare, qui intercedere, qui obsistere non desinebant, qui sese non audiri graviter conquesti sunt. Nihil horum dicam; quod nonnulli tamen dicunt, etiam qui illo tempore Genevæ rebus illis omnibus interfuere; multi aliis in locis "Deûm hominumque fidem implorantes atque jurati" nulla se "simultate, sed officii" religione commotos, hæc dicere: adeoque illis literis fidem se adjungere non posse; quorum inter primos virum sanctissimum Fredericum Spanhemium, theologiæ professorem et pastorem reverendum fuisse intelligo: Hoc solùm dico, hasce literas, quod idem de literis reverendissimi viri Joannis Deodati est dicendum, ante sexennium datas, multis postea maleficiis ab ipso Moro obliteratas jampridem esse et antiquatas. Nondum increbuerat Claudia, nondum hortus, et illa, ad Claudiam nescio an cum Claudia, Mori suavissima cohortatio;

—Poma alba ferebat,
Qui post nigra tulit Morus:—

Id quod viris proculdubio integerrimis et honestissimis, harum literarum subscriptoribus, quin imposuerit non dubito. At postquam illa cum muliere, primò ancilla, deinde nupta, occultari diutiùs consuetudo istius nefaria non potuit, factus iterum reus, cùm honestam rationem defendendi sui nullam inveniret, et manifestis in rebus teneretur, fractus jam animo, atque id maximè veritus, si judicium fieret, nequid in se gravius consuleretur, quo ipso die pronuncianda de se sententia presbyterorum, deinde magistratuum erat, judicium declinat, licentiam abeundi petit. Illi necessitatem hanc rati se hoc modo effugisse, quam impositam sibi minimè volebant, ut Ecclesiæ ministrum tantorum scelerum damnare, et in homine Ecclesiastico tam triste exemplum statuere cogerentur, libenter assensere. Petit insuper literas impudentissimus homo commendatitias. Id verò postulare ab judicibus suis reum indignè ferentes, prorsùs recusant: ita bonus ille tabellarius permanere sine literis illa in urbe, omni munere exutus, circiter decem menses coactus est: Etesiis credo sacrificans, ut aliquam saltem auram commendatitiam impetrare aliquò posset: Donec multi gravissimi viri ne moram quidem ejus illa in urbe ferendam rati, rursus rem adducere in judicium cœperunt. Id autem cùm ad novas lites, et, ut supra dixi, offensionem infirmorum spectare videretur, consultius tandem visum est, quoquo modo hominem ablegare: rursus itaque dant literas; "non frigidulas," quod antea dixisse me queritur, sed, quod nunc dico, frigidissimas; non ut commendare cuiquam mortalium, sed amandare ab se hominem plane viderentur. Hoc si ita non est, More, postulo mihi respondeas, cur superiores illas Genevensium literas, haud uno nomine jam obsoletas, quæque recentiora facinora tua à me tibi potissimùm objecta, ne attinguut quidem; quæ ego vix attigi, ut minùs mihi comperta, "blasphemias" nempe "tuas in Spiritum Sanctum," aliaque opinionum monstra uberiùs commemorant, cur et illas in quibus parùm sibi de te credi à plerisque subscriptores tui queruntur, cur, inquam, illas utrasque in medium protuleris, has novissimas de medio removeris? Cedo proximas hasce literas post alteram in te accusationem illam gravissimam ab aliis ægerrimè, ab aliis facilè, sed eodem tui removendi animo ab omnibus concessas. Sapies opinor, non exhibebis; non delectant te istæ literæ; ex quibus mutatam de te Genevensium opinionem, refrigerata amicissimorum studia manifestò perspicere possimus; eosque his literis non te laudatum, sed ab se, dummodo longissimè remotum, quasvis in terras exportatum cupiisse. Hæc Mori fides publica est; qua se in Ecclesiam credere, quàm in Spiritum Sanctum planius facit. Quæ reliqua à me dicta in eum sunt neque diluit, neque refellit, ne oppugnat quidem. Sed quoniam, Vlacco fidejussore, tomum insuper alterum fidei publicæ promittit, in quo "virorum aliquot insignium, senatusque et ecclesiæ Midelburgensis, et Amstelodamensis testimonia" dicentur, dum volumen illud, cudendum, puto, in Gallia, excudendum Hagæ-Comitis à Vlacco expectamus, aut ne expectamus quidem, visum est de toto hoc genere testimoniorum pauca disserere.

Magnum ego ornamentum quidem virtutis testimonium publicum esse fateor; argumentum perinde certum atque firmum longè abest ut existimem; nam ut illud omittam quòd virtutis multo difficilior quàm nummorum spectatio est, hoc sanè constat, privatorum privatos mores, et præsertim vitia ad aures gravissimas,

tot alioqui negotiis occupatas, rarissimè perferri. Et testimonium publicum tam qui petunt, quàm qui dant, boni juxta malique ferè sunt; et petunt quidem mali sæpiùs quàm boni, falsa specie proborum induti. Ut quisque optimus est, ita minimè testimonio eget alieno: neque enim facit quicquam vir bonus ut noscatur, seipso contentus. Si commendato est opus, virtutem semper apud se habet commendatricem optimam; si defenso, obtrectationibus nimirum et calumniis haud raró appetitus, eandem circundat sibi integritatem suam, et invictam rectè factorum conscientiam; quo veluti munimento atque præsidio firmissimo, improborum hominum et impetus vanos excipit, et tela frustratur. Contrà hic noster omnia: non enim virtutem, sed opinionem duntaxat ejus integumentum vitiorum, sibi comparaverat: ut retectus, ut deprehensus, abscondere diutiùs improbitatem suam non potest, exors ipse fidei et naufragus ad alienam fidem se confert: quorum oculis antea servierat, eorum nunc manus commendatitias implorat; et singulari quadam atque inaudita hactenùs impudentia, quorum judicium experiri non audet, eorum postulat testimonium. Propterea quòd meamet ipsius sententia damnatus turpissimè discedo, quòd sententias vestras horreo atque defugio, "literas" quæso date innocentiæ, pietatis, pudicitiæ apud vos meæ, "testimoniales." Si hæsitatur, si ambigitur, si ad aliis denique reclamatur rei vehementissimè commotis, quò non demittit se? quo non descendit? circumcursare, ambire, prensare, obtestari, et quò adire non audet, eò amicorum allegationes dimittere. Aguntur fortunæ hominis, agitur caput, existimatio, immò Ecclesiæ, totius et sacri ordinis existimatio agitur. Expugnantur multi, partim fatigati, partim inducti, partim veriti nequid istius ignominiæ in publicum redundaret, partim delictis ignoscere, literato parcere, laboranti consulere suæ bonitatis esse arbitrati. Ita tandem victor iste laureatas literas aufert; ita emendicata quovis tempore vel occasione, non jam testimonia de se publica, quæ si fuissent ipse abolevit, sed sua de publico reportata spolia ad coronam venditat; nec tam laudes videtur suas, quàm pœnitentiam publicam circumferre. Quem enim non pœniteat præconem sese laudum ejus fuisse, qui ad omnes postea libidines tam turpem sui auctionem fecerit: nunc ejusdem sese mangonem fieri, qui servus omnium nequissimus ministrum se licitanti cuivis Ecclesiæ ex hac laudum catasta vendibiliorem, et sacrárum literarum miseris emptoribus venalem se pretii quantivis professorem profitetur. Nam viderint per Deum immortalem, qui ex istius vel commendatione vel impunitate ignoscentes et bonos haberi se postulant, ne ista bonitas in malum desinat; viderint ne ipsis bonis fraudi sit. Cùm necesse sit, serpat latiùs, serpat ocyùs ista contagio pastoris in gregem, doctoris in scholam; atque in ipsos fortasse bonorum istorum liberos, qui sophistæ huic errabundo et infami in disciplinam traduntur. Viderint ne tot pigmentis illita atque ornata turpitudo, tanta bonarum laudum jactura atque dispendio dealbata labes, spem faciat et aliis, eamque mentem injiciat, posse se quoque tutissimo hoc exemplo, eandem scholis, eandem ecclesiis inferre personam, sine suo periculo cum summa etiam commendatione improbissimam. Cogitent, qui celari adversarios nostras maculas putant oportere, non celando sed eluendo maculas purgari: celando apparere multo manifestiùs, et majorem indies fœditatem contrahere. Postremò viderint, ne Ecclesiastas hujusmodi amovere ab Ecclesia tamdiu negligant, donec ipsa Ecclesia cum Ecclesiastis unà amoveatur. Sanè cùm apostoli præceptum de Episcopo notissimum sit, eum ab extraneis etiam bonùm habere testimonium oportere, quid adversariis lætius aut triumphandum magis potest accidere, quàm cùm legerint atque audierint, qui non levi atque incerta, sed constante fama, summèque consentiente, multis testibus, multis in locis flagitiosus atque nefarius compertus sit, eum quasi Ecclesiæ lumen unicum et ornamentum collatitiis presbyterorum laudibus, et multiplici commendatione publica decorari. Quod hostibus nostris gaudium ne diuturnum sit, provideri non alia ratione potest, nisi siquis poterit exemplo, reque ipsa demonstrare, nullum esse pestibus hujusmodi in Ecclesia reformata consistendi locum: hæc testimonia, has laudes tum olim datas, cùm is, cui dabantur, longè alius affectaret videri, atque esse nunc perspicitur, ipsum nunc irritas et nequaquam suas usurpasse sibi fraude pessima; et amicorum de se elogia suo ipsius vitio abrogata, non ad vilissimas merces involvendas, quo fato mala scripta solent ferè perire, sed ad fœdissimas flagitiorum ipsius sordes integendas, pro involucris abusum esse. Ego certe in priore illa defensione, et publicè jussus et privatim læsus, nisi siquam dicendo peperissem mihi honestam existimationem, eam silendo amittere, et quasi vacuam possessore, occupandam mendaciis et opprimendam relinquere maluissem, et patriæ, et mihi simul, cùm una eademque causa esset, communem operam summo studio impendi. Nunc accusatis graviter ab eodem quasi immeritum et innoxium hominem per calumnias et mendacia infamassem, ut impudentiam illius redarguerem, innocentiam tuerer meam, et siquid vel antea jam dixi commodè, vel in posterum quod ex usu sit dicturus sum, si non doctrinæ et ingenii laudem, famam saltem integram, et colendæ veritatis fidem afferre possem, ad contentionem hanc per se minimè gratam, sed necessariam tamen, denuo descendi. Neque verò est, si hæc non essent, cur hujus operæ aut pœnitere me, aut pigere quenquam alium, si ni conscium sibimet, debeat. Sanè improbos vituperare, et bonos laudare, quandoquidem hoc præmii nobilissimi, illud pœnæ gravissimæ rationem habet, et æquè justum et justitiæ propè summa est: quin et ad vitam benè instituendam par fere momentum utriusque cernimus. Ita denique cognatæ inter se hæ duæ res sunt, unoque et eodem opere absolvuntur, ut improborum vituperatio, proborum dici laudatio quodammodo possit. Verùm ut jus et ratio atque usus utrobique par sit, non itidem est par gratia: nam qui alterum vituperat, duarum is uno tempore gravissimarum rerum onus atque invidiam sustinet, et accusandi alterum, et de se benè sentiendi. Itaque laudant facilè nunc boni, nunc mali dignos juxta atque indignos; accusare nemo liberè atque intrepidè, nisi solus integer, vel audet vel potest. Nos qui adolescentes tot sub magistris exudare in umbra

eloquentiam solemus, vimque ejus demonstrativam in vituperatione haud minùs, quàm in laude arbitramur esse positam, tyrannorum antiqua nomina fortiter sanè ad pluteum concidimus. Et Mezentium, si fors ferat, putidis rursum antithetis enecamus; aut Agrigentinum Phalarim tristi enthymematum mugitu, quàm in suo tauro, exquisitiùs torremus. In xysto nimirum aut in palæstra, nam in republica plerumquè tales adoramus potiùs et colimus, et potentissimos et maximos et augustissimos appellamus. Atqui oportuit aut non in ludicro primam ferè ætatem umbratiles consumpsisse, aut aliquando cùm patriæ, cùm reipublicæ est opus, relictis rudibus, in solem ac pulverem atque aciem audere; aliquando veros lacertos contendere, vera arma vibrare, verum hostem petere. Parte alia Suffenos et Sophistas; alia Pharisæos et Simones et Hymenæos et Alexandros, veteres quidem illos, multo mucrone insectamur: hodiernos et in Ecclesia redivivos collatis elogiis laudamus, professionibus et stipendiis et cathedris, incomparabiles videlicet et doctissimos et sanctissimos viros, ornamus. Ad censuram si fortè ventum est, sicui fortè persona et speciosa pellis detrahitur, si turpis introrsum, immò verò si palam atque apertè facinorosus arguitur, sunt qui hunc malint, nescio quo studio, quove metu adducti, testimoniis publicè defensum, quàm animadversione debita notatum. Meà ab his fateor, quod aliquoties res ipsa jam docuit, satis longè disjuncta ratio est: ut siquid adolescens in illo otio literarum vel præceptis doctorum vel meis lucubrationibus profeci, id omne ad usum vitæ generisque humani, siquid tam latè possem, pro infirma parte mea conferrem. Quod si etiam ex privatis nonnunquam inimicitiis delicta publica animadverti et sæpè corrigi solent, et adversarium nunc non modò meum, sed penè omnium communem, hominem nefarium, reformatæ religionis et sacri maximè ordinis opprobrium, literatorum labem, juventutis perniciosissimum præceptorem, immundum in sacris Ecclesiasten, impulsus omnibus causis justissima vituperatione prosecutus sum, eo necne cum fructu, quo oporteat, viderint illi, quorum potissimùm interest exemplum in isto edere, me quidem spero (cur enim diffidam?) rem neque Deo ingratam, neque Ecclesiæ insalubrem, neque reipublicæ inutilem præstitisse.

AUTHORIS AD ALEXANDRI MORI

SUPPLEMENTUM RESPONSIO.

Hanc ego defensionem meam cùm ante duos menses hactenus parassem, ne consumptum fortè biennium alterum in se profligando clamitet Morus, tanto cum desiderio Supplementum illud fidei publicæ contra me promissum expectabam, ut nihil mihi longius videretur. Didiceram enim ex Vlacco perorante, recessisse quidem in Galliam Morum, non tamen quiescere: sed vel diffisum viribus Genevensium attritis, vel quòd manu tam exigua vix satis sibi instructus ad decernendum uno prælio videretur, novum contra me exercitum, et quod mirandum sit, Mediburgicorum et Amsterodamensium in Gallia conscribere: Consules etiam et Scabinos magna cum manu signisque infestis adventare. Serò tandem erepsere novæ copiæ; sine quibus prima acies, opinor, labare atque dehiscere videbatur. Sed cur tam serò, cur ab extemporali homine tam tardè advenerint siquis miratur, erant scilicet literæ quædam mortuorum longo situ eruendæ; erant quoque subsidia hæc consularia tam gravis armaturæ, mira itinerum ratione "ex Gallia," teste Vlacco, "transmittenda:" Quid si etiam ibidem conficienda? quibus cùm ipse Vlaccus, homo æquissimus, ut habeatur fides non postulet, sed quod "æquum et justum cuique videbitur," id ut "judicetur," sic omnino faciamus. "Sufficit Vlacco," Supplementi hujus collectitii legato, lectorum "curiositati," non incredulitati "satisfecisse," nempe fidei publicæ, ex Gallia in Hollandiam, quasi postliminio quodam reversæ, fidem defore uniuscujusque privatam, haud ab re sanè suspicabatur. Primum hoc velim unicuique in mentem veniat, quod supra demonstratum est, publica testimonia qua ambitione ferè comparentur; in re privata quid valeant; quàm sæpe hallucinentur: me deinde non ficta crimina in Morum, non ignota, non obscura, sed vera, sed jam vulgata atque testata, in foro denique et judicio agitata haud semel, atque versata protulisse. Non igitur calumniatores nos, non testes in se, sed suos esse judices intelligat Morus: id jure æquissimo; quoniam ipse in nos prior has partes sibi sumpsit; nos ipse prior judicavit; suam in nos sententiam iniquissimam edidit. Prolatis autem utrinque testimoniis cur secundùm eos meritò pronuntiemus, qui Morum gravissimè accusant, in causa est cùm ipsius comperta in nos audacia atque improbitas singularis, tum ipsius testimonii quamvis "publica," tamen ambigua fides; quæ consuetis atque tritissimis laudandi formulis prosequitur Morum, objecta illi crimina ab accusatoribus tam multis non diluit. Quid enim affert vel hoc supplementum, More, quod ad rem pertineat? Accusabant te Genevæ gravissimi viri Theodorus Troncinus pastor et theologiæ professor, duo

alii pastores Mermilliodus et Pittetus multis opinor testibus adductis; accusabant multorum criminum, et commissi præsertim in horto quodam probri turpissimi. Tu hîc contrà literas producis Deodati senis; qui venire in conventum jamdiu desierat; nec quid ibi gereretur, nisi ex te tuisque fautoribus audire consueverat. Literas deinde Sartorii, ne non sarsisse omni ex parte causam tuam viderere; tum Gothofridi jurisconsulti, ne non satis cavisse; has omnes literas jam ante scriptas, quàm hæc tua flagitia vel ad Ecclesiam delata, vel amicis, ut solet, omnium ultimis, credibilia essent. Quæ igitur à me tibi objiciuntur, horum nihil negant. Fac autem disertis verbis negasse: haudquaquam tamen istorum negatio affirmatione potior tot hominum probissimorum erit, quorum præsertim testium vim ac veritatem cùm sustinere non posses, petita subitò abeundi licentia, non absolutus judicio, sed elapsus, evasisti. Literis deinde Genevensium non sine multorum gravi intercessione atque etiam indignatione, ut supra dixi, concessis, tu quasi Rheno amne lustratus (quo "devectum te in Belgium" ais) et noxa omni ablutus, utcunque commendatus, mirum non erat si, convocata illic fortè synodo Gallo-Belgica, tanquam Mercurius quidam novus Gallo-Belgicus, non tu quidem illuminatus, sed combustus, ut fit, in synodo, ad tempus latuisti. Eas autem literas cùm supra dixerim fore, ut in medium nullo modo proferres, ne prioribus hìc positis quanto essent frigidiores perspiceremus, lepidè tu quidem "exemplar earum nancisci te non potuisse" causaris. Quòd autem dixi ad tempus, non semper latuisse te, id facilè constat, primùm quòd in illa ipsa synodo "trajecti" ad Mosam habita, quò primùm appulisti rumores quosdam "contra doctrinam" tuam et "conversationem" illis in regionibus jam esse "sparsos," et suspiciones haud leves de te passim vel novas haberi, vel veteres recruduisse, neque ita te iis absolutum, quin ad alteram postea synodum nova rursus commendatione opus tibi fuerit, declarat, quæ sequitur Ecclesiæ Medioburgenæ ad Campensem synodum epistola, declarat etiam illius epistolæ subscriptor primarius Joannes Longus ejusdem ecclesiæ pastor, qui tua tum quidem larva inter alios deceptus, perspectis nunc demum et exploratis moribus tuis, nunquam te nisi maximæ contumeliæ detestationisque causa dicitur nominare. Immò verba ipsa tua declarant quibus fateris post seditionem Midelburgi ortam, in qua amicus quidam tuus potentissimus dignitate excidit eos, qui post eum rerum potiti sunt, in te non "æquè propensâ fuisse voluntate:" id tu eorum ignorantiæ assignatum vis, quibus tu theologiæ professor celeberrimus "non æquè familiariter innotuisses;" cùm ad suspectos jam mores tuos revera sit referendum. Quid enim ad te advenam seditio? qui suffragiis omnium publicè accersitus non studiis partium, sed bona fama ac diligentia in isto munere theologico tueri existimationem tuam notus æque omnibus debebas. Hîc tamen quæreris quòd "ejectum" te dixerim "ab Ecclesia illa." Ego verò non "ejectum" te dixi, sed tantummodo ablegatum; idque non de ipsa ejiciendi vel ablegandi formula, sed de voluntate eorum abs te jam alienata intellectum volui. In hoc non admodum errasse me testis esse potest vir, ut audio, probatissimus, quem suprà appellavi, Joannes Longus ejusdem ecclesiæ pastor, qui nunc, inquam, longè secus de te sentit et loquitur, atque primò sensit, cùm in tuam commendationem "omnium nomine" subscripsit; Testis est vir spectatissimus Joannes Duræus, qui non unam Ecclesiam Midelburgensem ejecisse te, sed universam penè synodum Gallo-Belgicam ejectum velle scribit. Frustra igitur synodi Groudensis actum illud subjungis, quod factis recentioribus irritum fecisti; frustra, inquam, actum illud quod apertissimi te mendacii coarguit: etenim illius synodi authoritatem idcirco adhibuisse te ais, ut "sciam omnia ritè et solemniter" in synedrio Midelburgensi de te "acta:" ipsa synodus non ritè, non solenniter hæc esse acta, sed "nonnullos defectus in modo agendi" notat. Vellem scire illos defectus cujusmodi fuerint, cur tu Midelburgensium testimonia sine nonnullis defectibus in modo agendi auferre non potueris. Illud interea tenendum memoria est, quibus cum "defectibus" Genevensium testimonia adeptus sis: quanto reverà cum dedecore, quanto in speciem cum honore illi te dimiserint. Prorsus, quasi id unum sibi reliquum necessariò decrevissent, laudandum te esse atque tollendum. Verùm, ut dixi, laudes illas qualescunque perspecta postmodum et cognita vitæ tuæ turpitudo antiquavit jamdiu atque delevit: ut ad infamiam potiùs tuam hæc omnia conducere videantur, qui tam præclaram de te olim hominum opinionem, admissis in te postea tot probris, tam fœde fefelleris. Ventum tandem ad Pontiam est; quam sic à me falsò nominatam contendis. Ego verò authorem Batavum et notissimum illud de te distichon, quo me facilè defendam, recito:

> Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia Mori,
> Quis benè moratam morigeramque neget?

Bontiam, fateor, aliud apud me manuscriptum habet. Sed prima utrobique litera, quæ sola variat, ejusdem ferè apud vos potestatis est. Alterum ego nomen ut notius, ut elegantius salvo jure criticorum præposui. Satis de nomine; nunc rem ipsam consideremus. Quis tam est reus, quis tam omni genere criminationum oblitus, qui, si solus audiatur, causam suam vel Cassianis judicibus probare non queat? Tu quam attulisti hujus rei narrationem, ejusmodi est, ut nemo sit, modò integer atque attentus accedat, quin te, etiam inauditis accusatoribus tuis, vel planè condemnandum, vel suspicione gravissima non absolvendum arbitretur. "Uxorem" ais "Salmasii graviter tibi infensam, et ob eas rationes quas commemorare" non vis, "nihil intentatum reliquisse, ut te in nassam infaustissimi matrimonii compingeret." Primùm illud suspiciosissimum est quod celas; illud nempe arcanum quod tibi tam modesto homini et ministro uxorem amici sic inimicam potuit reddere. Mirum deinde inimicitiæ genus narras, quo impulsa uxor amici tui famulam sibi dilectissimam nuptum tibi dare cupiebat. Nassa autem illud matrimonium qui potuit dici? nisi tute eam vel sponsione aliqua tibi induisses, vel escam avidè nimis appetisses, atque ita meritò infaustissimum, quod stupro auspicatus esses, matrimonium reddidisses. "Nihil," inquis, "intentatum reliquit." Quid ergo inter alia

tentaverit ut ipse nobis divinandum relinquis; immò ipse non taces, ipse effutire non erubescis; et illud suprà dictum à Crantzio, paulò infra quasi palmarium quiddam pro te ex ore Salmasii repetis; "Siquid in Pontia peccavit Morus, ego sum leno, et uxor mea lena." Hanc scilicet pulcherrimam fore defensionem tibi apud omnes amens credidisti, si ostendisses lenone Salmasio, ejusque uxore lena, te non ignobile stuprum fecisse; et non nisi dominis perductoribus ancillam vitiasse. "Hoc vulgo innotuit;" tu verò "palam vehementissimeque reluctari." Euge corculum pudoris, deliciæ castitatis! Tune reluctari verò? virginali, ut videtur, verecundia homo nassa muliebri indutus. Nam piscis, nisi captus, non reluctatur: illa profectò mulier nisi thunnum te perspexisset, nisi facilem, nisi opportunum, nisi obnoxium ancillæ suæ deprehendisset, nunquam tibi istos laqueos ita elimasset, nunquam tibi Vulcanios illos casses tua Juno tam facilè adaptasset; nunquam in virum gravem, Ecclesiastem, doctum, celebrem, qui mariti domum inter amicissimos frequentasset, nunquam nisi in mulierosum et notæ incontinentiæ hominem tale quicquam moliri aut tentare ausa esset. At, inquis, "cum factione quadam se conjunxit, quæ qualis fuerit, aperire tibi nolo." Ergo hoc etiam non minùs suspitiosum nobis relinquis, quòd tua multùm interfuit aperuisse, quæ ista factio, quo in loco te tot Ecclesiarum, tot synodorum, tot magistratuum testimoniis ac sigillis loricatum hominem et cataphractum tam acritèr oppugnarit. Si ob vitæ sanctimoniam, concionandi assiduitatem, professoriæ facultatis præstantiam te odio habuisset, nihil æquè tibi laudi ac defensioni esse potuit: nunc cùm in re omnium potissimum explicanda tectus atque astutus esse malueris, credendum est non factionem, sed benè magnum bonorum virorum numerum ob impuros mores tuos, vitamque offensam meritò te odisse. Deinde, si Midelburgi, si Amsterodami, ubi tanto in pretio atque honore apud omnes fuisse te prædicas, tam numerosa te factio adorta est, claudicare tua fides publica videtur; eosque demum esse factionem qui te tantopere laudarunt. Sin Hagæ aut Lugduni primùm ista factio in te tam acriter est concitata, nihil profectò obstat quò minùs appareat deseruisse te tandiu et pastoris et professoris munus utrobique sacrum, ut Hagæ libellos famosos, ministerium tui Evangelii ministrares; Lugduni Pontiam ancillam, id est Nassam ipse tuam sectarere; tuosque illos, post diurnum sæpe discessum, tot nocturnos ad eam vicina ex urbe reditus, tot cum ea furtivos, inscientibus dominis, congressus vicinitati notissimos, tantum in te odium plurimorum commovisse. Hos tu "admissarios" uxoris Salmasii vocas; et ignominiam defuncti amici tui matronæ, ejusque propinquis non ferendam inuris. Hæc scilicet cum "Ruffino" et factione illa, "horrenda criminationum tonitrua displosit, et totum insanis clamoribus Belgium implevit." I nunc, et à me conficta hæc esse clamita; dic meas has esse calumnias; quas ego non calumnias, sed criminationes ab universo penè Belgio, te confitente, accepi. Has ego tacerem? his non crederem? proque tua in nos nostramque rempubl. injuria, scelere, audacia veras esse non judicarem? quam tu factionem, eam ego probissimorum hominum multitudinem, testimonium, judicium esse non arbitrer? Hoccine divina animadversione factum non putem, ut dum aliis famosos libellos tam diligenter adornares, famosus ipse passim libellus fieres? Tu verò cum "existimationem" tuam "hærere," ut ais, "ad metas" videres, et "linguis omnium vapulares," haud insolita audacissimi cujusque concilio, potentiorum studiis fretus, quos affectatis concionibus, et Corinthii æris tinnitu illo tibi fortè conciliaveras, "prior Pontiam in jus vocas." Contrà Salmasius, non insaniam, ut tu appellas, sed "causam se uxoris destituere non posse" per amicos tibi denuntiat. Quod eum fuisse facturum nisi justam quoque causam credidisset, tibi verisimile esse non debet. Tu, "non sine consilio summorum et sapientissimorum totius Belgii capitum," quorum nimirum patrocinium vel adulando, vel suppliciter ambiendo ad omnes nequitiarum tuarum eventus tibi comparaveras, "litem in suprema Hollandiæ curia prosequeris." Quo in loco potentiam quorundam, ut dixi, non innocentiam tuam præsidio tibi maximo fuisse, si vel teipsum audiamus causam hîc tuam quanto potes cum artificio et cautione dicentem, obscurum non est. "Desperabant" adversarii "fore se" illa in curia "superiores:" tuam "afflicturos" se esse "famam" non desperabant. Quid ita? quia paucorum vim atque opes in foro dominari, cæteros pæne omnes favere sibi videbant. At verò non tuam, sed suam ipsi famam accusatores tui afflixissent, si tu æquo judicio superior ipsorum opinione futurus videbaris. "Omnes," inquis, "omni ope me unum oppugnabant;" non "defuisse" tamen "amicos" tibi "agnoscis:" paucos igitur et potentes fuisse illos necesse est: id quod etiam "miratos et conquestos esse inimicos tuos" usque eò non diffiteris, ut ne noceret tibi ista gratia tam aperta ac manifesta veritus, haud semel subirasci te simules amicis tuis, cumque iis expostulare, quasi parùm prudenter tibi et non satis cautè favissent. Itaque "suprema capita, quæ tibi suum in hac causa præsidium obtulere, enixè rogasti, siquid valeres gratia, ne quid eorum autoritas de victoria innocentiæ tuæ delibaret." Illius judicii exitus qui demùm fuerit, non dicis; Adversarii certè, tantum abfuit ut jure aut æquitate victos se esse arbitrarentur, ut quos tu reos modò feceras, hi nunc petitores ad synodum provocarent; et quod obtinere à magnatibus jus suum non poterant, id impetrare per Ecclesiam facilè, se posse sperarent. Verum et in illa synodo nimis multùm valuisse gratiam gratis, ut aiunt, id est nullis omnino meritis tuis datam, etiam ex iis quæ pergis ipse narrare, satis constat. "Adsunt delegati Lugdunenses; saccum producunt oppletum fœdissimis criminationibus:" satis amplum, opinor, si tua omnia flagitia contineret, ut induendo etiam tibi, si egisses fortè pœnitentiam, sufficere potuerit. "Urgent delegati, ut prælegerentur omnia, quæ secum sacco illo gerebantur:" vel ut latiniùs dixisses, portabantur in sacco; à te enim puto, gerebantur in sindone. Sed synodi pars magna "reluctari, famosos esse libellos." Animadvertite quæso novam ac singularem judicum æquitatem atque prudentiam; qui criminationes cum testimoniis in judicium allatas, neque dum per

lectas, tanquam famosos libellos, rejiciendas esse contendunt. Horum vicit sententia: excurrit confestim unus eorum, gratulabundus Moro, et "bonum factum, inquit; nihil contra te legetur." En iterum severos judices! quorum sententia in Mori gratiam sic manifestò lata est, ut unus eorum pati non possit quin ex ipso judicio de sella prosiliret, gratulatum reo. Puduit Morum ipsum tam dissolutæ sententiæ: perturbari denuò se simulat, et ægrè ferre, non perlegi illa volumina criminum suorum. Objurgatus itaque bonus ille judex et acriter ab ipso reo increpitus, redit in cœtum; cæterisque facile persuadet, ut mutata priore sententia statueretur omnia legenda esse. At verò, quæ isti judices primùm legenda non esse, ad arbitrium deinde rei, conversis eadem hora sententiis, legenda esse decreverant, de iis tandem perlectis quàm non attentè, quàm non severè, quàm denique in reum propensè judicaverint, intellectu difficile non est. Consurgunt judices; reum frequentes adeunt; "amplectuntur;" et cui palam modò gratificare, ei nunc apertè gratulari non dubitant. Quamquam ego in hoc toto judicio non tam Mori, quàm ejus personæ atque ordinis habitam esse rationem crediderem. Synodi præses ipse Riverius complexus te, "nunquam Æthiops, inquit, ita dealbatus est, quemadmodum hodiè tu fuisti." Tune verò adeò obesa nare homo es, ut irrisum te potiùs, quàm absolutum hoc proverbio non sentias? Riverius cùm Æthiopem te lavando et operam et laticem frustra perdidisset, dealbavit. Tu jam salve nobis, Æthiops, aut, si mavis, paries dealbate; quandoquidem quo Paulus Ananiam, eodem te synodi præses titulo decoravit. Nunc ipsum decretum synodi perpendamus. "Lectis chartis iis quæ allatæ fuerunt à delegatis Lugdunensibus circa litem illam quæ in suprema Hollandiæ curia mutilabatur, nihil in iis repertum est, quod valeret adimendæ ecclesiis libertati, qua Morum ad sacras conciones habendas cum occasio se dabat, invitare solebant." Hæc, etiamsi tua sola fide accipiamus, quàm obscura, quàm tepida, quàm ægrè absolvant reum, aut ne absolvant quidem, quis non videt? qui te olim maximis cumulare laudibus solebant, nunc multis criminibus insimulatum, ne uno quidem verbo tenuissimo purum aut insontem pronuntiant. Non commendant te ecclesiis; "libertatem" tantummodo iis non "adimunt" qua te, non ad pastoris assiduum munus, sed "cum occasio se dabat," ad concionandum fortuitò "invitare solebant." Ista autem occasio si se nunquam daret, id sibi displicere aut detrimenti quicquam inde capturam esse ecclesiam, haudquaquam ostendunt. Tibi interim pro ara pulpitum est; illa in aula te jactas bucca notissima; et quo turpior domi, eò clamosior in cœtu es: quicquid in occulto, quicquid in "sacco" illo peccas, hîc tua cymbala, tua æra concrepare strenuè non desinis; et tuum illud rostrum nusquam impudentius, quàm in rostris offers. "I nunc," inquis, "et stupra et spurios tibi finge." Immò, ito tu, inquam, et stupra tua si audes vel uno verbo disertè nega: id quod toto hoc libro facere non es ausus. "Consulantur acta publica;" immò consulantur acta privata, acta furtiva, acta nocturna tua, quæ vulgatissima istis regionibus iamdiu innotuere. Unde spurii si non extiterint, non continuò tu castus, sed eò fortasse nequior fuisti. Hactenus quæ tu testimonia attulisti aut malè parta, aut jam exoleta, id est aliquanto priùs data, quam patefacta ea fuerint facinora quæ à me tibi potissimùm objiciuntur, ostendi. Quibus testimoniis si ab innumeris passim viris bonis quos nunquam nominatim læseras non est creditum, id quod ipsi subscriptores tui queruntur, de me nostrisque hominibus, quos injuriis maximis ultrò irritasti, si non credamus, non est meritò quod queri quisquam possit. Postremas omnium literas Amsterodamensium consulum et rectorum, nescio cujus opera, quove pacto comparatas, ex Gallia transmittis: neque ad tempus omni ex parte satis accommodatus, et ad rem certè minimè appositas. Ego quæ tu ipse flagitiosa feceris, coarguo; tu quid magistratus in te non fecerit hoc testimonio duntaxat ostendis. Scripsi equidem, et, quod tum palam testatus sum, non pro certissimo, sed ut nuper audiveram, idque etiam per literas fide dignas, magistratum Amsterodamensem tibi pulpitum interdixisse. Tu literas fateris "per omnes gentes" contra te ab "adversariis" tuis "missitatas." Et eos adversarios nunc scribis esse tuos; ego et bonos viros esse eos acceperam, et te adversarium sciebam esse meum. Ex ipsis quæro magistratibus Amsterodamensium, num istiusmodi quippiam allatum ad se de adversario non tantum suo, sed civitatis etiam suæ, silentio prætermittendum censuissent? Hoc igitur si verum non sit, est quoque levissimum; de quo et ego minimè laborare, et tu minimè exultare debeas. Numquid est aliud quod testentur tibi hæ literæ? est aliud. Te "ex quo tempore apud se in publico munere versatus es, nihil admisisse quod justum prædictis calumniis locum dare potuerit" Quid si antè admiseris, quàm ad eos venisti? Nam quibus consulibus admissa abs te quæque fuerint, cujus in scabinatum pruritiones tuæ inciderint, si ex ratione fastorum non habeo dicere, id non dices, arbitror, ita magni referre. Quid, inquam, si ante admiseris? quod ego quidem pro certo habeo. Tum sanè et hoc quoque testimonium, ancile tuum, haud multò plus ponderis, quàm alterius cujusquam habuerit; ut, quod de iis, quæ auditione tantum acceperat ab aliis, testificetur. Quod autem adjungitur te "extra culpam notamve fuisse," id adeò liquidò non ita se habet, ut etiam reliqua in dubium vocare videatur. Non alium igitur atque teipsum tuis Consulibus opponam; qui te culpatum, notatum, vexatum, linguis omnium toto Belgio vapulasse, haud semel, pluribusque verbis confessus es. Commodùm itaque interserunt, "ut ad nos relatum est." A quibus autem? nam et ad nos longè alia et à plurimis relata sunt: utrorum qui hæc tam variè referunt anteponenda fides sit, ipsi nostram æquè ac suam existimationem esse sciunt. At verò non ad se omnia quamvis consules, relata esse ut doceam, respondeant mihi rogo libellus iste in nos famosus, à Moro editus, relatusne ad se fuerit? quem libellum edidisse in nostram rempubl. non ministri erat Evangelici, sed ardelionis et calumniatoris, et nebulonis maledicentissimi. Si negant de hoc libello quicquam sibi perlatum, posse et multa alia etiam improbissima non perferri ad se de hoc Moro velim existiment. Sin fateantur allatum sibi esse illius libri editorem fu-

isse Morum, suum tamen illi testimonium tanquam homini reverendo, probo, inculpato perhibuerint, sciant nos istiusmodi testimonium etiam consulum et scabinorum tanquam levissimum, et nullius planè authoritatis repudiare. Horum, inquis, rectorum "gravitatem, fidem, autoritatem si nosses, sexcentis millenorum Miltonorum libellis retundendis parem agnosceres." Ergo verò, mi homo, id nescio an ita facilè agnoscerem; quandoquidem et id nescio, αριστίνδην, an πλουτίνδην, virtute an census magistratum illum in civitate sua obtineant. Neque me latet consules, et prætores, illustriora longè quàm nunc sunt nomina, etiam Verrem, reorum omnium Romæ perditissimum, studiosè defendisse, cum provincia tota, virique boni universi gravissimè accusarent. Hoc summum fidei tuæ publicæ propugnaculum, eademque basis et firmamentum maximum, quàm nullo tamen negotio labefactetur et corruat, vides. Sequitur ecclesiæ Amstelodamensis Gallo-Belgicæ testimonium, subscriptore imprimis Hottono, Mori intimo, et quod suprà demonstravimus, Regii Clamoris conscio. Valdè nobis probatum sit necesse est hujusmodi testimonium, cujus subscriptionis princeps est Hottonus. Sed tamen quid afferat, videamus. "Tantum abesse," ait, "ut eorum criminum eum reum esse sciamus aut agnoscamus, quorum à quodam Miltone Anglo accusatur."—Hujus fidei vis maxima, ut video, in ignorantiæ professione posita est. Quid hoc testimonio faciamus? quid hac fide? quæ suà se potissimùm ignorantiâ commendat. Reum esse nescimus, non agnoscimus: hoc quis præterea toto propemodum Belgio ignorat, quæ illi præcipuè crimina objicio, eorum ipsum in utroque foro, non reum modò diuturnum fuisse, sed plurimorum judicio damnatissimum; nec nisi potentium quorundam studiis, utque sacro potiùs ordini quàm ipsi consuleretur, fuisse absolutum. Tantum abest ut reum esse sciamus, "ut contrà potius ab illo aliquoties conciones sacras rogaverimus." Contenti nempe hoc forensi judicio, ubi gratia plus justo potuit; et suadente præsertim Hottono, quoties ipse respirare et suis parcere lateribus decrevisset. Verum hoc quid efficit? aut quis est nescius multos in concionibus satis esse placitos, satis suaves ac tinnulos, qui in omni vita reliqua offensioni maximæ fuerint? Etenim qui suis libidinibus explendis dat operam, quid obstat quo minus idem titillandis alienis auribus commodè servire possit. Quod reliquum est, index potiùs operis, quàm testimonium dici meretur: quando enim aliud quod dicat non habet, "satis superque testantur," inquit, "de ipso aliarum ecclesiarum in quibus vixit diutius quam apud nos, publica documenta ad quæ nos iis consentiendo referimus." Quæ vox detrectantium penè, et libenter hoc negotio expedire se cupientium prorsus videtur; facitque ut non immeritò suspicemur, testimonium hoc, tametsi planè friget, non sine sudore tamen Mori, allaborante etiam Hottono, multis repugnantibus, impetratum ægrè fuisse. Epilogi loco est "curatorum scholæ" testimonium. Verum in schola quid tu declamites, quid recites, aut quemamodum te geras, neque tanti esse reor ut cognoscere curemus, neque ad hanc causam pertinet. Vitam et mores tuos excutimus: quos cum isti vix attingere, et ad literas superiores malle nos remittere videantur, quod ad eorum testimonium infirmandum satis sit, superiùs quoque dictum putemus. Ad finem aliquando pervenimus tuæ Fidei publicæ; quæ ex Gallico ferè sermone in Gallico-latinum "tralatitia" inanissimi libri maximam partem occupat. Copias jam omnes tuas cum supplemento etiam lustravimus: peramplas quidem eas, sed ad pompam sanè potiùs, quàm ad verum robur comparatas. Hæ sunt plumæ tuæ, sub quibus corniculam latitare te dixi. Hæc vestis illa multicolor qua Morum revera, id est morionem te induisti: his tu phaleris ne populum quidem fefelleris: tuque si sapuisses, aut ullo rerum usu præditus fuisses, nullius fore usus tibi hæc omnia, quod ad tuam attinet causam, facilè intellexisses. Potest fortasse quispiam, cujus nomen alioqui nunquam audissemus, tam sui venditandi causa quam tui, phalerata verba tibi dedisse: potest aliorum pudor et bonitas flagitanti ac sudanti, et agi jam tuam existimationem miserè querenti, hoc tantillum non denegasse. Potes tu per interpretes Hottonos multa confecisse: et tamen post hæc omnia scito te nihil quod ad rem pertineat in medium protulisse. Quid juverit, quæso, vel in foro testimonia generatim dicta, quid elogia de tuis "dotibus," quid incertas blandientium amicorum laudes proferre, si ego te certorum criminum accuso? Accusarunt te adulterii Genevæ olim viri graves; tempus, locum, adulterum nominarunt: multorum prætereà criminum te detulerunt. Quid si istam farraginem pro testimonio Judicibus tum tuis ostendisses? acceptúrosne putas fuisse eos, teque absolvendum istis criminibus fuisse continuò judicaturos? immò verò jussissent te, ablatis hisce nugis, appositè respondere; ullamne cum ista fœmina rem, rationemve habueris; illo in horto camne conveneris; illo in tugurio, clausis foribus, solusne cum sola fueris. Hæc et hujusmodi multa ex te requisissent; ad quæ singula, neque in illo tum judicio, quod te jure absolvere vel suspicione posset (judicium enim illud petita abeundi licentia commodum prævertisti) neque in hoc libro, tot alioqui ineptiis refertissimo, quicquam respondes. Facis idem prorsus in causa quoque Pontiana: quid in foro transactum sit, quantopere tua gratia ad præjudicium miseræ muliercula post Salmasii obitum valuerit, suspiciosè admodum ipse narras. De illis nocturnis Haga Leidam itineribus, de illis cum Pontia clandestinis atque nocturnis congressibus, quanquam hæc et multò plura hujusmodi omnibus in ore sunt, nullum verbum facis. Quid hæc prorsus alienissima nobis obtrudis? immò quid omnino hanc tantam literarum ac testimoniorum congeriem tibi ullo tempore comparâsti? an quod tuæmet ipse conscientiæ satis probatus apud te non eras? an quod de te nec tibi ipsi, nec spontaneis hominum sermonibus credere audebas, nisi tot coactis nominibus ac testimoniis tibimet confirmatum hoc esset atque testatum, id quod alioqui nunquam credidisses, te virum bonum aut tolerabilem posse cuiquam videri? An verò tot criminibus accusatus, cùm de te homines ubique pessimè loquerentur, commendationibus totidem sanare illa vulnera posse te existimasti? atqui vides quo sæpius ex mala valetudine ad inanem medicinam, ex novis maleficiis et rumoribus inde natis ad novas per-

petuò commendationes recurris, earum authoritatem eò semper minorem abs te reddi atque indies leviorem: ægrotare nimirum existimationem tuam et morbosissimam esse, quæ tot purgationibus, tot medicamentis indigeat commendationum quis est quin suspicetur? Sed fortasse longinquas in urbes quemadmodum prædicas, ad professiones amplissimas persæpè invitatus, hoc te quasi commeatu, iter facturus, instruxisti. Optimè: quæro itaque an proficisci in animo tibi fuerit ad eos homines qui te ignorassent, qui an satis nossent? si ad illos, venustus profectò homo necesse est tibi fueris, qui ab illis invitatum iri te unquam credideris, qui te ignorassent: Si ad hos qui te jam satis norant, quid hoc tanto commendationum instrumento ac sarcina ad eos opus erat, quibus jam antea commendatissimum te esse ex eo ipso, quòd invitassent, sciebas. Perspicuum igitur est, nullam ob rem aliam, tantam vim testimoniorum commendatitiam sic te studiosè congessisse et in promptu semper habuisse, nisi vel ad ostentationem quandam circulatoriam, ad quam artem factum te præcipuè atque natum existimarim, vel impendentis ignominiæ metu, quam ex flagitiis nondum patefactis certissimam tibi expectabas. Ut haberes nimirum speciosum aliquid et publicum et foris partum, quod privatæ atque domesticæ 'et erumpenti interdum ex latebris opponeres infamiæ; utque procerum atque doctorum splendidis testimoniis, in quibus consequendis gratia atque ambitio nunc ferè plurimum possunt, contra populi veras voces te communires. Verùm ista te spes ut dixi, et frustrata jam est, et frustrabitur; cùm quia tuam obtegere improbitatem atque nequitiam, neque lux ulla neque tenebræ possunt, tum quia hoc ipsum quicquid est munimenti, quo te circumsepsisti, per se satis infirmum atque rimosum est. Id planius adhuc fiet, si testimonia hæc tua, quemadmodum per se singula consideravimus, ita nunc postrema primis, prima mediis conferamus; et doctores proceresque tuos inter se paulisper committamus. Ut intelligi tandem possit, quæ fides illius fidei publicæ, illorum testium sit, ubi aut alii ab aliis tam longè dissentiunt, aut plerique tam multa vel dissimulant vel nesciunt, quæ sua sponte alii fatentur. Illud imprimis exemplo sit, quod in iis literis occurrit quæ Genevensis esse ecclesiæ dicuntur. "Nihil utique illi," id est Moro, "vel ab infensissimis hostibus meritò objici queat, quod justæ sit reprehensioni obnoxium." Ego contrà non quæ hostes objiciunt Moro, sed quæ amici ejus, quæ testes ejus et "justæ reprehensioni obnoxia" fatentur, et ipsi in eo reprehendunt, ex his iisdem testimoniis depromam.—Quid enim Deodatus? "Non provocat quidem" Morus, "sed terribiles ungues habet ad sui tutelam." Quos ungues? nam istiusmodi quicquam inter Evangelici ministri arma non reperio; et eloquentiam nolim à viro docto atque humano, tam truci metaphora significari: Reliquum est, ut ungues illos, feritatem atque ferociam hominis interpretemur, quos non ad tutelam sui, sed ad injuriam aliorum, in nos certè nimium expeditos atque acres feræ similior quàm pastori exercuit. Apertiora haud paulò sunt quæ Georgius Crantzius, Alberti æmulus, ne ab avunculo fortè suo historicâ fide superetur, et quantò ægrior tantò fortasse veracior ultrò nobis largitur. "Ego Mori notitiam habui et Genevæ et in Belgio; semper magnas inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis, quibus ipse locum sæpe præbuit nimia libertate loquendi." Et hoc teste, contra quàm ab altero dictum modò est, et "ungues habet" et provocat Morus. "Ferox" atque "fidens, crabronum irritator" infestissimus: Beelsebubem prope alterum dicas, nisi quod ille muscas: Laboris alioqui "intolerantior," teste etiam laudatore Salmasio; cujus et "uxorem varie læserat," et alia quædam commiserat "inconsideratione tali homine indigna." Hæc ab amicis ac testibus tuis vis ipsa veritatis expressit; quæ quamvis favore et studio dicentium in molliorem partem flectantur, ejusmodi tamen sunt quæ ingenium tuum palam omnibus faciant, et hujus testimonii totius fidem infirmare haud mediocriter atque infringere videantur: cujus altera pars probum, inoffensum, sanctum, omni labe ac vitio carentem, altera contentiosum, turbulentum, arrogantem, garrulum, ignavum, injurium, inconsideratum denique et stultum nobis exhibet Morum. Sic fuit tua fides publica, id est, nulla: reverteris nunc iterum ad privatam, quæ nulla minor est. "At vides interea," inquis, "quàm non tralatitio me dignentur affectu, quos tu vis mihi furcas comparare." Immò tu vide, si potes, ira atque amentia impeditus, quàm vehementer hallucineris, quàm nihil attentè agas. Non ego hoc "de Batavis," sed Genevensibus intelligi volebam; nec quid hi statuissent, sed quid tu meruisses. "Verba," inquis, "tua recognosce, Orestis æmule." Recognosco, inquam, Orestis æmule! Cujus flagitia si pro meritis excepisset magistratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luisses: nimirum Genevæ, ubi adulterii delatus eras; ad alios magistratus cognitio illius facti pertinere non potuit. Quæ sequuntur porrò et luiturus propediem videris, et hæc non iratus tibi ominor, sed duntaxat jus dico, facilè demonstrant, non tum prædixisse me quid sis passurus, sed pronuntiasse quid esses meritus; idque (cùm de nobis ipse prior judicasses) pari jure meo fecisse. I nunc non conscientiæ integritate, non justa defensione, sed scelerum impunitate quod facis effer te et gloriare. "Huic," inquis, "fungo, nuper è terra nato quem aut quos opposui?" Erras More, et me non nosti: mihi lentè crescere, et velut occulto ævo satius semper fuit. Tu ille fungus qui ex ephebis modò Genevam profectus, Græcarum literarum professor subitò emersisti; et tot viris natu "grandioribus ecclesiastis, jureconsultis, medicis, illa ingenii tunc primùm efflorescentis gratia," ut tu satis fungosè narras, "palmam" præripuisti: mox inter fungos, et olera, et armamenta olitoria, fungo recens tuberante, non tu quidem Claudium extinxisti, sed Claudiam supinasti. Nunc "conciliare" me jubes mea "dicta," si possum, "et fabulas," cum magistratuum "dictis atque judiciis" abs te scilicet emendicatis: Ego verò mea dicta cum tuis factis facilè conciliavero; de ipsorum dictis atque judiciis ipsi viderint: nos ut non porticibus, ita nec iisdem judiciis fruimur. Tu tecum si potes temetipsum concilia; qui totum illud Genevense negotium, et gravissimum in te crimen adulterii, quasi fabulam de infenso erga te magistratuum animo, summa cura, summoque studio refellere conaris.

Cur illam quæ vehementissimè ad te pertinuit, tam facilè prætermittis, hanc quæ te minimè attingit corrogatis tot testibus tanta mole refutare contendis? Sanè si ipse tibimet constare vis videri, nosque tuum institutum et respondendi rationem intuemur, qui fabulas confutatione indignas esse censes, aut illud in te verum crimen, aut hoc de te non verum magistratûs judicium credamus oportebit.—At non omni ex parte vituperandus est Morus; habet suas laudes; magna vitia magnis virtutibus compensat; facit quod in homine ecclesiastico laudatissimum simul et rarissimum est, ut gratis concionetur. "Nullo," inquit, "stipendio auctoratus gratuitam ecclesiæ operam rogatus præsto:" immò verò fortuitam; ex quo videlicet ampliore mercede proposita, relicto pastoris munere, sacrarum historiarum professor factus es; id est reverà, ex sacrario in scholam ad stipendium uberius emigrasti: tum si cujus rogatu fortè concionaris, hoc tanquam beneficii loco imputas; cum assiduum pastoris ministerium deserueris, ut hanc subcisivam operam desertæ abs te ecclesiæ non sine maximo compendio tuo gratis impertire videaris. Tu verò More, si ecclesiam Medioburgensem, quæ te, ut ais, tam honorificè invitasset, tanto cum fructu audisset, tam ægrè dimisisset, sine gravissima causa reliquisses, et ad alium gregem, idemque munus pastoris te contulisses, reprehendendum meritò et levitatis arguendum existimarim. Nunc cum "Attalicis," ut ipse ais, "conditionibus" non Christianis, et "emolumenti fructu" longè uberiore adductus, non de grege in gregem desultorius tantummodo pastor transieris, sed illo munere longè potiore posthabito, ex Evangelii ministro mutatus in professorem et historicum, ex ipsis ecclesiæ adytis ad promœria regressus sis, non mercenarii solum, sed defectoris propè numero habendum te esse, si habenda veteris et sanctissimæ disciplinæ ulla ratio est, affirmare non vereor. At concionaris tamen: et strenuè quidem, nunquam "majore cum fructu" Attalico, ad Pergamenos putà, non tuum ad gregem; quibus si fortè aures vix satis teretes pruriunt, tu, vitio cantorum planè converso, rogatus nunquam desistis: et velut sacerdos Phrygiæ matris nondum exsectus, aut Curetum aliquis, moves libenter tua crotala; non ut vagitum quempiam fabulosum, sed ut rumores flagitiorum tuorum plus nimio veraces fanatica vociferatione obruas. Hoc tu septenario strepitu et doctrina fortuita, ut quivis olim cyclicus aut sophista, si rogatus recitas, desertum Pastoris munus assiduum explere te putas? At concionator est bellus et facundus. Ita, credo, ut est orator: cui proverbia si demas, et insutos versiculorum centones, orationis ipso filo atque contextu nihil inornatius, nihil incompositius, nihil verbosius atque putidius; nihil ubi venustatem, numerum, atque nervos paulò disertiore homine dignos magis requiras. Unum est in quo graviter titubatum à me esse fateor: Græcarum literarum professorem dixi, quem sacrarum historiarum dixisse debui: enimverò incredibile mihi prorsus, et portento simile videbatur, historiarum sacrarum eum esse professorem, qui tot profanarum argumentum ipse atque materies esset. Tu verò mihi rectiùs, More, non historiarum, sed calumniarum professor deinceps nominaberis. Quod ne quis à me secus atque res ipsa se habet dictum arbitretur, mea ipsa verba abs te prolata in medio ponam; tuam deinde horum interpretationem, quam dico esse calumniam: ut quàm impudenter et malitiosè agas, quod et suprà idque sæpius demonstravi, et hinc qualem te sacræ etiam literæ tortorem proculdubio sentiant, præterire neminem possit. Restat jam tibi sola Græcarum literarum professio: ergo hoc ego "crimini" tibi do, quòd Græcas literas es professus: ergo ego "Græcas literas earumque professores cogo in ordinem." Ergo ego "Græcas literas ad ima subsellia relego." Quis horum quicquam sequi præter te dixerit? ipsa malitia si operam tibi suam locasset, tale quippiam ex meis verbis ullam in partam torquendo exprimere qui tandem potuisset? tu hoc non solum pro verissimo tibi sumis, verum etiam ut non nasutum minus conjectorem te, quàm navum esse calumniatorem intelligamus, "cur Græcas" inquis "literas, earumque professores cogas in ordinem, nisi me fallit animus, olfeci fucum:" Nempè Salmasius cùm esset Græcæ linguæ callentissimus, et hujus ego authoritatem elevare statuissem, id ut quoquo modo possem, Græcas literas, "ejus," si diis placet, "regna, ad ima subsellia relegavi." Quis calumniari solertiùs, quàm hariolari te nunc dicat? Atqui non meus ille fucus, vir sagacissime, sed tuus mucus quem olfecisti, tantummodo erat. Mihi enim cum Salmasio de Græcis non magis literis quàm calendis contestata lis erat; non illum literis vel Græcis vel Latinis, sed authoritatum et rationum ponderibus, affligendum atque sternendum esse intelligebam. Hinc tu, propterea quòd omnes cupidè ambages quæris, nequid ad rem dicere cogaris, ut olim paupertatis, ita nunc Græcarum literarum in laudes ridiculè sanè transcurris. Quas ego cum neque nesciam, et, siquis alius, plurimi faciam, nihil profectò ineptius, nihil alienius fingere potuisti, quàm despectas à me esse Græcas literas: cùm non tibi illas, sed te illis probro esse dixerim. Sed hæc tua perpetua ferè ratio est; ubi non fictis criminibus urgeris, ut ne obmutuisse planè videaris, data tibi esse à me crimini quælibet fingis, aut absurda quævis et falsissima de me inseris eaque in primis quæ dicta nunquam sunt, refutanda irripis: Hic strepis, hic tumultuaris, hic te jactas. Si adulterii te postulo, paupertatem scilicet contemno; paupertas tibi contra me toto penu loculorum tuorum defendenda est: Si stupri arguo, Græcas literas nimirum vellico; Græcarum literarum obtrectator oppugnandus tibi sum: Sic tu vera fictis eludere conaris, ut hoc fumo excitato occultare turpem fugam et convictissimi sontis pudorem atque silentium possis. Vide autem, dum Græcas literas tam veteratoriè laudas, ut irascantur tibi literæ Latinæ; tuumque "jecur latinum," ut satis sanum non sit. "Quota pars hæc est, inquis, sputorum et alaporum?" Næ tu masculum tibi alapum hoc solœcismo meruisti: nam fœmineas esse alapas quas tot sensisti, mirum non est si invitus agnoscas. Verùm hæc missa faciamus; levia sunt, vetera sunt; alius repentè homo jam factus est Morus; ad sanitatem jamjamque est rediturus; gradum unum atque alterum fecit; paulò veracior, paulò candidior ab rheto-

rica Diaboli (sic enim calumniam supra nominat) ad rhetoricam transit Juliani. "Vicisti," inquis, "Miltone." Hanc nempe vocem, ut ille olim (ne non Apostata satis germanus per omnia videaris) veritate victus emisisti. Sed vide, ne sincerum quod est, cauponum more, mendatio statim diluas. "Confitentem," inquis, "habes reum." Ego verò reum quidem habeo; confitentem non habeo: nisi si id pro confesso est habendum quicquid tu silentio præteriisti: sic enim et libellum in nos famosum edidisse, et hosti nostro dicasse, et Anglicanam Rempublicam indignissimis modis, meque nominatim illæsus læsisse, totam denique fabulam Genevensem confiteris. Ab hac prævaricatione ad precationem quandam artificiose compositam te confers; sive ea tuæ fidei publicæ extrema confessio dicenda est; ad quam Deum testem invocas, tremendum fateor et testem et judicem. Multa confiteris, multa ploras, peccata quidem "longè gravissima," sed quæ ad nos nihil attineant, quia penitùs latent, et etiamnum inconfessa nobis sunt. Et ista quidem si in occulto, clausisque foribus, ut peccare anteà, ita nunc precari in animum induxisses, laudassem equidem te, deque benignitate et clementia divina benè sperare jussissem: nunc cum in platea media orantem te hic reperiam, ad homines potiùs quàm ad Deum concinnatas has esse preces, et quasi ultima jacentis tuæ fidei publicæ suspiria judicarim. "Te Deus, te testem invoco, an non videant homines in corde isto quæ tu non vides." O confessionem claram atque simplicem! immò verò quid obscurius, quid cautius, quid jureconsultius composuisse poteras, ut decem causidicos vel adhibuisse viderere, vel pertimuisse? Nam quid hoc est, obsecro? "an non videant homines in corde isto." Quid vident homines in corde? Urinatore hic opus est Delio. Verùm quid quis in corde videat, viderit. Ego facta palam, audita, visa, testata refero: quas nemo meas esse calumnias sine maxima calumnia dixerit. "Longè turpior sum," inquis, "re quidem vera quàm illi fingunt; ob illa tot abscondita, quorum apud te reus verè sum." Sic tu nota ignotis, clara absconditis delere atque eluere conaris: occulta, incerta, latentia confiteris, ut explorata, certa, manifesta eò impudentiùs negare possis: ad extremum eò descendis, ut confessionem hanc, quasi libellum famosum de temetipso conscribas, quò faciliùs veram accusationem aliorum possis evadere. Tu hæc atque hujusmodi valere apud Deum cave existimes; apud homines certè vel mediocriter sagaces, minimè valebunt. Quod si linguis, ut ipse ais, atque conviciis omnium jamdiu verberatus, resipuisti aliquando revera, et ad bonam frugem revertisti, gaudeo. Nos te sic veram egisse pœnitentiam arbitrabimur, si tuarum in nos injuriarum et maledicentiæ famosæ pœnituisse tandem intelligemus.

JOANNIS PHILIPPI ANGLI

RESPONSIO

AD

APOLOGIAM ANONYMI CUJUSDAM TENEBRIONIS PRO REGE ET POPULO ANGLICANO INFANTISSIMAM.

[First published 1655.]

Contra famosum anonymi cujusdam libellum, in quo senatus populusque Anglicanus turpissimis convitiis lacerabatur, quem jam vulgo notum est, Salmasii grammatici infame opus fuisse, prodiit nuper Joannis Miltoni Angli pro patria sua defensio. Liber sanè probus, omniumque doctorum virorum judicio domi forisque multùm approbatus. Qui cùm talis esset, expectabatur quidem vel Salmasii ipsius, vel alius alicujus viri literati responsio. Illarum certè partium magni intererat electum aliquem et disertum virum ad causam suam jam diu laborantem et ruentem adhibuisse. Cùm ecce demum ex omnibus illis rumorem montibus, quos assiduè fama nostras ad aures afferebat, tandem prorepit exiguus iste mus, qui miserè stridens rodit tantummodò, aliud quidem nihil agit; vel, ut veriùs dicam, inanes quasdam mortiunculas captat, dentemque in dente fatigat, authorem certè non lædit, ejus autem argumentorum vim et acumen nè assequitur quidem. Mirati primùm sumus quis esset; nomen enim ignobile, futilitatis certè suæ conscius, celat. Cùm verò libellus ejus, macri nescio cujus et jejuni ingenii indicium, perlectus esset, in eo statim, tanquam in speculo, virum conspeximus. Quis igitur sit, pòst videbimus. Hoc verò jam tacere non possum, hominem quendam valdè obscurum et vilem eum esse apparere; qui tamen arrogantia sua mendaciisque fretus, ut morientem et penè defunctam regis sui causam aliquantulum resuscitare videretur, hominumque animos jam sedatos, et judiciis Dei statim acquieturos, iterum commoveret atque irritaret, Dei Omnipotentis voluntati, summæque justitiæ se opponere (quam ille tàm insignibus et mirandis iræ suæ exemplis in regem, regisque fautores editis, omnibus vult esse notam) et supremos reipublicæ nostræ Magistratus accusare, convitiisque indignissimis infamare ausus est. Veruntamen ita obtorpescit, tam insulsus est, tamque somniculosum se glirem præbet, ut certissimum causæ suæ jam languentis, et in totum penè perditæ omen præ se fert. Omnium enim debilissimam atque iniquissimam certe causam illam necesse est esse, qua in defendenda fautores ejus non solùm armis, verùm etiam ratione et argumentis inferiores sint. Meritò igitur cùm talis esset, ab ipso Miltono neglectus et contemptus est. Multò enim indignior ab omnibus existimabatur, quàm ut spectata jam facundia limati illius atque culti authoris ad eruenda sterquilinia, rabidamque loquacitatem tam effrænis atque stulti blateronis refutandam descenderet. Verùm nè inter suos perfugas inanis iste rabula se venditaret et aliquid magnum, vel quod uno sanè prandiolo dignum sit, se scripsisse crederet, equidem cùm in patriam pietate, tum instauratæ nuper libertatis apud nos amore ductus, necnon illi etiam viro mihi semper observando, quem iste insectatur, multis officiis devinctus, pati non poteram, quin hujus ineptissimi nebulonis petulantiam retundendam mihi, nè rogatus quidem, susciperem. Quemadmodum igitur Romani olim tirones in palum se primò gladiis et pilis exercebant, ita ego in hunc caudicem stylum acuere et ingenii vixdum pubescentis rudimenta deponere haud incommodè me posse confido. Cum adversario enim tam insipido et vulgari, exiguo saltem quivis ingenio, et eruditione quantumvis leviter imbutus, etiam de improviso congredi sine periculo poterit. Priùs igitur quàm opus ipsum aggrediar, operæ pretium videtur, authorem hujus Apologiæ illustrem, si diis placet, et disertum, in occulto tamen latentem, investigare. Sunt qui dicunt nomen illi Jano esse, obscuro homini et bonarum literarum rudi, ex illo grege leguleiorum quos pragmaticos vocant. Verùm cùm meminissem bifrontem esse Janum, alterum sincipitium in ejus occipitio quærendum mihi esse statui. Itaque alteri sincipitio nomen, uti ego indiciis quibusdam comperi, Bramalo est. Is librum nuper stylo atque sensu huic penè geminum scripsit Anglicè Εἰκονοκλάστην, cujus et hunc fœtum esse haud temerè plures autumant. Virum igitur, quanquam et hic vultum in occipitio gerit, si libet, cognoscite. Nam, ut ipse profitetur, theologiæ doctor est, et episcopus Hiberniensis. Is cùm ab ineunte ætate homo discinctus et ebriosus, episcoporum, qui tunc in Anglia dominabantur, luxum, opes, ambitionem ante oculos haberet, inedia pressus et latrantis stomachi instinctu, nihil sibi utilius esse duxit, quàm ut sacerdotis munere indutus, Ecclesiam, tunc quidem

lupis omnibus patentem, invaderet; et conciunculis aliquot ad illorum temporum pravitatem compositis instructus, quas de scripto recitandas circumferre solebat, nobilium hominum mensas, et sacellani pinguem aliquam mercedem, siqua ejusmodi offa se obtulisset, ambiebat; ubi cœnis quàm lautissimis, precibus quàm brevissimis uterentur. Inter alios Derbiæ comiti se clanculùm offerebat.—Tandem verò nequitiis coopertus, benevolentiam et favorem comitis Straffordiæ, proregis in Hibernia, quem multiplicis nomine perduellionis totus populus ad supplicium tandem poscebat, assentationibus et impudentia turpiter aucupatus est. Ille hominem se nactum esse ratus ad omnia facinora paratum, quique populum adulatoriis et aulicis concionibus suis ad suscipiendum servitutis jugum paratiorem redderet, episcopum eum Derriensem in Hibernia creavit. Jam verò post expulsos reges et prælatos, ad priorem vitæ inopiam redactus, rursus esuriens, "Curium" nunc "simulat" qui "Bacchanalia" modò vixit; utque pietatis obtentu cunctam rabiem in eos effunderet, qui et ipsum et cæteros istiusmodi latrones ovilibus Ecclesiæ opimis expulerunt, spe etiam nonnulla ampliorem aliquem episcopatum, mendaciorum suorum et audaciæ præmium sub minore Carolo devorandi, pellem ovinam induit, nil præter pietatem et sanctimoniam præ se fert; ita tamen, ut oblonga lupi cauda infra instiam sacerdotalem facilè appareat.

En virum egregium præ cæteris qui apologiam pro rege et populo Anglicano scribendam sibi sumit! Age verò, pro "rege" ut libet. Sed quid tu pro "populo Anglicano," qui Dominum tuum Straffordium, hostem populi acerrimum meritis pœnis affecit, teque pessimum ejus in Ecclesia Hiberniensi ad omnia scelera ministrum pari supplicio affecisset, nisi aut fuga aut obscuritas tua eorum manibus, qui Dominum plectebant, te furem eripuisset. Cur etiam apologiam "pro populo?" An pro iis qui regem puniverunt? haud credo; dices, pro iis qui regi favebant periodus? At illi id non requirunt, ut qui, facta pace, modicè multati, sua jam bona securè possideant, suamque fidem reipublicæ nostræ obstrinxerint. Unde tua ista apologia aut absurda planè est, aut nimiùm intempestiva. Verùm tu is homo es, qui titulum istum libri tui, utpote speciosum, vel cum maxima quavis absurditate arripere voluisti: Contra "Joannis" scilicet "Polypragmatici" defensionem. Sic ejus nimirum contra Claudium Anonymum, satis concinnè quidem dictum, si Claudium cum Anonymo conjunxeris, insulsè imitaris. Verùm non is polypragmaticus est, qui libertatem laudat, tyrannos damnat, civium suorum rectè et decorè facta defendit; sed tu potius, tuique similes verè sic dici debent, qui cum ecclesiasticos esse vos profiteamini, et Ecclesiam vestra polypragmatica perdidistis, et rerum civilium administrationem nihil ad vos pertinentem perpetuò conturbatis. Sed causa suberat gravis cur scriberes, credo, contra "defensionem" Miltoni "destructivam."

> Brammale dic nobis cujum pecus? anne latinum?
> Non, verùm monachorum, illi sic rure loquuntur.

Cognosce jam hominem in illa nempe barbarie scholastica potius quàm in clarorum authorum puritate et sapientia versatiorem, quorum lucem vespertilio iste ferre nunquam potuit. Unde demum prodeat apologia ista videamus. "Antverpia;" hoc enim solum præclarus iste protestantium episcopus, asylum, ut videtur, invenire sibi potuit, inter jesuitarum et monachorum catervas, quibuscum tales pseudepiscopi libentissimè esse solent. Rectè igitur meo judicio et se dignè faciunt protestantes exteri, qui turbatores istiusmodi errabundos suis cœtibus abigunt. Saltem non ausus est apud ullam Batavorum civitatem hoc suum opusculum typis mandare, veritus ne illustrissimi fœderatorum ordines, ut Salmasii nuper sui libellum publicè damnarunt, ita se quoque extorrem et erraticum nebulonem multò severiùs punirent. Quod illis quidem in laudem atque honorem, huic meritò in opprobrium cedere debet.

Jam ad lectorem quædam præfatur, et pauca sanè, sed quæ stultitiam hominis et ignorantiam illiteratam plus nimio prodant. Queritur "unam tantum" Salmasii "impressionem," idque "magna cum difficultate in lucem erupisse;" ejus autem libri quem Miltonus scripsit "tot esse exemplaria, ut" nesciat "cui lectorem remitteret." Itaque nihil hic reperio, cur non amico nostro gratulemur, Salmasium salsè rideamus. Annon hæc satis ad arguendam causæ tuæ fœditatem visa sunt? Miltonum omnes cum favore et plausu teipso teste legunt; Salmasium abjiciunt, nihili faciunt. His tua pervicacia adeò non movetur, ut omnes idcirco "mortales veritatem odisse, mendaciorum et convitiorum amore flagare," impudentissimè accuses, ipse interim non apostolus, non propheta, neque evangelista, sed scortator et helluo satis notus, et ganeonum duntaxat episcopus. Vos verò lectores, quos non humaniter appellat, sed in ipso exordio tam petulanter perstringit, tam docti reprehensoris vestri imprimis sensum, deinde literas vereri jam discite; primùm enim ait Miltoni defensionem "invidiosè elaboratam," deinde tot excusis exemplaribus approbatissimam esse fatetur; hæc sanè apud omnes qui Latinè intelligunt pugnantia sunt. Tum "tot sunt," inquit, "illius exemplaria, ut nescio cui lectorem remitterem." Satiùs tu quidem, qui vel prima pagina solœcismos evitare non potes, ad Orbilii cujusvis flagra remittendus es, apud quem nulla poteris apologia uti, quin omnes te pueri virgis et ferulis pulchrè depexum atque ornatum dimittant. Verum te jam primò auguror hac in parte haud rarò peccaturum, qui tam rem manè incipis. Neque lectorem stultè alloqui satis habes, sed eò etiam ulterius audaciæ processisti (quo vitio ignorantia maximè laborare solet) ut Leidensi Academiæ celeberrimæ ineptias tuas fœtidissimas epistola etiam stultissimè scripta dedicare ausus sis. "Alumnum" te academiæ "quondam" fuisse affirmas. Tunc verò academiæ ullius unquam alumnus, cujus infantiæ propemodùm illiteratæ quemlibet vel in agris ludum literarium puderet? Leidensem autem "alumnum" fuisse unquam te dicere audere, dubium tibi ne sit, quin illa academia vehementissimè indignetur; majori enim contumelia urbem illam afficere non potes, cujus te "quondam alumnum" fuisse prædicas; quanquam illud "quondam," si unquam fuit, multorum postea annorum cra-

pula in lustris atque popinis jam diu proluisti. Sed et tu "eorum tutelam expetis." Hominum stupidissime, tutelam tu tuæ barbariæ in musarum domicilio quæris, quarum hoc ipsum munus est, vinctam barbariem catenis in terras ultimas exterminare: nescis medios dilapsus in hostes. Saltem dum academicos alloqueris, simula te literatum quempiam esse, vel ad punctum temporis, si potes. "Salmasius," ais, "mihi ansam præbuit qui tamen omnibus arripuit:" quænam ista balbuties est? Fac modo academia, quam interpellas, te intelligat alumnum suum, vix credo annotinum. "Nec calamum," inquis, "in manum sumere auderem" (sapuisses tu quidem si ausus non fuisses) "nisi Miltoni amentia me invitum provocasset." At ille te non magis provocavit, quàm qui prætereunt importunum et improbissimi oris canem, quem inani latratu insequentem ita contemnit, ut vix fuste te dignetur aut calce. "Quid vero," inquis, "ab extero qui inter inhospitales Caucasos vitam degit, expectari poterit?" Nihil sanè: Expectationem tu nostram minimè fefellisti: neque certè erat opus ut te inter Caucasos vitam degere faterere, lingua te tua ipsique mores barbarum clamitant: Tuaque illa Caucasea "poma" si dare velles, scito omnes Alcinoos magnoperè aspernari. Ad academiam quereris inter alia quòd "Banausi et Mechanici in pulpitam ascenderunt." Perdoctus tu quidem et idoneus, qui Banausos, et Mechanicos in pulpitum ascendentes insecteris, qui pariter atque illi grammaticæ rudis, haud illis magis pulpitum declinare potes. Postremò "Alienigenam" te "Anglum" appellas. "Id" quidem rectissimè: Aliena enim sentis, aliena loqueris, quidni alienigenam te Anglum esse dicas, id est spurium, quem Angli veluti purgamentum suæ patriæ atque piaculum jure quidem ad Caucasos ablegârunt.

IN PRÆLUDIUM AD PRÆFATIONEM.

In præludiis esse se existimat vir gravis; ludos ut videtur episcopales mox editurus. Favete spectatores Ludioni episcopo. Verum putaret quis hominem non prologum agere, sed in ipso proœmio Orestem insanum aut Athamanta saltare. "Ne insaniens cacodæmon Johannes Miltonus, &c." O mitem et mansuetum! quàm non iracundè, quàm humaniter exorditur! quod aliis, quamlibet furentibus, extremum maledicentiæ est, id huic pro levi tantùm præludio habetur. Sed hoc novum non est: sic enim Pharisæi olim, veri ejus progenitores, Christum ipsum à cacodæmone agitari dicebant; ut nemo vel hoc vel pejus in se dici, præsertim ab hoc episcopo verè diabolico, molestè ferat. Offenditur imprimis quòd Miltonus reipubl. insignia, quemadmodum Salmasius regis in fronte libri posuit. Hæc ille posita ibi ait tanquam fœnum in cornu, "ut cuncti sibi caverent;" quod hoc ad alios nescio. Te verò Bramm[illegible] non miror fœnum in cornu usque adeò horrescere, quoties tot tua adulteria animo revolvis. Omitto deinde quæ de cruce furcifer atque etiam de lyta stultissimè deliras: et certè præludia professus, nihil aliud nisi nugas agis. "Parlamentum et concilium satis ætatis habent seipsos armis defendere." Atqui tuum erat potiùs cogitare, satisne ætatis haberes Latinè ut possis ad ipsum scribere. "Sed ringit illum Salmasius," vel ut posteà perdoctè sanè emendavit, "ringit ille pro Salmasio," (menda an emendatio vitiosior sit, lectorum esto judicium,) "peregrinos veretur: num tu credis quòd tot nefanda, &c." Væ tibi Prisciane! nam solœcismos hic non singulos, sed turmatim effundit. Quàm verò peregrinos vereatur Miltonus, et imprimis illum Thrasybombomachidem Salmasium, qui libros ejus perlegerit abundè norit. "Ego," inquis, "libertatem peto à libero suo populo Anglicano, ut quod in re tanti ponderis liberè proferre possim." Tunc ut quicquam quod liberum sit liberè proferre possis, mancipium aulæ fœdissimum, Straffordii famulus et minister, gulæ etiam atque inguini turpissimè serviens episcopus? Quem populus opinor universus de libertate concionantem veluti obscœnum portentum abominaretur; vel etiam lapidibus obrueret, aut siquid mitius, ecquis huc vincula et compedes, exclamarent; ut Romani olim, Claudii quodam aulico ad concionandum misso, "Io, Saturnalia!" repentè clamabant. Nam servis Romæ, nisi festis Saturnalibus, liberè loqui non licebat. "Nos," inquis, "super dejectos cantando epiniceia triumphamus." Rectè quidem super hostes qui propter commoda quædam sua cum tyranno conjurati, patriam ad servitutem redigere conabantur: et epinicia nos quidem minimè omnium superbè cantamus, Deo semper gloriam tribuimus. Verùm quid sibi volunt "epiniceia" tua, Bardocucülle? An quia tam strenuè pergræcari solitus es, Græcè idcircò intelligere te putas? "Angit" Miltonum, inquis, "quòd Salmasius extraneus aliquam notitiam caperet illarum rerum, quæ nunc fiunt in Anglia:" non quòd "notitiam caperet," sed quòd rerum nihil ad se pertinentium arbitrum se faceret, veritatem turpissimis mendaciis perverteret, quos non norat, in eos convitiis et contumeliis inveherctur. "Fures," inquis, "lucem timent." Tu igitur fur omnium pessimus, qui lucem times et nomen celas. Sacra etiam impuris manibus attrectas. Prov. 29. Cùm boni regnant, populus gaudet; cùm mali dominantur, populus dolet: ea de causa cùm Carolus dominabatur, populus dolebat. Quod omnes satis meminerunt. Neque leve signum est, eos jam gaudere, bonis remp. gerentibus; Carolum enim filium, etiam cum exercitu jam venientem, et libertatem, qua incedit, omnibus pollicentem, tanquam hostem aversantur ubique, et fugiunt, vi etiam et armis cum summa alacritate propulsant.

Quam autem sis ineptus nunquam clariùs perspicitur, quàm cùm de te loqueris, ut hic. "Fateor," inquis, "ut huic veteratori respondeam, me multò inferiorem bonis omnibus et adjumentis vitæ spoliatum." Quibusnam bonis? Si bonis animi, doctrina et ingenio sis inferior, cur non parem tubi congressum potiùs quæsivisti? Sed is puto es, qui esse doctum, esse eloquentem nihil aliud nisi esse divitem existimes:

ut bonis externis et vitæ adjumentis spoliatus si sis, doctrina quoque et ingenio spoliatus tibi videare. Ais vero tu "bonis omnibus spoliatum te esse?" Callidus nimis es et vafer, cupis celare divitias tuas, verùm non potes. Indicabo ego te et facultates tuas. Præter illa bona, quæ erepta tibi esse dicis, restat adhuc tibi, non enim celabis, ingens, eoque ingentius, quòd nemo tibi eripiet, solœcismorum peculiam; in eo genere divitiarum, neminem te locupletiorem cognovi. Extorrem præterea te esse queritaris; vah quam indigne! Ut perspicias igitur quàm sum pro te sollicitus, est in Cilicia oppidum Soli antiquum, ut perhibent, et satis amplum; illuc omnes qui solœcismos tam strenuè facere solent, coloniam ducunt; sarcinas igitur quàm primùm collige, eò enim te, tuasque omnes facultates suadeo transferas. Permagna ibi te latifundia, mihi crede, manent, immò, nisi fallor, Solœcorum omnium principatum facilè unus obtinebis. Verùm quod nullum tibi unquam fuit (si ingenium dicis quo inferiorem te factum fateris) id tibi nos scilicet eripuisse insimulas. Cùm te contrà ab adversario multas dictiones, et aptè usitata ab eo verba ineptè suffurari non pudeat. "Superbire" Miltonum ais, "nominibus suis et titulis in frontispicio suspensis." Quæ ille nomina præter suum, quos ille titulos in fronte libri suos posuit? An ideo superbus, quia se sui neque nominis neque causæ pudebat? Hæccine tibi "phylacteria" sunt? "Salmasium," inquis, Miltonus, "tanquam anonymum commitiis et scommatibus scurrilibus persequitur:" multò certè sermonis lepore et facetiis in hominem jocatur, tu scurrile quicquam ab eo dictum nequis ostendere. "Sed seculo venturo omnes Miltoni hoc nomine misere vapulabunt, ne fortè" (id est ejus loquela, nisi fortè) "judicet mundus, &c." Quicquid de Miltonis seculo venturo fiat, tu vates ventriloquus et infantissimus fide nulla es dignus. "Sed nil novi viros optimos nomina sua reticuisse." Nempe quia tu ità facis. "Sic sanctus Paulus ad Hebræos;" scripsit enim ad nationem suo nomini infensissimam, de rebus admodum novis et parum creditis; tu verò populo Anglicano, tu exteris tibi et causæ tuæ, ut ipse ais, minimè iniquis, de re notissima, et apud omnes gentes, ut idem ais, receptissima, et tamen malè tibi conscius nomen occultas. "Sic Beza." Rectè meministi, scripsit enim "Vindicias contra Tyrannos," quas tu inter "veritates" illas, "quæ, ut nunc temporis, vix hiscere audebant," recenses. "Virtus," inquis, apud nos "vitio vertitur." Quia Brammali scilicet virtutes, ebrietas, voracitas, alea, scortatio, vitia habentur. "Sed Cantabrigia et Oxonium suis invictis declarationibus se ab hoc crimine liberarunt." At invictæ illæ declarationes fatuitatis et væcordiæ facilè evincuntur: academiarum enim non erant, sed prælatorum factionis, quæ ibi reliqua erat. Rectiùs nunc sapiunt academiæ. "Genevam," inquis, "Deodatus" hoc crimine "liberavit." Solus fortasse sensum ille suum, non totius academiæ judicium explicavit. "Leydam quoque Salmasius." Non Leydensis tamen, sed externus. Leydenses libertate priùs recuperata, quàm literis clari erant.

"Tot ergò doctorum et bonorum agmine circumvallatus," vix uno videlicet atque altero, "faciam rem non difficilem, causam Dei omnipotentis dicturus." Dei nimirum tui, hoc est ventris, aut Bacchi, qui tibi omnipotens est; cujus auspiciis Brammalus

> Grammaticus, geometra, minister, alipta, sacerdos,
> Augur, scœnobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit.
> Brammalus esuriens, in cœlum, jusseris, ibit.

Sed eodem credo successu, quo grammaticatur. Nam "in tantam crevit audaciàm, ut quicquid libet dicere, licet:" hæc ejus syntaxis est. "Sed" Miltonus "monarchiam è mundo tollere laborat." Dic ubi? Omnibus enim populis semper hoc liberum reliquit, sive monarchiam vellent, sive aliam regiminis formam; tantummodò nolentibus imponi noluit. Ad solœcismos tuos redeo, qui jam vix intermittunt; "Quidni Salmasio non pepercit rabula? Videtur tamen sua canina ferocia catenis vinctus vel potiùs vinciendus, qui omnes undique mordit." Unde tibi isti nitores orationis et lumina, Brammale? Fieri non potest, quin omnes obscurorum virorum epistolas et loculos expilaveris. Crimini das Miltono, "quod is in partem adjutorii" (ejus enim barbarismis utor) "Deum vocet." Facis ut te decet episcopum atheum et prophanum. Sed miraris "qua fronte" Miltonus "ausus est dicere," se "hæc, jubente parlamento, evulgasse." Primum Miltonus hoc nusquam dicet; sed dixisse finge, ut certè fingis, quid tu contra? "Si vera," inquis, "narrat, ubi Brown, vel Elsing, vel Scobel, clerici parlamentariorum?" Næ tu homo verè minutulus es, et nullius pretii: nihilne putas jubente atque etiam libente parlamento prodire in lucem posse, nisi cui nomen clerici parlamentarii adscribatur? Mirum est tot tibi nugas cogitanti non hoc etiam in mentem venisse, quod vulgò dicitur,——

> Clericus in libro non valet ova duo.

Præsertim cujus tu farinæ clericus es, qui mediocriter saltem Latinè non intelligis; si enim intellexisses, non hæc ejus verba, "quæ authoritate parlamenti scripta et declarata sunt," de ejus libro dicta existimares, verùm de publicis parlamenti scriptis, et declarationibus passim editis. Neque te quicquam ex verbis ejus lucratum esse censisses, quamvis quod dixisse eum falsò accusas, "factionem" rempubl. dixisset; factionem enim tam in bonam quàm in malam partem olim dici vel pueris notum est. Progrederis deinde. "Una factio erat et armis se tuetur (non jure) tui." Quid tu hic tibi velis? Si capis ipse, bene est, ego quidem non capio. Ut nec sequentia tua de "parlamento supremo, concilio summo, de grammatica" denique "comparandi gradibus laborante." Id te angit potius quòd hierarchia tua gradibus laborat. "Hunc," inquis, "honorem Deo ceditis, ut dum vos vestris mundanis gaudeatis, nè minimam religionis aut animarum curam suscipere velle, palàm profitemini." En iterum fœde solœcum! Sed sane dignum est, et tu, qui animarum cura quid sit, nunquam scivisti, eam civili gladio commissam crederes. Nos verò, ais, "magno impetu prosternimus veræ religionis cultores." Hostes quidem civiles et proditores, religionis autem cultores, religionis causa non prosternimus. "Salmasium" deinde crepas: tace

de Salmasio, ille suos patitur manes, et in Suecorum aula jam diu friget. Sed Miltonus, ut omnes respublicas et "illustrissimos etiam Hollandiæ ordines" in partes suas pelliceret, "illorum principi" oblatrat. Advertite Hollandi, principem nuper mortuum, vestrum principem appellat, nec vos quidem liberos esse patitur. Cavete, dum licet, ne pervagante hujusmodi aulicorum doctrina elatus, alter quispiam apud vos princeps ac dominus succrescat. Tandem "præludium" hoc grandi solæcismo pene claudit, "hæreditarium regis imperium, cui totus populus per multos annos juratus consenserunt." Vos lectores eruditi, quotquot literas humaniores amatis, præfantem hunc Bavium, immò barbarum, odio quo dignus est, et sibilo prosequimini.

CAP. I.

Præludiis amotis fabulam expectabamus, promissas nimirum illas Miltoni confutationes. Et certè hoc sensu revera fabulam agit; eorum enim quæ promisit, nihil præstat; sed partim maledictis, partim insulsis regiæ fortunæ miserationibus totum hoc caput exhaurit. "Non sum," inquit, "tam audax Phormio, ut Salmasio me compararem, quàm Miltonus, qui se Salmasio opponere auderet." Næ tu Phormio quis fuerit in comœdia parùm videris intelligere. At quid ais? "Miltonum Salmasio opponere se audere," grammaticorum Pyrgopolynici? Facinus ingens narras. "Nam si authoritate," inquis, "dirimenda lis sit, plus fidei uni Salmasio, quàm mille millenis Miltonis omnes ingenui et docti darent." At verò qui authoritatem vel Salmasio vel Miltono dant, nisi quam eorum alteruter ratione et argumentis sibi acquirit, ipsi neque docti, neque ingenui sunt. Miltonum exteris antehac ignotum veritas et ratio commendavit: Salmasium inane nomen, et multæ lectionis opinio commendare sine ratione non valuit, quin ab amicis etiam ejus, et fautoribus longè inferior in hoc certamine sit judicatus. Tu totam de patribus disputationem satis callidè abs te amoves, et quos nunquam consulueris. "Miltonum in plurimis Salmasio castigandum relinquis." Munus profectò satis arduum Salmasio reliquisti, qui Miltoni responsum cùm legeret, ita, ut videtur, perculsus est et quatefactus, ut, soluta alvo, in latrinam putem confugisse: unde scripsit ad amicos, cacabundus in hæc verba: "Ego istum Miltonum permerdabo et permingam." Balistam satis validam in postico geras oportet, Salmasi, qua merdas tam longè contorquere aut explodere te posse putas. Hinc est quòd tam fœtida meditantem jam diu in aula Sueciæ fœtere te dicant: neque mirum est, si Sueciæ regina, quamvis opinione vulgi primùm decepta, nunc suo acri judicio compertum te et cognitum tam olentem Mævium à se abjecerit. Ferunt alii, cùm paginam unam atque alteram responsi illius percurrisset, furore correptum sic subitò rodomontari cœpisse. "Ego perdam istum nebulonem et totum parlamentum." Hæc verba ipsius ad nos delata retuli; et sanè si istiusmodi homo est, non is idoneus qui castiget alios, sed qui ipse castigetur, in phreneticorum potiùs gymnasium deportandus. Progredere, "prætermissis," ut ais, "oratoriis et verisimilibus et Cicerone, Aristotele, Euripide, Sophocle, et aliis ethnicorum scriptis. Non enim Christianis necessariò recurrendum est ad ethnicos." Nescis ergò Salmasium tuum hanc priùs affectasse viam? Miltonus eò tantùm adversarium secutus est provocantem. Tu verò interim hypocrita ignaviæ tuæ consulis, qui cum nullum sanè bonum, aut facundum authorem unquam attigeris, id studio pietatis non fecisse te simulas. Miltonus aiebat, "pater nos genuit, non rex." Tu inde nomen patris à specie ad numerum detorques, ut captiones hinc quasdam et amphibolias frigidissimas consuere possis; quas ne recitatione quidem dignas existimo, adeo sunt ineptæ et mucosæ. "Si verò," inquis, "rex juvenis uxorem ambiens papam patrem sanctissimum appellaverit, non tam acri censura perstrigendus." Sic Zimri juvenis Moabissam uxorem ambiens à religione vera defecit; an excusatior idcirco est? "Probabile," verò, ais, "esse quòd literam secretariis suis scribendam commisit." Eò magis culpandus, qui rem tanti momenti, quæque religionem atque honorem suum in dubium vocare poterat, secretariis tam minimè probis commiserit. Verùm et nos "regem Hispaniarum regem Catholicum" appellamus. Istarum literarum exemplar æquum est te proferre, si potes, sicuti nos regis ad papam protulimus. "Et quidni," inquis, "papam patrem sanctissimum appellaveritis, si in politicis vobiscum sentiret." Sic scurræ solent deprehensi; quod se fecisse constat, id alios facere velle calumniantur. Hos mores scurrarum lepidissime depingit Plautus:

> Nihil est profecto stultius atque stolidius,
> Neque mendaciloquius, neque perjurius,
> Quàm urbani assidui cives, quos scurras vocant;
> Qui omnia se simulant scire, nec quicquam sciunt,
> Quod quisquam in animo habet, aut habiturus est, sciunt,
> Quæ neque futura, neque facta sunt, tamen illi sciunt.

"Si hos vermes," ais, "regum auribus insidiantes, et velut intus existentes, prohibent alienum, ut neminem sibi fidelem audire poterat, rex radicitus extirpasset, &c." Credo istos vermes et auribus et cerebro tuo insidiantes, grammaticæ rudimenta, siqua tibi insculpta erant, penitùs exedisse. Rursus "Deodatum" affers, "qui regem nostrum unicum reformatæ religionis defensorem insignivit." At, inquam, longius abfuit Deodatus, quam ut Carolum in cute nosse posset; ne dicam clausisse oculos, si post Rupellenses reformatos tam à Carolo præclarè defensos hoc dixerit. Sed pergis, "vobis qui Carolum è mundo sustulistis, tandem redeundi patet via in Ægyptum, ex quo ægrè detinemini." Eja solorum decus, quàm te jam in municipio tuo solensi oblectas, à quo nemo te possit detinere, ne si furca quidem expelleret. Miltonus, ais, "nec locum, nec librum, ubi à se prolata" è summorum theologorum libris "inveniemus, exhibet." At ista loca Miltonus facilè protulisset, nisi ipse Salmasius adversos sibi plerosque reformatos theologos haud uno in loco fassus esset; quæ tamen loca eorum scripta legentibus ita passim occurrunt, ut hinc tua potiùs ignorantia constet, qui neque illos, neque ipsum Salmasium prælegisse videris. Jam "Davidis" exemplum omnibus notum

narras. Rationes autem illas, quas attulit Miltonus; cur exemplum illud ad causam hanc non pertineret, non attingis; tantummodò unctum Domini, unctum Domini ingeminas. Dic sodes ergò, estne omnis rex unctus Domini? Omnis, ais, præsertim Christianus. Cur ergò dux Josua quinque unctos Domini uno die suspendit? Nam Christianos si dices non fuisse, ridiculum est; quandoquidem Christianum profiteri, cùm sit maleficus, neminem supplicio debito eximere potest. "David," inquis, "viam nobis monstravit tolerantiæ, ut Deo judici relinquetur, qui impœnitentem percutiet, ut morietur." Quid me cogis? defessus jam penè sum, solenses tuas delitias perambulando. Ad Davidem recurris; Salmasio responsum erat eadem inculcanti, Davidem privatum privatas injurias ulcisci noluisse. Tu parlamentum omne privatum esse dicis, regem Carolum, unctum Domini fuisse; nihil tamen horum probas; nihil ab adversario dictum cum ratione oppugnas. "Si ex aura populari," inquis, "diademata regibus auferenda, quis non vellet se ex infima plebe terræ filium potius esse quàm regem?" Id noli timere; utcunque non deessent reges. Neque te, credo, hoc deterrebat, quò minùs episcopatum turpiter ambires, quamvis populo invisum. "At Miltonus," ais, "dum potestatem populi in reges suos imprudenter prædicat, reges omnes esse tyrannos instruit." Sic sanè ut lex instruit homicidas, quia vetat.

> "—— Jam Troja maneret," ais,
> "Consilio Priami si foret usa senis."

At verò noster Priamus, vel Paris potiùs, non Trojæ usus consilio, sed Helenæ suæ, et se perdidit et regnum suum. Jam ordine perrupto ad nonum puto vel decimum caput excurris. Miltonum, ais, asseruisse, "nullum membrum parlamenti absque proprio consensu in judicium vocari posse, regem" autem tu saltem "membrum" parlamenti esse dicis. Præpropere tu quidem id ibas petitum, quod nusquam erat, neque à quoquam, quod memini, unquam dictum. Hoc etiam responsum tulisse regem, cùm quinque membra posceret falsissimum est, quòd ex illa re gesta satis liquet. "Nosti," inquis, "quod nisi à sicariis vestris impeditus populus esset, regem è vestris manibus eripuissent." Verum quos tu populum esse existimas, nos non putamus. An vero regiorum gregem illum perditum, toticsque domitum, populum appellas? Nos ita non existimamus: victi bello, quod ipsi intulerant, jus populi amiserunt. Miltonum gravitur accusas, quod dixerit, Salmasium regis mortem ineptè plorantem, legentium neminem pilo tristiorem reddidisse. Non ergo in Miltonum, sed in stolidissimas conducti ploratoris nænias culpam conferre debes.

> Men' moveat quippe, et cantet si naufragus, assem
> Protulerim. ——— Verum: nec nocte paratum
> Plorabit, qui me volet incurpasse querelæ.

"Majori patientia," inquis, "ferunt episcopi convitia tua." Episcoporum sanè patientia omnibus nota est. Hic verò quasi interno dolore perculsus, magno fervore et conatu, episcoporum cæremonias et ambitiones asserere contendis. Unde apertiùs licet conjicere, te Brammalum lurconem illum quem antea diximus esse, qui episcopos combibones, et commessatores tuos, belli civilis faces, tam gnaviter defendis. "Quot duxerit Hippia mœchos," inquis, "innumerabiles sunt." At multò magis innumerabiles, quot Brammulus fecerit mœchas. "Sed rex noster," ais, "templa nostra decenter ornavit et honoravit in honorem Dei, nunquam in equorum stabulos convertebat." Nunquam, mihi crede, templa vestra tàm "decenter ornavit," quàm tu Solorum templa egregiis tuis ornasti solœcismis, quorum monumenta sane sempiterna nunquam interibunt. Te Deum omnes solœci, te patronum tam præclare de illo municipio meritum colent posthac in secula, et invocabunt; in memoriam etiam eloquentiæ tuæ tam asininæ, non scholas discipulis tuis, sed "stabulos" dicabunt. Regem autem vestrum aio minimè omnium "templa" ornasse, sed ipsum potius in equorum stabula, atque in haras etiam convertisse, dum tot immundos prælatos, tot porcos episcopos, te denique spurcissimum in Ecclesiam introduxit.—"Regias" jam "partes agi," dicis, si Presbyterianos graviùs incusemus. Nec tamen Christus ipse et Apostoli, falsos Evangelii doctores, fratres subdititios, religionis prætextu Ecclesiæ insidiantes, mitiùs olim increpabant.—An ergò dicta eorum aut scripta "digladiari in se invicem" dices, quòd suos vel libentes, vel deficientes à fide atque integritate liberrimè reprehenderent? "Ubi mutatur forma reipublicæ ex monarchia in aliam, non datur successio, &c." Non hunc Miltonus solùm, sed Salmasius "obicem Carolo secundo" posuit; ejus enim verba sunt, si advertisses. Verùm tu, aut cœcus aut demens, in socios pariter ac hostes incurris. "Tanta," inquis, "illorum astutia omnia obliterata sunt, ut conclamatum est de viribus humanis; sed nos qui per fidem in Deum expectamus resurrectionem futuram, &c." Apage sis temulente. Quid tibi aut vinolentiis tuis cùm fide, quem si porcula tua majora ita consopirent, ut resurgere nunquam posses, feliciùs profecto consultum tibi foret. "Scires libenter quid per populum" velimus. Scirem ego vicissim, quid Romani per senatum populumque Romanum voluerint. Quæris "quod remedium restat populo contra tyrannidem parlamenti." Tum id quoque dicam, cùm causæ quid erit; nunc supervacua ne quære.

CAP. II.

Definierat Salmasius regem "Deo solo minorem, legibus solutum; si nostram rempub. sic definiret aliquis," consensuros nos esse ais, qui tamen regis illam definitionem oppugnavimus. Institutum hoc tuum esse video, cùm refutare nihil possis, posse saltem calumniari. "Et qui penetrabit" Miltoni "scripta," inquis, "nil præter barbariem et insaniam inveniet." Dirumpi ergo nécesse est te, qui tot viros doctos et probos de Miltoni scriptis longè aliter sentire, invitus quotidie cernis. Barbariem verò tu cuiquam impudentissime? quem præter linguæ fatuitatem, cùm

sensus belluini et stupor, tum etiam mores in ipsa vastitate barbariæ natum atque nutritum clamant. Utcunque tamen siquid affers audiamus. "Petrus supremum vocat regem." Supereminentem quidem vocat; idque vulgari potiùs loquendi more, quàm verè politico, pro eorum captu ad quos scripsit. Sic consul Romanus ὕπατος est vocatus, id est supremus, quo modo et Poloniæ rex, et dux Venetiarum supremus vocari potest; qui tamen, si politicas rationes accuratiùs inire volumus, et multorum instituta regnorum, supremi non sunt. Ita igitur supremum vocâsse regem Apostolus censendus est, ut tamen leges cujusque gentis, et jura, et reipub. formam inviolatam esse vellet.—Et certè non tam supremus quis sit, docet aut disputat, quàm quas ob causas et quatenus obedientiam sive supremis, sive præsidibus præstare debeamus: id Miltonus copiosè explicuit; tu nescio an tuæ conscientia vecordiæ, consultò prætermittis. "Quasi," inquis, "triginta Athenis tyranni non plus poterant in damnum populi, quàm unus si maximè tyrannus esse voluerit." At inquam ego contrà, nullus unquam fuit unus, "si maximè tyrannus esse voluerit," quin tyrannos non triginta solùm, sed trecentos, atque etiam multò plures in damnum populi constituere soleret: frustra igitur sub uno sive monarchia, tyranno melius populo fore speras: nullus enim in republica tyrannus unquam unus fuit, quin plurimos sibi adsciscere tyrannos necesse habuerit. "Rex si abutetur," inquis, "potestate sua in regni detrimentum, à suis subditis impediri potest et debet." Rectè concedis: sed quousque impediri possit ac debeat non dicis. Potest enim tyrannus eousque procedere in detrimentum regni, ut nisi vim vi repellamus, eumque pro hoste habeamus, impedire nullo modo possimus. Concedis igitur ipse, et frustra contendis veritate victus, sed videri concedere non vis, pertinaciæ studiosior, quam veritatis; nam quod impediri ais tyrannum debere, "non in judicium trahi et capite plecti" vel "ab uno" vel "ab omnibus," sed "Dei judicio relinquendum esse," nugæ sunt, et gratis dictæ; quæ singula, non affirmanda, sed probanda tibi restant. Vis monarchiam reipublicæ forma esse perfectiorem. Id nos in præsentia non agimus. Tua tamen argumenta, quoniam vacat, videamus. "Introductam à Deo" dicis "in ultimum et præstantissimum remedium populo toties ab inimicis subacto sub judicibus."—Primùm cur illud præstantissimum remedium non primò potiùs, quàm ad ultimum adhibitum fuerit, cùm Deus rempub. suam quam præstantissimis legibus formaret; deinde cùm Israëlitæ regem peterent, pòst annos circiter quadringentos sub judicibus exactos, si monarchia præstantissimum illud remedium Deo visum est, cur ab ea dissuaserit populum suum ac deterruerit, solum. Cur denique petentes eos peccati gravissimi reos fecerint, fac quæso intelligamus: "quòd Theocratiam," inquis, "rejicerent," nempe sub judicibus. At verò illi non minùs in monarchia theocratiam retinere poterant, ac debebant; sin minùs, tu monarchiam dum præstantissimam esse dicis, non theocratiam sed atheocratiam cave dixeris; in qua Deus tam præsens regere suum populum quàm sub judicibus non potuit. Certè si gubernantibus illis theocratiam in republica fuisse dicis, ut certe fuit, haud aliam gerendæ reipublicæ formam præstantiorem, ut sunt res mortalium, invenire quisquam poterit. "Respondeat mihi," inquis, "tuus populus Anglicanus, utrùm ligneo Caroli jugo excusso, aliquam miseriarum relaxationem inveniant." Respondet itaque jugum se Caroli ferreum à conscientiis suis depulisse, jugum idem episcoporum; sua vectigalia, suosque census non nunc aulicæ luxuriæ, et libidinibus, sed vincendis hostibus et propagandis imperii finibus ultrò se impendere "Leges," ais, "Mosi et regibus à Deo datas quibus regant populum; num populo lex data, ut reges regeret?" Immò apertè leges tam Mosi et regibus, quàm cætero populo sunt datæ, ut tàm se, quàm populum regerent; sin minùs, ita ut regerentur ab aliis, ut ne lex Dei cuivis mortalium frustra daretur. "Quis gerit," inquis, "gladium? populus?" Immò populus per magistratum, quem sive unum sive plures ex omni suo numero elegerit. Neque ullas propterea confusiones, quas metuis, excitari necesse erit. "Si vel pedem," inquis, "figeres," de regibus actum erit δός ποῦ στῶ καὶ τὴν γῆν κινήσω. Utinam pedem ipse tandem figeres, Silene, si Brammalus es. Nam nos locum, ubi stes ebrius, dare non possumus, quin ea quæ fixissima sunt et firmissima, tibi in gyrum moveri, et cum cerebro tuo semper madente circumnatare videantur. "Quis te," inquis, "juramento regi præstito liberare potuit?" Juramentum ipsum, quo regi non propter regem, sed reipubl. causa, obstricti fuimus; quam cùm perditum iret, et suum ipse prius jusjurandum violavit, et nostrum solvit. Nihil enim naturæ, nihil rationi aut gentium juri contrarium magis esset, quàm si regi jusjurandum suum violare ad libidinem liceret, populus servare fidem ad perniciem suam teneretur. "Ut dicto audientes Mosi fuimus, ita erimus tibi, modo Deus tecum sit, quemadmodum fuit cum Mose." Sic Reubenitæ ad Jehosuam. "Conditionem hic nullam" vides "expressam." Ad Anticyras ergò naviga, aut domi crapulam edormisce; cras, mihi crede, nihil expressius videbis, neque tam stultè interrogabis, "quid si Deus Josuam desereret," sed quid si Josua Deum desereret: tum enim quid facturi essent Reubenitæ, tibi respondebimus. "Nutare mihi crede jus regium videtur." Hoc de jure regio, prout Salmasius describit, dictum est. Neque est hoc "monarchiam legitimam in Carolo trucidare," quod tu toties invidiosè et parasiticè vociferaris. Nunc quod minimè es, vatem scilicet et concionatorem piissimum multis deincèps verbis agere cupis; dumque adulterum videri te metuis, profers adulterinum. "Digitum Dei agnoscimus et veneramur punientem ingratum populum." At populo benè est et prosperè, quem tu nequicquam ingratitudinis accusas; tu potiùs Dei digitum agnosce, te tuosque unà cum omnibus tyranni fautoribus insigniter punientem. "Nondum," ais, "Hispania et Pontificii velum abduxerunt." Quid nobis Hispaniam et Pontificios toties immeritò objicis; qui non ignoremus Carolum tuum minorem in Belgio commorantem legatos ad Papam misisse, ut vel ab ipso Antichristo rex reformatus contra patriam et reformatos auxilium imploraret? "Persecutio," inquis, "jam in Anglia maxima est, quæ fuerat à tempore quo populus aliquis

inhabitabat." An major ea quam Brammalus in Hibernia nuper excitavit, qui curiam inquisitionis, conscientiis hominum tàm infestam et tyrannicam, primus omnium in Hiberniam introduxit. Te verò illum ipsum fuisse sequentia clariùs ostendunt. In hoc enim jam totus es, ut Ecclesiasticam tyrannidem defendas. "Nam quod tanta," inquis, "jam patimur, hæc est ratio præcipua, quod in aliquibus Anabaptistarum et cæterorum omnium schismaticorum clamoribus viam concedentes, uno dato absurdo sequuntur infinita." Ipsissimus hic Brammalus ille antiquum obtines, qui reformatis omnibus schismaticorum nomine infamatis omnem conscientiæ libertatem adimere perpetuò studebas. Nunc illorum importunitati, id est, conscientiæ, etiam nonnulla unquam concessa fuisse gravitèr doles. "Reges Anglorum judicari posse à suis subditis," Miltonum ais docere, "exemplo pravorum temporum, et jure à sapientibus damnatis chartis obsoletis, et ob multas corruptiones meritò explosis." Quid isto hominum genere absurdius aut impudentius? quærunt modò quo jure, quâ lege factum quidque à nobis sit, si leges non recitamus, contra eas fecisse nos judicant; si leges nostras proferimus antiquas, ratas, atque notissimas, hi statim "obsoletas et meritò explosas" esse aiunt: nec tamen quo tempore explosæ aut abrogatæ fuerint, usquam ostendunt. Ita, dum tyrannidem sine autoritate asserere cupiunt, et vetera et nova pariter rejiciunt. "Quidni," inquis, Uzzias rex leprosus "à sacerdotibus templo deturbaretur, cum Deus lepræ probendæ, et leprosi omnis excludendi potestatem et mandatum sacerdotibus dederat." At verò idem Deus, lex eadem omnis malefici puniendi potestatem et mandatum magistratibus dederat, neque magis tamen leprosi regis exturbandi, quam malefici regis puniendi vel hîc vel illic mentio facta est. Si lepræ judicio regem eximi non vis, quia nominatim non excipitur, eadem certè ratione neque ullis aliis legibus aut judiciis regem exemeris. Sed video quid agitis, ut regem quamvis vestrâ sententiâ supremum, vobis tamen sacerdotibus subjiciatis, utque rex in populum absoluto atque supremo dominaretur imperio, vos sacrificuli supremo superiores eodem imperio dominaremini in regem. "Consensus," inquis, "populi et inauguratio tantum adjuncta necessaria fuere." Hoc in Saule, Davide, ejusque posteris concedo, de quibus nominatim creandis Dei mandatum præcesserat: tu idem de Carolo aut ullis ejus majoribus ostende. "Rex," ais, "nunquam pepigit cum populo, ut illi eum castigarent si aliter quàm bene regeret." Neque populus cum rege pepigit, se illi, quicquid collibitum est facienti, in perniciem suam obtemperaturos. Neque verò in privato quovis syngrapho, ullus unquam pepigit ut creditoribus liceret, si is debitum non solveret, lege in eum agere, et in carcerem conjicere, ejusque bona possidere, quoad plenè sibi satisfactum esset. Hæc et istiusmodi quæ accidere nollemus, in pactionibus et fœderibus vel honoris causâ vel boni ominis consulto non exprimimus; quia cum paciscimur, talia nunquam eventura optamus; quæ etiam sine monitis intelligere per se quisque et cavere debet. Tu hic tritum illud ingeris; "per me reges regant;" fatemur, sicut et per eum sunt, agunt, et moventur omnia: tu "modo peculiari," inquis. Tu, inquam, de tuo hoc dicis, autoritatem verbi divini nullam affers. Subjicis, "alioqui cui fini illa præcepta obedientiæ in Novo Testamento?" Quoties tibi respondebitur, obedientiam absurdam et irrationabilem in Novo Testamento non præcipi; sed qualis ea, et quibus, et quam ob causam præstanda sit, luculentissimè doceri. Qui habet aures, audiat. "Qui repugnant," inquis, "damnabuntur, quod proculdubio nunquam minaretur Apostolus, si privatorum tantum rationem vel paucorum habuerat." Quasi verò multi privati sine magistratuum authoritate seditiosi esse non possint; quid hoc ad populum cum magistratibus et Parlamento contra tyrannos arma sumentem? "Hoc honore Deus dilectos suos decoravit, ut gentium reges vinculis coercerent, &c." Id fieri dicis "Evangelicis non legalibus catenis." Insipidè prorsus. An vindicta ergò sic exercetur in gentes? An ferreas compedes Evangelii vincula sunt, quas Psalmus ille regibus et proceribus minatur? Tu hoc, ut soles, de sacerdotibus, non de bonis magistratibus et populo intelligi vis, qui pontificale quoddam regnum tuorum in omnes Laïcos futurum somnias, "Israelitæ," inquis, "quia regem rejecêre, à Salmansore in captivitatem sunt abducti. Judæi, qui regi Rehoboamo fideles manserant, sub illius tutela securi vivebant." Historiam sacræ Scripturæ si consuluisses, non nescires Hierosolymas sub ipso statim Rehoboamo à Sesako Ægyptiorum rege captas, et thesauris suis spoliatas, longè priùs quàm Israelitæ in captivitatem abducerentur. "Jeroboamo Deus decem tribus assignavit, quod de vestra repub. nobis non constat." Tam nobis, inquam, de nostra repub. quàm vobis de vestro Carolo: immò longè plùs. "Vestros," inquis, "Capnomantes et Entheos pro Dei vatibus non recipimus." Neque nos te præsertim aleatorem, ebriosum, et scortatorem episcopum: cujus vaticinia hoc capite solœcorum floribus ornatissima in gratiam tui studiosorum, nequid tàm emuncti authoris desideraretur, huc in fine congessimus. "Aristocratia nonnunquam cachistocratia dicenda." Tàm orthographicè hoc abs te quàm etymologicè est dictum, siquidem duo contraria simul vera esse possunt. "Spes nulla restat ut in pristinam felicitatem restituamur. Nec dubitamus quin plus apud Deum valebunt miseriæ nostræ. Regibus potius mandâsset Apostolus populo obedire, ne solio suo dejiciantur. Non dicimus quin reges tenentur. Velut defessi reformatæ religionis; in aliquibus illis viam concedentes, uno dato absurdo sequuntur infinita, &c."

CAP. III.

"Duobus capitibus à tergo relictis." Etiamne à fuga incipis, tergiversator? At nos non tergum, sed frontem, sed nomen etiam tuum fronti inscriptum maluimus. Manedum igitur, obverte faciem illam insignem Brammaleam, non ferri, sed vini vulneribus sauciam, gemmulis cœruleis, rubeolis, purpureis et

purulentissimis bullatam atque distinctam; nam quibus te quisquam felis, nisi si rapinis fugientem insequatur mœchum, nescio. Sed fortasse more Parthico fugiens soles tela conjicere. Conjice ergo. "Qui populo," inquis, "potestatem gladii ascribit, populum impunem relinquere necesse habet; quis enim populum puniret leges transgredientem?" Fateor, siquidem universus peccat, nam universum punire populum, ne rex quidem aut solet aut potest. Non magis ergò necesse est populum impunem relinquere, si populus, quàm si rex potestatem gladii solus habeat; cùm in statu populari pœnis æquè obnoxius quisque sit atque in monarchiâ. "Liturgiam profligavimus." Missale scilicet Papisticum, paucis admodum mutatis, ex Latino duntaxat Anglicè editum, unà cum episcopis qui tam fraudulenter eam et papisticè concinnârunt, quid ni profligaremus? nam et aliam, ut fateris ipse, substituimus, magis videlicet orthodoxam, et verbo Dei consentaneam, ut, qui requirit, habeat, si necesse est, qua salubriter possit uti. "Subjecti estote propter dominum, quamobrem? quia constituitur potestas à Deo ad ultionem facinorosorum, &c." At "Rex, cui subjecti esse jubentur, erat Nero vel Claudius." Generalem doctrinam de magistratu, quis sit aut esse debeat, tradit Apostolus, deque obedientia, quare magistratui præstanda sit, quod tibi satis sit. Nero an Claudius regnaverit, nihil refert; desine tandem nugis istis nos obtundere. "Judæorum," inquis, "cæremoniis et lege judiciaria liberamur." Incassum igitur tu tantoperè laboras, ut nos regii apud illos imperii exemplo in servitutem regibus addicas. "Utcunque," inquis "de Dei instinctu gloriamini, ad tribunal divinum sistendi, respondebitis, &c." Quid alii tunc responsuri sitis, ne sit tibi curæ. Tu, quid de alea, de scortis, de ebrietate episcopali respondebit Brammalus, ipse cogita. Potestates non legitimas, sed quascunque intelligi, ais, ab Apostolo, quia Deus præfecit Saulem et cæteros malos reges Judæis. At verò Paulus de potestate loquitur, quam et summè legitimam describit; non loquitur de viro, qui, à Deo licet electus, si postea nequissimus evadit, et potestatem exercet longè aliam, atque à Deo accepit, et cui duntaxat nos illic obedire jubemur, id sibi, non Deo imputandum erit. "Verisimilius," inquis, "quòd Anglia Carolo filio debellandi, tandem in crepitum putidissimum et ridiculum erupturi sint." Videsne jam ut Deus, omnium rerum arbiter, omen hoc tuum, ventriloque, in te tuosque avertit? Videsne ut ipse tuus Carolus in crepitum evanuit, immò ipse crepitus fieri putidissimus optaret, dummodò ex hostium manibus hoc pacto elabi queat. "Supponemus," inquis, "tuam rempubl. in tyrannidem degenerare, non teneris obedire illorum potestati?" Concede tu priùs, si rex in tyrannum degeneraret, non teneri te regi obedire; tum nos satis maturè tibi de republica respondebimus. "Potuit," inquis, "Apostolus dixisse bonos magistratus." At verò ita dixisse, ex descriptione magistratûs quam ibi posuit, apertè liquet. "Sed nullo," inquis, "argumento fortius evincitur regis potestas, quàm quod Apostoli mandant nullis conditionibus limitatam." At rursus inquam, ipsa potestatis descriptio, quæ copiosissima ibi est, conditiones sapienti abundè suppeditat. "Rex," inquis, "à Deo missus quantumvis malus ferendus, cætera mala in pœnam veniunt." Quasi verò rex etiam malus in pœnam non veniret, quod tibi toties in ore est, "remediis" idcirco vel tuo judicio "auferendus. Multum," inquis, "Miltono debent orthodoxi, quòd tam ridiculam opinionem iis assignaret, populum scilicet universum regi ignavissimo esse parem." Magno sanè acumine mendacium hoc vibras; sed parum inde lucraris. Miltonus enim populum non solùm parem regi, sed superiorem semper affirmavit. Hoc loco sententiam suam non profert, Salmasium tantummodo perstringit, quod ex Sorbonistarum scriptis populum regi vel parem esse negaverit, quem superiorem dixisse oportuerit. Verùm ità miserè cæcutire soles, ut in Salmasium pro Miltono impetum sæpiusculè facias. Hæc præter ineptias densissimas, quas infra omne responsum esse judico, confutationum tuarum in hoc capite summa est; unde otium nobis hic etiam tàm pingue accidit, ut rursus vacet elegantias hominis nitidissimas gleba solorum ubere natas ad ornandas Solœcorum porticus et spatia decerpere. "Tuba sonitum incertum edit, ut nemo se ad colendum Deum præparare potest. Non dubitamus quin multi religionem Christianam amplexi sint. Tanquam nulla erat malorum principum potestas. Non quin Deus omnia ita disposuit. Si enim ad populum provocandum (ut vos primò fecistis ut omnia confundaretis) nemo per diem integrum imperare poterat. Omnes patres nullius æstimat. Sed utinam tam humaniter cum Carolo agere voluistis. Populum contra regem defendere suscipis." Et alia hujusmodi.

CAP. IV.

"In præcedentibus Miltonus leo rugiens, qui reges omnes devoraret, hic draco occultè insidians, et vulpeculam agit, nam quo lapidem non potest, vota jacit." Aut insanit hic homo, aut versus facit, novas chimæras, novas metamorphoσας fingit sibi lymphatus. Certè Miltonus si leo rugiens vobis est visus, facitis haud absurdè, ut id sponte fateamini. Te contrà asinum rudentem prima voce agnovimus, teque risu perinde et fustibus excipimus. "Semper," inquis, "populum in adjutorium vocat Priapus in horto." Quod Priapus in horto, id Brammalus in sacello. Verissimum hoc esse tota ferè Hibernia non ignorat. "Quos populus," inquis, "creat, si nulla Dei ratio habeatur, potiùs obedientiam ab iis postularet, quàm illis præberet." Præter illa quæ prius respondi, qualem requirat obedientiam Apostolus, scias insuper, Apostolos non toti Romano senatui et consulibus, neque magno ullius gentis concilio, aut ullius regni ordinibus conventus legitimos peragentibus obedientiam præcepisse, sed privatis et singulis. Rex verò, ut nosti, singulis quidem major, universis verò minor est. Beneficia deinde Caroli in populum enumeras, quæ nulla unquam exstitere, sed damna potius et detrimenta, et summa planè dedecora. "Unctum Domini," inquis, "vel Christum Domini si dicas Christianum non tam interest." Atqui Salmasius Saulem Christum Domini nuncupaverat. Tibi ut videtur, Saul non solùm inter prophetas sed inter Christianos est

Dicitur autem, 1 Reg. 11. Salomon obdormivit, et Rehoboamus regnavit loco ejus. Et hoc, inquis, dicitur, "antequam populus Sechem venit ut illum regem facerent." Hoc verò non aliter dictum fuisse, quàm ut historiæ series manifestior esset, ex primo sequentis capitis versu apparet. Populus enim Sechemum venit, ut Rehoboámum regem constituerent, vel regnare facerent, ut est Hebraïcè; ergo antea certè aut non regnavit, aut in Judæa tantum. "Populum," inquis, "per incendiarios fuisse incitatum, videlicet Jeroboamum et comites suos." At verò Jeroboamus non populum, sed populus illum incitavit. Jeroboamus enim, audita Salomonis morte, adhuc in Ægypto morabatur. Sed Israëlitæ mittentes accersiverunt eum, 1 Reg. 12. Miraris "impudentiam" ejus qui affirmaret, "non vocari rebelles qui in Roboamum arma sumpserunt." Tuam potius non impudentiam solùm, sed impietatem demiror, qui eos rebelles appellare ausus sis, quos Deus eo ipso loco fratres sui populi nominavit. At instas, ibidem etiam dictum esse, "sic rebellavit domus Israel à domo David." At verò verbum hic "rebellavit" mitiùs intelligi pro quacunque defectione, neque in malum sensum rapi debet. Propterea vertunt alii "defecit," non "rebellavit;" cujus enim defectionis authorem se Deus ipse profitetur, scriptura malam et illicitam proculdubiò non dicit. Sic Ezechia verbo non minus duro rebelâsse in regem Assyriæ dicitur; quod tamen ejus factum Deus etiam auxilio cœlitùs misso approbavit. Deus Israëlitis regem petentibus graviter iratus est, quamvis regis petendi, si vellent, ex lege Mosis jus habuerit? Tu, "num irascitur Deus," inquis, "populo petenti quod ad illos jure pertinet." Id, inquam, facilè potest fieri; nihil enim obstat quo minus id ad populum jure pertineret, et tamen irasci Deus illis meritò potuit, quod cùm in eo quod optimum erat acquievisse penes ipsos esset, deterius quod erat anteponebant. Affirmas "Deum graviore pœna puniise rebelles Israëlitas," quippe "veram sui cognitionem ab iis abstulisse." At ubi id unquam legisti, nugator, Israëlitas illam defectionem idololatria fuisse, cùm Deus ipse Jeroboamo mox rebellaturo bona omnia pollicitus sit, seque illi Israëlitas traditurum esse, si ejus præceptis auscultasset, 1 Reg. 11. Sed orthodoxi, inquis, "semper cùm Carolo fuere, nam quicquid moribus peccant nonnulli, inopia coacti, religionem tamen reformatam non deseruerunt." Num verò vestros orthodoxos, cum rege suo, inopia coëgit gentes vicinas ebrio agmine, blasphemo, libidinosissimo ac ferocissimo oberrare, omnique impietatis genere omnes Anglos, tanquam sui similes, infames reddere? "Nobiscum" tua sententia "vitulæ aureæ; vobiscum mensa dominica, oratio dominica, symbolum Apostolorum, decem mandata." Atqui ea ipsa sacra quæ apud vos solos esse inaniter jactas, vobis, pro more vestro, superstitiosè et hypocriticè abutentibus, nihil aliud profecto quàm vitulæ aureæ sunt. "Deum," inquis, "sibi contrarium statuimus." Quidni? An quod argumentum Salmasii nihil valere ostendit Miltonus, idcirco ne Deum sibi contrarium statuit. Dixerat Salmasius, omnes reges esse à Deo; Miltonus non omnes reges, sed omnes regendi formas, salutis causa adhibitas, cujus etiam causa populi conventus, comitia, et consilia habentur. Ergo vel ipsius argumento non magis regi licet resistere populo propter rempubl. convocato, quàm populo licet resistere regi à Deo ordinato, quandoquidem et populi conventus legitimi à Deo quoque sunt ut Sechemi olim contra Roboamum fuisse testificatur ipse Deus. "Utrum," inquis, "ille tyrannus, qui viginti tribus annis regnans, neminem pro sua voluntate mori coëgit; an vos qui inter decem annos regem ipsum et plus quàm quingentos mille hominum trucidastis?" Quid ais, mille quingentos? numerum sane perexiguum narras; neque ullus unquam, credo minori jacturà bellum tàm sævum confecit. Profectò si tam scires latinè quam sis malitiosè loqui, non quingentos mille, sed quingenta millia, opinor te dicere voluisse. Quis verò Carolo pejor tyrannus, quis pœna dignior, qui per tria regna plus decies centena hominum millia partim laniena illa Hibernica, partim bello iniquissimo occidit. Negas quod superiore argumento dictum est, regem non debere populo resistere: negas populum quicquam posse in regem, quia populus "inferior est," rex "superior." At memineris regem naturâ superiorem non esse, sed consensu tantùm est suffragiis populi ad eam esse dignitatem evectum, publicæ salutis causâ; quo ab officio si planè desciveret, superior esse desinit; quia cur esset superior causa nulla ampliùs est. Cùm munus regium perperam administraverat, ob quod munus duntaxat, cum unus è multis primò fuerit, factus omnium supremus est. Ad id quod dixerat Miltonus, non quod Deus jussit tyrannum interimi, ideo bonum erat, sed quod bonum erat, idcirco Deus jussit, tu respondes, "cujus contrarium verum est. Nam quicquid Deus jubet, bonum est, et ideo bonum, quòd Deus jubet." Doctum verò neminem hoc latet, bonum in positivum et morale divisum esse. Positivum est, quod antè indifferens, bonum tunc incipit esse, cum à Deo jubetur. Morale verò bonum, æternum et immutabile manet, sive Deus jusserit, sive non jusserit; bonum hujusmodi est tyrannum perimi: ad quod facinus præclarum ducem illum Jehu, tum fortè nihil tale cogitantem, præ ceteris incitavit. Quod autem ais, "bonitatem à divina voluntate pendere," erras, ut cætera; bonitas enim non minùs de essentia Dei est, quàm ipsa Dei voluntas. Verùm de his nimis multa cùm stolido et idiota. Percurrimus in hoc capite quicquid argumenti vim ullam in se habere videatur, ut bonis viris et intelligentibus quàm maximè satisfiat: cæteris ejus ineptiis et nugamentis qui movetur, eum neque moramur, neque retinemus quo minùs in castra adversarii nostri tàm diserti atque eruditi transire possit; his etiam floribus, sapientiæ et judicii ejus causâ, coronatus, quos hortorum Solensium custos iste ficulneus suorum fautorum capiti nectendos largiter paravit. Olfaciant modo priùs quàm suave olent. "Nil tam horrendum excogitari possit quin laudabile fiet. Populi conventus, comitia, plebiscitus pariter à Deo. Non dicimus quin tyrannus impedire debet. Tu ad Antipodas ablegandus, Londini Constantinopolim. Coronam ad se jure pertinentem poposcivisse. Passa marem, miramur hyænam. Quos tamen rectius sentiisse judicas," cum multis aliis.

CAP. V.

Omissis quæ initio hujus capitis trita jam et toties refutata stupidissimè regeris, venio nunc ad id, in quo levitatis arguis qui dixerit, jus successionis naturâ nullum esse, eo quod "lex Dei primogenituræ legem tulit;" cùm divina autem lege consentire legem naturæ dictum est. Tuum verò erat, non nescivisse quantum inter se differant successio in regnum, et successio in patrimonium: principio enim regnorum, regnandi successio non filio sed dignissimo cuique semper delata est; mox regum usurpatio, non populi consensus filios regum dignioribus prætulit. Hoc etiam turpe et servile est, libera hominum capita inter possessiones numerare, qui profectò dum liberi sunt, hæreditate nemini obvenire possunt. Tuque jus hæreditarium, quicquid garris, ex lege Dei nunquam ostenderis. Nam quod soli testatur Deus Davidi ejusque posteris dedisse se, id universis accommodari regnis aut regibus nullo jure potest. "Jus," inquis, "successionis pacem et concordiam inter homines nutrit; est maxime naturale, ne continuis litibus mundus flagraret." Historias ergo omnium gentium percurre; invenies in monarchia discordias tetriores, bella sæviora, idque sæpius accidisse, quam in repub. Haud raro ipsi regum filii de summa rerum inter se bello acerrimo, mutuaque cæde contendunt. Unde apud Turcas, ubi jus successionis absolutissimum est, nihil ad pacem publicam magis conducere putatur, quàm filio natu maximo regnum ineunte, cæteros fratres interfici. Nonnunquam de successionis jure manifestò non constat, hinc etiam bella sævissima et maximè diuturna, quarum sub regno calamitatum nostra imprimis Anglia testis esse potest. Ità neque monarchia per se neque respub. concordiæ parens est; sed moderatus ubique civium animus et ambitione vacuus. Sed summa authoritas "uni contigit ordinis servandi gratia." At si tyranno, pessimus ille ordo qui omnem ordinem, jura omnia divina et humana pervertit. "Christus," inquis, "suos deputatos et vicegerentes in terris reges posuit." Fatemur, si bonos, tyranni autem quo possunt modo Christi vicem gerere? Interea non nos "contumaciæ," quod ais, sed tu impietatis tuæ Christum vindicem expecta; qui regnum Christi in terris violentum et tyrannicum blasphemus audes existimare: Vicarius enim, non Christi, qui ejus exemplum non imitatur, sed diaboli est. Quod regem deinde confers cum patrefamilias, satis clarè ostensum est à Miltono, jus patris diversissimum esse, et longè antiquius. Cùm autem non solum reges mali, sed mala omnia "in scelerum pœnam, vel ad probandam patientiam nostram à Deo data sint:" eaque omnia justis remediis ab hominibus summa cùm prudentiæ laude amoveri et possint et debeant, solos reges vel pœnæ causa, vel patientiæ ferre, et turpe et ridiculum et extremæ esset insaniæ. "Sed variis morbis laborantibus rex manus imposuit et sanavit; angelum aureum cuilibet ægroto dedit." Sive sanavit, sive excantavit nihil nunc refert; medendi enim dono nunc infideles, ut Vespasianus olim, sæpiùs hypocritæ præditi fuere. Illum angelum aureum, quem singulis ægrotis dedit, non illum fuisse, qui Bethesdæ aquas commovit; nec sanandi vim ullam habuisse, sat scio; quo te aureo scilicet angelo sic opinor stupere, ut ante te Salmasius cœlum illud Caroli aureum et sericum obstupuit, neque hoc cœlo quicquam altius cernere uterque videmini, aut de eo quicquam sublimius cogitare, quàm aureum esse. "Florentissima," inquis, "Romanorum respubl. exactis regibus, nunquam subsistere potuit donec in monarchiam redintegrata fuerit." Quod contra omnium historiarum fidem planè est, quæ testantur omnes, Romanam rempub. sub consulibus et senatûs authoritate ad illam magnitudinem crevisse: sub imperatorum verò luxuria, tyrannide, atque inertia statim consenuisse, imperiumque simul et gloriam belli atque justitiæ in illa libera civitate olim partam sub imperatoribus citò amisisse. "Sed quod Anglia," inquis, "nimio luxu et libertate perdita fuit, non Caroli tyrannidi, sed vestræ nequitiæ attribuendum est." Immo aulæ fœdissimæ, regisque voluptarii atque ignavissimi exemplo rectè attribuimus, ad cujus vitæ rationem quamplurimi sese composuere. Jam regem defendis, qui Ducem Buckinghamiæ veneficii suspectum "legibus eripuit; quasi," inquis, "hoc regibus crimini datetur, quod omnibus natura concedit, ut suos familiares amarent." Itane carnifex? satisne regem excusari putas, quod familiarem illum et amicissimum habuerit, qui patris ejus veneno sublati à supremo regni concilio postulatus esset? At quid poteras in regem atrocius dixisse? "Sed credibile non fuit ducem Buckinghamiæ Jacobo insidias struere velle, qui illum in tantam potestatem evexit." Quin immo satis notum est, mores Buckinghamii Jacobo tandem graviter displicuisse, unde is magnum malum sibi metuens, duas maximè res deinceps agere instituit, ut et patri necem strueret, et filio os sublinirct, ejusque gratiam omni studio captaret; quod sanè, objectis juveni mollissimo voluptatùm omnium illecebris, statim perfecit. Reprehendis, quòd Carolus Neroni collatus sit. "Nam," inquis, "Metropolim vestram non diripuit," scilicet quia non potuit; at qui nunc Scotis, nunc sicariis suis, morem sibi modò gererent, haud semel diripiendam obtulit. Restat ut rosarum hujus Solensium fasciculum in fine exhiberem; et possem quidem ubertim, sed cum viam jam toties digito monstraverim, ubi germinant, ubi crescunt, jucundius fortasse cuique erit proprio ungue decerpere.

CAP. VI.

"Regum et bonorum omnium hoste prostrato (suis telis in faciem suam resilientibus) recurrere coactus est ad elumbes aliquot argutias, et trita argumenta." Prostrato hoste, quis sodes est coactus, egregie solœcista? nomen enim licet attuleris nullum, cognomen certe hoc apud omnes in posterum reportabis. Ain' verò "suis telis in faciem resilientibus?" Si sua sponte, Dedalea pro facto narras, aut Vulcania quædam nova automata? An vero, te retorquente, resiliunt tela illa? Tene ergo

illum prostravisse hostem, asine, cujus argumentum vel levissimum omni mole concutere, aut movere loco non vales? Exultantem asinum in apologo herus verberibus malè multavit, quid triumphante hoc asino faciamus? præsertim qui neque purpuram indutus, neque pellem leoninam, sed propria palam scabritie notus, rictu isto asinino, istoque miserrimo clangore atque ridiculo triumphum canere audeat. "Omnes," inquis, "in suis regnis monarchæ absoluti παμβασίλειας exercent, quòd et Galli de suo rege multum gloriantur." Ad scriptores Gallos si recurrisses, Girardum, Hottomannum, Sesellium, plurimosque alios, nunquam id affirmares. Galli liberos se, et verè Francos passim gloriantur: ab omni memoria penes se fuisse, regum salutis omnium causâ, vel eligere vel abjicere. Hac ratione Pipino, necnon post eum aliis imperium Galliæ delatum: quod vulgo notum est. Hac etiam ætate cum multæ civitates, tum etiam Burdegalenses idem sentire sese factis ostenderunt, dum vi et armis vel sui regis vel ejus præsidum παμβασίλειαν et tyrannidem strenuè propulsant. "Si cui Deus vult," inquis, "populus regnum tradit, jam dic aliud de tribus capellis, unde tot quæstiones et lites?" Unde nisi à te, tuique similibus, qui id perpetuo contenditis, ut regnum iis tradatur, quibus populus non vult, ac proinde nec Deus. Deus enim, si cui regnum vellet, facilè perficeret, ut regnum illi traderet populus. Jam tu dic aliquid de tribus capellis. "Quantumvis," inquis, "nummi nobis desint, nunquam tamen deerunt parati ad tuendam veritatem." Nummi quidem vobis et merito desunt, et tamen longe major apud vos virtutis, honestatis, sapientiæ, pudoris penuria est, quàm nummorum. Id quod mores vestri perditissimi exteris jam passim graves et odiosi testantur. Deesse autem non magis nummos quàm ad causam vestram tuendam paratos, argumento ipse maximo es, qui homo indoctissimus cum sis et inertissimus, primus omnium et adhuc ferè solus, ad hoc te munus accinxeris. Dixerat Salmasius, quamvis id falso, "regiminis Anglorum formam non popularem sed militarem esse." Tu hoc Miltonum "concedere coactum esse," dicis: "nec tamen ab Aristotele talem regiminis formam recensitam usque meministi." Vel hinc constat te neque Miltonum attentè satis, neque Aristotelem omnino forsan legisse. Apud Miltonum enim concessionem illam nusquam invenies. Apud Aristotelem στρατηγῶ αΐδίῳ, id est "ducis perpetui," qui in quibusdam civitatibus summæ rerum præficeretur, mentionem sæpè factam esse meminisses. Jam de "diabolo porcos tondente" stolidè nugaris, "ubi ingens clamor, sed nulla lana;" parciùs itaque diabolus porcos suos tondebat, quàm Brammalus oves Hibernicas deglubere consuevit; à quibus et lanam et pellem multo cum clamore populi detrahere solebat. "Scoti," inquis, "inaudito ostracismo Montisrossanum interfecere." Inauditus ille quidem ostracismus qui patibulo homines affigit. Nam vel sciolos non fugit, ostracismum non mortis, sed relegationis genus fuisse. "Reges," inquis, "sub potestate populi collocatos pejori conditione nobis repræsentas, quam ex populo universo perditissimus." At vel ista conditione noli metuere ne qui reges in posterum esse velint; utcunque enim non deerunt reges. Cætera hujus capitis, quà seria, quà ludicra, insulsa adeo et inficeta sunt, ut quamvis nihil mihi tribuam, quod non admodum exiguum sit, pœniteat tamen nonnunquam et penè suppudeat, cum adversario tamen nihili manus conseruisse. Postremò casus sui regis graves sanè et tragicos ad comœdiam redigit. "Jovem" adulterum, "Amphytrionem" maritum, "Mercurium et Sosiam" servos, "super mundi theatrum" agit. Nil possum rectiùs facere quam ut istius modi phrases prætercam: nam in hominem tam stultum et nullius pretii quicquid aut seriò dixeris aut joco, et operam perdideris et salem. Præstat tamen hunc vel incassum defricare, quam responsione licet indignum, nostro tamen silentio tumentem et jactabundum dimittere.

CAP. VII.

Hactenus opusculi tui futilissimi dimidium percurrimus, et quanquam te plùs satis indoctum, insipidum, solœcum, arrogantem, et languidum jamdudum invenimus, tamen quò longiùs procedimus, eo inanior, eoque jejunior semper occurris, et præter adagia quædam et disticha vulgata, quæ memoriter, credo, elementarius puer didiceras, quæque ne negent forte lectores vel semidoctulum te esse, per fas et nefas inserere laboras, cæteram omnem argumentorum, sensûs, Latinitatis perpusillam annonam exhausisse videris. Nihil est igitur in hoc capite quod agam, quàm ut captiunculas quasdam tuas, et gryphos dissolvam, quibus dum adversarium capere te existimas, teipsum capi ostendam. Dixerat Miltonus jure naturali regem quemque bonum senatum vel populum habere sibi semper et parem et superiorem. Ad hæc tu, "quis unquam," inquis, "talia ἀσύστατα audivit? Si par est, non est superior: si superior, non par." Quis plumbeo potuit gladio quicquam acutius? At nescin' quid Lælius ille sapiens apud Ciceronem? Maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem esse inferiori. Quin hic quoque vociferare, "quis unquam talia ἀσύστατα audivit?" Disputatum est à multis, sitne par regi populus vel senatus. Infit Miltonus, utrumlibet regi et parem esse et superiorem. Cur ista negas posse consistere? Certè si juxta regulam, omne majus in se continet minus, superior qui est, nihil obstiterit, quò minùs idem par sit. Jam eccum tibi "nodum hunc sine Œdipo solutum," Dave. Nunc ad secundam hominis tendiculam venio. "Si Davidi privato non licuit Saulem tyrannum interficere, quomodo jam unicuique concedis, si viribus plus valet." Sumis quæ nemo est largitus, tyrannum fuisse Saulem. Non enim qui facta quædam tyrannica in unum atque alterum per iram aut libidinem perpetrat, is statim est tyrannus; ut nec injustus, qui injusta quædam. Sed qui consilio, instituto, viribus, dolis hoc solum studet atque molitur, ut potentiam legibus majorem sibi arripiat, jus omne populi et libertatem subvertat, vindicare se conantibus vim atque bellum inferat, is verè atque propriè tyrannus est; quo in genere nullus unquam Carolo pejor fuit. Qui igitur Davidem privatas adversùm se

regis injurias ulcisci noluisse dixit, potuit idem nihil sibi repugnans dicere, tyrannum interficere cuivis licere qui viribus plus valeat. Dixerat Miltonus ad servitutem natas istas nationes quæ talem dominum agnoscant, cui se sine assensu suo hæreditate obvenisse credant. "Ergo," inquis, "tu ad servitutem natus qui Carolum hæreditarium multos annos agnoscebas, aut cum multis aliis dissimulabas." Hanc tu sententiam detruncas, ejus loco subdititia ponis, "quæ regem hæreditarium agnoscunt." Parlamenta autem Angliæ, præterito sæpè hæreditatis obtentu, diadema, cui visum est, suis liberis suffragiis, imponere consueverunt; quod multis exemplis demonstrari potest. Non ergo Angli ad servitutem nati, quod tu nequiter probare niteris, verna Canopi. Quartum hoc est, in quo adversarium cepisse te somnias. Ob eam causam affirmaverat ille, homines in unum primò convenisse, non ut unus omnes insultaret, sed ut quocunque alterum lædente, ne lex deesset neve judex inter homines, quo læsus defendatur, aut vindicetur. Ad hæc tu, "Nemo," inquis, "à te plus petiit quàm tu per lucida intervalla tua sponte concedis." Lucidum certe intervallum vel ad punctum temporis contigisse unquam tibi vix reor, ita semper falleris. Quæ enim petis, non regibus solùm sed magistratibus omnibus concessimus; quorum nihil est quod in tyrannum convenire possit. Legem enim primo constituimus, deinde judicem ex lege rectum et incorruptum. Horum quodcunque petis et impetraveris, tuam causam minimè juvabit.

CAP. VIII.

Quod superiùs prædixi fore, ut post tritas argutias quasdam potius quàm argumenta & aulicorum velitationes toties profligatas, ad summam inopiam homuncio iste redigeretur, neque reliquum ei quicquam fore præter maledicta et rabiem, id hoc capite manifestius liquet. Et sanè ad priora illa quæ attulit, quamquam primò statim conspectu sensûs et ingenii inanissima ubique apparuêre vestigia, tamen quia quandam rationis et argumenti speciem præ se ferebant, utcunque paucis respondimus. In hoc autem capite cùm Miltonus antiquas Anglorum leges ac monumenta regiæ causæ passim tàm adversa diligentissimè protulisset; iste è contrà, cùm neque doctrinam, neque antiquitatem, neque acumen, neque authoritatem ullam, quâ suam tueatur causam, afferre possit, hoc tantùm habet quod respondeat, miserè balbutiens jura illa nostra notissima, vetustissima, et maximè rata, "obsoletâ jam et tineis comesta esse." Verùm non tam dubito quin omnes docti et intelligentes viri huic fatuanti non responderi oportere judicent, quàm vereor ne reprehendant, si insanienti et rabioso operam dedero. Qui verò hujus mendaciis et maledicentiâ à veritate abduci se patiuntur, eos profectò tam parvi pendimus, ut quamcunque ad partem accesserint, susque deque nobis sit; immo contra nos isto animo quàm nobiscum stare malumus.

CAP. IX.

Huic etiam capiti prioris haud absimili responsum prorsus idem conveniet. Nam qui contra legem Dei et naturæ dilucidè explicatam, contra rationes evidentissimas, juraque gentium plurimarum, tum nostræ etiam firmissima, contra testimonia denique optimorum virorum uberrima nihil præter commenta tantùm sua, atque deliria opponere, aut in medium proferre potest, ejus profectò ita disputantis rationem ullam siquis habuerit, certè non doctus, non disertus, non diligens, non acutus, sed malè feriatus duntaxat meritò videatur. Quod autem nos impudentissimè accusare non dubitat, quasi Papæ authoritatem in Angliam reducere meditemur, à quo et dictis et factis abhorruisse semper nos tam palàm omnibus existit, id sanè et ridendum maximè est, tum etiam ostendit quanta cæteroqui cum malitia, quàm nulla cum fide in accusandis nobis versetur, qui crimen omnium judicio à nobis alienissimum, cunctis absolventibus, imputare atque affigere non vereatur.

Ad CAP. X. XI.

De duobus quæ sequuntur capitibus, idem quod de præcedentibus duobus dicendum est. Tenuissimus modò et inanissimus qui fuit, nunc est planè nullus, aut siquid nihilo minus est: hujus igitur inanitati respondere si vellem, responderem certè nemini: quidni igitur conticescam?

CAP. XII.

Jam ad metam enervis et languidus properans solœcista, tamen ut ultimo conatu erigere se paululùm videatur, ad priorem verborum sine rebus prolixitatem et tædium redit. Quare ne quis nos propter virium aut rationis defectum priora capita tanta brevitate percurrisse existimet, aut per ignaviam quicquam remisisse, quæ alicujus modò momenti videantur, non sum arbitratus prætereunda esse, "Parlamentum," inquis, "perpetuum est instar nullius parlamenti; hoc enim est funditùs parlamentum tollere." Ecquem tu jam nisi Carolum ipsum criminaris? Qui ipse parlamentum hoc perpetuum esse jussit, et facto gloriatus, inter ea quæ vocare acta gratiæ solebat, sæpissimè recensuit, non ut populum beneficio aliquo afficeret, sed arte quadam tyrannica dum perpetuum esse juberet, ut quod ex temet ipso jam accipimus, funditus tolleret. Cùm autem "catharticum remedium sit," quemadmodum ais, tolli certè aut dissolvi non debet; donec morbi, quorum remedium est, tollantur, et libertati sua firmitas bonaque valetudo redeat. Siquid nos Carolum peccâsse dicimus; tu verbis totidem, velut amœbæa canens lyturgica, paria commisisse parlamentum accusas, deque Carolo nihil non verum esse concedis, dummodò idem de parlamento occinere tibi liceat: verùm hoc non est Caro-

lum purgare, aut noxa eximere, quò minùs meritas pœnas dederit. "Sed antequam parlamentum hoc incœpit, nè verbum," inquis, "vel minima scintilla de Caroli scilicet malefactis eluxit." At verò populi clamores, gemitus et suspiria, partim propter gravissimas tributorum exactiones, partim propter episcoporum persecutiones, tam acerbas, ut multi patriam deserere cogerentur, regia item consilia, edicta, facta, ab ipsis regni ejus initiis, et parlamentorum omnium quæ convocavit intempestiva semper et infensa dissolutio rem longè aliter se habere declarant; adeo ut hac de causa populus, sive prudentiæ regis, sive voluntati diffisus, unicam sibi in parlamento spem, præsidium, refugium, salutem reliquam esse palàm testaretur; unde rex irâ et livore prorsus tyrannico exardescens, ut populi gemitus per vim etiam comprimeret, crudelissimo edicto sanxit, nequis parlamenti convocandi mentionem faceret, donec tandem metu populi ob hæc minimè quiescentis parlamentum invitissimus convocaret. Multa, inquis, "à vobis fingi quis non credet ut crimen vestrum in regem exonerare possitis, numquid tale apparet in ejus libro divinitus scripto?" Malo te libri illius admiratorem esse, quàm me; quid enim habet præter fucos et jactationes inanissimas? Diceres & tu idem, si epistolas ejus prælio Nasibiensi captas, manu propria scriptas et obsignatas, incorrupto et integro judicio perlegisses, ubi se suasque artes tyrannicas non celat. "Independentes" Jesuitis similes esse ais, "qui regem abrogârunt, statum reipub. mutarunt, et tamen professi sunt nunquam sibi in animo fuisse hæc facere." Quid ad nos Jesuitæ? Quasi verò prudentiæ non esset, non Jesuitismi, posteriora sæpè consilia prioribus anteferre, siquidem meliora esse postmodùm didiceris. Primò nobis prodire tenus aliquid visum est, immo magnum tàm ad ecclesiæ quàm reipub. restitutionem; cum à Deo ultra dari sentiremus, an ejus nos præsentiam, et providentiam ad facta tam egregia præeuntem aspernaremur, aut sequi nollemus, ne progressus nostros felices et planè inopinatos, hostis et invidus levitatis et inconstantiæ nomine perstringeret? Sæpè arguis quod parlamentum pro "corpore solo" sine capite sumamus. Verum si metaphoras amovere malles, rectiùs continuò saperes, sciresque parlamentum ejusmodi corpus esse, cui caput adjungi non sit necesse; neque enim vel caput vel cauda, sed commune ac liberum gentis concilium facit, ut parlamentum sit atque dicatur. "Vi," inquis, "hanc infamiam et calumniam apud exteras nationes nobis exulantibus amoveam," scilicet eorum ex numero non esse qui causam regiam latinè sciret defendere, "huic rabulæ respondeo." Egregium sanè responsorem! Tune vero lucifuga verberabilissime præ ceteris electus, qui nos ex latebris aggrederere, et pro tuis omnibus unus responderes? Doctum proculdubio gregem, præclara ingenia necesse est esse, quorum tu ductor es, tam grandis non Arcadicus aut Reatinus, sed solœcus asinus. Latinè tu ut responderes, cujus barbarismis et solœcismis omnes paginæ, ut priorum capitum, sic hujus ultimi, refertæ sunt? "Tam castus ut exemplum præbuit. Tu hæc refricas ut regi convitiare. A famulis rimari. Nisi fulcientur. Tanta caligine, ut justitiam causæ metiuntur. Ne millesima pars petitionum ad eam deferrerentur. Toties purgatum ut nil præter nomen manere potest. Tanto acumine ut maxima pars mundi mirantur ac stupent. Tanto strepitu ut cætera theatra pro tempore silent. Non quin indies precamur. Non mitius eorum consilium interpretarer. Carolum filium reum causatis." Digni profecto regii tam stupido propugnatore, qui, cùm causam nequissimam susceperis tuendam et literas professus, tam illiteratus sis, ab ipsis clientibus tuis quos tui pudeat, ad illa gurgustia et tenebras, unde tam stolidè emersisti cum sibilo et flagris reducendus es; aut certè carnifici potiùs in disciplinam crucis tradendus, ut cum nihil aliud percipere possis, elementa discas patibularia. "Quicquid," inquis, "erravero in hac apologia meæ tenuitati imputandum est." Ita prorsus existimo: at pessimè interim meo quidem judicio consuluit tibi tenuitas tua, quæ te impulit, ut, cui par non eras, oneri succedere auderes, sub quo prætumidum et inflatum eo faciliùs comminui te et frangi necesse erat. Ego certè tenuem te magis an crassum dixerim vixdum scio, ita omni planè dimensione et forma rudis indigestaque moles, vacare mihi videris. Jam te aulici, qui "regis auro vescuntur," si priùs neglexerint, quod miserò quereris, et fame perire sinant, post causam eorum tàm malè et ridiculè abs te defensam multo justius oderint, atque contempserint; nisi fortè periscelide illa regia, quam tanti facis, fauces tuas de rege tam nequiter meritas elidendas potiùs quàm offis aulicis, quas esuris, farciendas putant. Jam præsertim cum à regis laude ad regis et regiorum gravem vituperationem transeas, et nobis ex adversario percommodus repente homo factus sis; testis enim ipse novus accedis, regem suo officio vel imparem fuisse, vel minimè intentum, quod "petitiones" nimirum subditorum raro legeret. "Quod nemo ausus esset de proditoribus queri, proditorum metu," quibus maximè auscultabat: quod "cameraris et famulis" omnia crederet, otio ipse deditus. Unde libet profecto exclamare cum illo sene in fabula:

> "Ita me dii amabunt ut hunc ego ausculto lubens;
> Nimis lepidè facit verba" de regiis suis.
> "Neque compellare volo illum, ne desinat
> Memorare mores" regis et regiorum.

Eorum enim plurimos qui quidem regis gratia maximè pollebant, eos fatetur fuisse qui commodorum potissimum suorum et libidinum causa regem sequerentur, vel mente captum potiùs, quo vellent, ducerent. Sinam itaque et præteribo, ut et regis perjuria haud minori impietate atque inscitia excusantem, et statim tam acriter damnantem. Neque occurrit præterea quod refutatione illa indigeat. Ad ultimum enim, consumptis in nos maledictis, diris execrationibus, charitatem nescio quam suam ostentare cupit. Verum nos cujus convitia et imprecationes non veremur, etiam vota pro nobis et preces haud pluris æstimamus. Finiam itaque certamen hoc, haud libenter quidem à me cum isto nugigerulo susceptum; solum hoc est in quo si non aliis, at mihimet saltem aliquâ ex parte placeo, eam mihi scribendi occasionem primam oblatam esse, ex qua et patria in se rectum atque pium, et amici gratum senserint.

LITERÆ SENATUS ANGLICANI:

NEC NON

CROMWELLII, &c.

NOMINE AC JUSSU CONSCRIPTÆ

Senatus Populusque ANGLICANUS *Amplissimo Civitatis* HAMBURGENSIS *Senatui, Salutem.*

QUAM diù, quàmque multis de causis instituta à majoribus nostris cum amplissima vestra civitate amicitia in hunc usque diem permanserit, et vobiscum una libenter agnoscimus, et sæpius etiam recolere non est molestum. De eo autem quod ex literis vestris 25 Junii datis intelligimus, homines quosdam nostros non ea qua soliti sunt fide ac probitate in suis apud vos negotiis versari, nos quidem ad certos ejusmodi rerum peritos statìm retulimus, ut in lanarios, cæterosque panni opifices acriùs inquirerent; eamque porrò operam daturos nos esse pollicemur, ut et æqui bonique studium apud nos, et nostra omnia erga vos officia constare sentiatis. Verùm et quiddam est quod etiam à vobis vicissim non nos duntaxat, sed ipsum jus et fas omne postulat; ut nostræ gentis mercatoribus, vestris hospitibus et sua privilegia conservare, et eorum vitam, atque fortunas, prout ea civitate dignum est, vestris opibus defendere velitis. Quod, ut prioribus literis enixè petivimus, ita nunc etiam ut vehementiùs efflagitemus, faciunt quotidianæ mercatorum querelæ, quas ad nos deferunt; suam nimirùm salutem atque rem omnem rursus apud vos in dubio esse Quamvis enim literarum nostrarum quas pridem ad vos dedimus fructum aliquem ad tempus percepisse se fateantur, et ab injuriis nefariorum hominum aliquantùm respirasse, nunc tamen post adventum Cochrani illius in urbem vestram (de quo etiam priùs questi sumus) qui mandatam jam sibi à Carolo defuncti nuper regis filio legationem nescio quam prædicat, se omnibus contumeliis, minis, armis etiam Sicariorum petitos solita vestra defensione atque tutela caruisse. Adcò ut cum unus atque alter è mercatoribus cum ipso etiam societatis præfecto, in navem quandam prædatoriam per insidias abducti essent, cæterique vestram fidem implorarent, à vobis tamen nullum auxilium impetrare potuerint, donec ipsi suo marte mercatores, non sine magno suorum discrimine captos in eo flumine, cujus vestra urbs domina est, ex latronum manibus eripere cogerentur. Quos cum illi bonis auspiciis domum reduxissent, et ab indigna servitute veluti manu asseruissent, captos ètiam piratas ipsos in custodiam dedissent, Cochranum illum perfugam et perduellem eò audaciæ processisse accipimus, ut et prædatores dimitti liberos, et mercatores tradi sibi vinctos postulet. Vos autem etiam atque etiam hortamur et obtestamur, si pactiones, et fœdera, et pervetustum utriusque gentis commercium, id quod petitis, inviolatè servari studetis, ut nostri certum aliquod atque firmum sibi præsidium in vestra fide, prudentia, authoritate collocare demum possint; vos autem uti eos his de rebus benignè audiatis; tàm de Cochrano, cæterisque sceleris illius sociis, quàm de iis qui nuper in concionatorem, impunè adhuc, impetum fecerunt supplicium sumere velitis, aut è finibus exire jubeatis. Neque pulsos atque exules Tarquinios amicitiæ atque opibus populi Anglicani anteferendos existimetis. Si enim per vos non steterit quo minùs reipub. nostræ hostes quidvis licere sibi contra nos in urbe vestra confidant, quàm non tuta aut honesta amplius nostrorum ibi commoratio sit, vos cum animis vestris cogitate. Hæc vestræ prudentiæ et æquitati; vos ipsos Divino Numini commendatos volumus. Valete.

Westmonasterio, dat. Aug. 10, 1649.

Senatui HAMBURGENSI.

PERSPECTA nobis æquanimitas vestra dubiis in rebus nostris, facit nunc ut sanè prosperis, ac benè gestis, de vestra voluntate, et amico in nos animo nequaquam dubitemus. Nos quidem, confecto jam pænè bello, et profligatis ubique patriæ hostibus, nihil æquius, aut ad pacem, remque publicam stabiliendam firmius esse duximus, quam ut illi qui vel libertatem, ductore semper Deo, per nos adepti sunt, vel vitam atque fortunas post belli civilis facinora, nostro dono atque gratia receperunt, nobis vicissim suis magistratibus fidem et officium, solenni, si opus esset, more testarenter, atque præstarent. Præsertim cum tot homines inquieti et inimici, semel atque iterum in fidem accepti, nullum neque domi neque foris perfidiosè agendi, novasque turbas excitandi finem faciant. Itaque formulam quandam sponsionis perscribendam curavimus, qua

omnes qui aut munus aliquod in repub. sustinerent, aut legum præsidio muniti incolumitate, otio, cæterisque vitæ commodis fruerentur, conceptis verbis se obstringerent. Hanc etiam per omnes Colonias et quacunque gentium nostri cives negotiandi causa agerent, mittendam censuimus; ut eorum quibus præficimur, fidem, prout decet atque necesse est, explo[illegible]tam et cognitam habeamus. Quo magis mirari subit quod ex urbe vestra mercatores nostri scribunt, sibi mandata nostra per unum atque alterum vestri ordinis exequi non licere. Sanè quod potentissimæ fœderatorum in Belgio provinciæ suarum rerum et rationum consultissimæ, nihil ad se pertinere existimaverunt, si peregrini scilicet Angli debitam suis domi magistratibus in hæc vel illa verba fidem astringant, id quo pacto vestræ civitati suspectum aut molestum esse possit, fatemur planè nos nescire. Verum hoc à privato quorundam sive studio sive formidine profectum, quos errabundi quidam et pulsi patria Scoti, minis dicuntur impulisse, ut mercatores nostros a fide sua nobis obliganda deterrerent, civitati non imputamus. Interea tamen summo vos opere hortamur atque etiam rogamus (non enim mercatura jam, sed respub. ipsa agitur) ut ne quenquam apud vos patiamini, cujus hoc nihil potest interesse, authoritati quam nos in nostros populares, non exterorum arbitrio aut judicio, sed jure patrio obtinemus, suam quamcunque authoritatem interponere. Quis enim non ægrè ferat, si nos vestris hîc Hamburgensibus sua erga vos fide interdiceremus. Valete.

Dat. Jan. 4. 1649.

Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi PHILIPPO *Quarto* HISPANIARUM *Regi, Parlamentum Reipub.* ANGLIÆ, *Salutem.*

ANTONIUM Aschamum virum probum, eruditum, et luculenta familia ortum, de rebus in commune, tam Hispanorum, quàm Anglorum genti, ut spes est, valde utilibus, ad majestatem vestram legamus. Quamobrem ut ei honestum iter, atque tutum in urbem regiam, sicut moris est, necnon et reditum concedere, et præstare velis, parem referre gratiam parati, officiosè petimus. Sin id minùs placuerit, ut quæ vestra hac in parte sit voluntas, ei quam primùm significetur, utque tutò quo volet abeundi potestas fiat.

Dat. Feb. 4. 1649.

Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi PHILIPPO *Quarto* HISPANIARUM *Regi, Parlamentum Reipub.* ANGLIÆ, *Salutem.*

QUIS rerum nostrarum status sit, quamque atrocibus injuriis subacti, sumptis tandem armis, capessendæ libertatis consilium ceperimus, constituta qua nunc utimur republicæ forma, neque majestatem vestram potest latere, neque alium quemvis, qui evulgata super hac re scripta nostra æquo animo perlegerit. Nobis profecto fidem nostram, æquitatem, patientiam, testatam cunctis et probatam reddere, authoritatem etiam, honorem et decus nostrum adversus infames exulum et perfugarum linguas tueri, apud idoneos rerum æstimatores difficile non debet esse. Nunc quod exterarum nationum magis interest, deletis, aut depressis patriæ hostibus, Deo nempe mirificè adjuti, ad pacem et amicitiam omni imperio potiorem cum vicinis gentibus habendam, paratos nos esse palam atque ex animo profitemur. Has ob causas spectatæ solertiæ et probitatis virum Antonium Aschamum in Hispaniam ad majestatem vestram misimus; qui de amicitia deque solito inter utramque gentem commercio cum majestate vestra agat; vel etiam ad novas pactiones, si ita visum fuerit, de integro sanciendas viam muniat. Huic igitur vestræ majestatis adeundi copiam ut faciatis, ejusque incolumitati, necnon etiam honori, quoad isto apud vos munere perfuncturus est, velitis prospicere rogamus: ut et ea quæ à nobis mandata habet, utrique genti, ut speramus, profutura, liberè exponat; et mentis vestræ qui sensus his de rebus sit, nos quam primùm certiores faciat.

Westmonasterio, dat. Feb. 4. 1649.

Serenissimo Principi JOANNI *Quarto* LUSITANIÆ *Regi, Parlamentum Reipub.* ANGLIÆ, *Salutem.*

MULTA nos et infidæ pacis, et intestini belli mala ultima perpessos, eò demùm loci redactos fuisse, ut si salvam rempubl. vellemus, ejus administrandi ratio magna ex parte immutandi esset, ex iis quæ à nobis hac de re scripta publicè et declarata sunt, majestati vestræ jam pridem notum esse arbitramur. Quibus, ut par est, si fides potius haberetur, quàm improbissimis perditorum hominum calumniis, sanè qui foris de rebus nostris pessimè jam sentiunt, iis fortasse multò æquioribus uteremur. Nam quod nos jure nostro, proque gentilitia Anglorum libertate, rectè et majorum more fortiter fecisse contendimus, de eo pravas et obstinatas nequissimorum hominum opiniones ex animis evellere, humanæ opis aut ingenii certè non est. Nunc autem quod nobis cum nationibus externis commune, et in rem utrinque magis existit, amicitiam et commercium quod nostris hominibus, cum vicina quacumque gente consuevit esse, non imminutum, sed auctum atque ratum magnoperè cupimus. Cumque vestro in regno populares nostri permagna et per utrique genti quæstuosa habeant negotia, iis ne impedimentum aliquod aut incommodum afferatur, quantum in nobis est, curabimus. Id verò prædicimus frustrà fore, dum piratis et defectoribus nostris perfugium sibi vestris in portubus reperire, et onerariis Anglorum navibus, vi captis atque direptis, bona civium nostrorum sub hasta vendere Olissipone, ut nuntiatur, permissum est. Huic malo quo maturiùs occuratur, et de ea, quam petimus, amicitia clariùs ut constet, nobilissimum virum Carolum Vane, oratoris munere præditum, cum mandatis atque diplomate, commissi sibi muneris teste, ad majestatem vestram legavimus. Eum itaque benignè audire, fidem ei adhibere, ejus denique incolumitati atque honori, per omnes regni vestri fines, ut velis consulere obtestamur. Hæc omnia et nobis pergrata, et majestati vestræ, si fortè usus venerit, nostra omnium officia mutua fore pollicemur.

Westmonasterio, dat. Feb. 4. 1649.

Serenissimo Principi Joanni *Quarto* Lusitaniæ *Regi, Parlamentum Reipub.* Angliæ, *Salutem.*

Quotidiani ferè, et perquàm graves afferentur ad nos nuntii, classiarios quosdam nostros, et gubernatores, qui, abductis per scelus atque proditionem, quibus præerant, navibus, superiore anno à nobis defecerant, elapsos demùm ex eo portu Hiberniæ, in quo æstate fermè tota obsessi, vix pœnam suis flagitiis dignam effugerant, ad Lusitaniæ nunc oram, Tagique fluminis ostium se recepisse: Ibi captis atque direptis quæ ad mercaturam ultrò citròque commeant Anglorum navigiis, piraticam strenuè facere, et vicina quæque maria, fretumque omne Gaditanum latrociniis infestum atque infame reddidisse. Cui malo nisi primo quoquo tempore obviàm eatur, actum esse de commercio, quod nostris hominibus cum Lusitanis peramplum et per utrique genti quæstuosum est, quis non videt? Quamobrem à vestra majestate etiam atque etiam petimus, ut piratas nostros et defectores, Portugalliæ finibus exire jubeas; et siqui à Carolo Stuarto pseudolegati adsunt, eorum uti rationem ne habere digneris; nosque potius agnoscas, ad quos Anglicarum jam summa rerum, Deo planè aspirante, rediit; utque nostræ amicorum classi, non minus vestris quam Anglorum commodis inservienti, Lusitaniæ portus, atque flumina præcludi ne sinas. * * *

Philippo *Quarto* Hispaniarum *Regi.*

Quam gravitèr quàmque acerbè tulerit majestas vestra nefariam illam Antonii Aschami oratoris nostri cædem, et quid puniendis ejus interfectoribus hactenus effectum sit cum ex literis vestris, tum ex Domino Alphonso de Cardenas legato vestro percepimus. Veruntamen facinoris illius atrocitatem quoties nobiscum reputamus quæ et ipsam vel habendi vel conservandi commercii rationem funditùs tollit, si legatorum jus apud omnes nationes sanctissimum impunè tanto scelere violabitur, non possumus quin majestatem vestram summa instantia iterùm efflagitemus ut supplicium de illis parricidis primo quoque tempore debitum sumatur, utque justitiam ulla mora aut obtentu religionis frustrari diutiùs ne sinat. Et quanquam potentissimi regis amicitiam plurimi certè facimus, tamen ut tam infandi parricidii authores dignas suo scelere pœnas persolvant omnem dare operam debemus. Humanitatem quidem illam, quam jussu vestro in Hispaniæ portubus nostri homines persensêre, præclaram etiam vestræ majestatis in nos voluntatem, quam nuper amplissimis verbis vestro nomine legatus nobis exposuit, grato animo agnoscimus, neque non voluptati nobis erit eadem pariter officia, si quis usus venerit, vestræ majestati et Hispanorum genti reddere. At nisi justitiæ sine mora satisfiat quod jamdiu petimus, quo niti fundamento amicitia sincera ac diuturna possit non videmus, cujus tamen conservandæ à nobis quidem nulla honesta occasio facilè omittetur, cui etiam fini præsentiam legati apud nos vestri conducere existimamus.

Legato Hispanico.

Excellentissime Domine,

Concilium Status, quam primùm per gravissima reipub. negotia licuit, in parlamentum attulit quatuor illa scripta quæ visum est excellentiæ vestræ undevigesimo proximi Decembris cum concilio communicare, concilium à parlamento in mandatis habet, quod ad primum scriptorum illorum caput, de nuperi scilicet residentis sui Dom. Aschami nefariis interfectoribus, responsum hoc reddere:

Parlamentum tamdiu, totiès, tamque meritò, debitum eorum supplicium postulasse ut ampliùs dicere opus non sit in re tanta, ubi (ut excellentia vestra pulchrè meminit) regiæ majestatis ipsa agitur authoritas: Et sine qua re omnis ratio societatis humanæ et conservandæ inter gentes amicitiæ tolli necesse erit. Neque sane ullo ab religione petito argumento intelligere possumus, innocentium sanguinem scelestissima cæde effusum non esse vindicandum. Etiamnum itaque instat parlamentum et ab regia majestate expectat, ut, juxta priora sua postulata, satisfactio sibi re ipsa atque effectu detur.

Serenissimo Principi Leopoldo Austriæ *Archiduci, Provinciarum in Belgio sub* Philippo *rege Præsidi.*

Ut primùm ad nos non sine gravissima querela perlatum est, Janam Puccheringam illustri et opulenta familia puellam hæredem, cum adhuc propter ætatem sub tutoribus esset, haud procul ea domo, in qua tum fortè Grenovici agebat, de manibus et complexu famularum raptam fuisse, et parato ad id navigio in Flandriam subitò deportatam, Walcii cujusdam insidiis, qui per fas et nefas omni molitus est, ut pupillam locupletem, vel ostenso mortis metu, ad nubendum sibi adigeret, huic tàm atroci tàmque inaudito sceleri primo quoque tempore occurrendum esse rati, dedimus quibusdam negotium, ut cum præfectis Neoporti et Ostendæ (nam in ea fortè loca infelix illa dicebatur appulsa) agerent de ingenua raptoris manibus eripienda. Qui utrique pro sua singulari humanitate et honesti studio, captivæ, perque latrocinium domo abductæ opem libenter tulerunt; illa verò ut prædatorum vim quoquo modo effugeret, in cœnobium votarum virginum veluti sequestrò deposita est. Quam ut ille Walcius inde abduceret, actionem in foro ecclesiastico Iprensis episcopi de contracto secum matrimonio instituit. Veruntamen, cum et raptor et rapta nostrates omninò sint, ipsum etiam facinus in nostra ditione perpetratum, quod juratis testibus abundè liquet, hæreditas denique tam lauta, quam illum imprimis inhiasse constat, in nostra potestate sit, hujus propterea causæ cognitionem totam, atque judicium ad nos duntaxat pertinere arbitramur. Veniat huc igitur qui se sponsum nominat, suam hic litem instruat, quamque jure suam contendit esse uxorem, tradi sibi postulet. Hoc interim a vestra celsitudine vehementèr petimus, quod et per nostrum internuntium Bruxellis commorantem jam aliquoties petivimus, ut afflic-

tam et indignis modis habitam puellam, honestis parentibus ortam, sua ex patria prædatorium in modum abductam, quoàd potes, liberam et incolumem redire domum sinas. Hoc abs te non nos tantùm, siquam vestræ celsitudini parem à nobis gratiam, parque beneficium reddi posse acciderit, sed ipsa etiam humanitas, ipse pudor qui ad tuendum sexus illius honorem et pudicitiam viris bonis atque fortibus inesse debet, junctis unà precibus afflagitare videntur. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Martii 28, 1650.

Serenissimo Principi Joanni *Quarto* Lusitaniæ *Regi.*

Quod Oratorem nostrum et honorificè acceperit majestas vestra, et benignè statim audierit, nullam interponendam esse moram statuimus, quin alteris quam primùm literis nostris intelligeres, gratissimum id nobis accidisse; nosque nihil sanctius decrevisse, quàm pacem, amicitiam, commercium, quod nobis cum nationibus plerisque exteris, et inter eas cum Lusitanis jam diù est, nullo nostro dicto aut facto, non prius lacessiti, violare; nec alia mente aut consilio classem Anglicanam Tagi fluminis ad ostium misisse, quàm hostes jam totiès fugatos persequendi, resque nostras repetendi, quas per vim et proditionem suis dominis ablatas, colluvies ista perfugarum vestras in oras, ipsamque etiam Olissiponem, tanquam ad certissimas latrocinii sui nundinas, asportavit. Verùm isti homines cujus audaciæ, furoris, et insaniæ sint, ex ipsorum moribus flagitiosissimis omnes jam penè Lusitanos abundè perspexisse arbitramur. Quo faciliùs à majestate vestra impetraturos nos esse confidimus, primùm ut illustrissimo viro Odoardo Poppamo, quem huic novæ classi præfecimus, quibus potes rebus ad prædatores hosce debellandos adjumento esse velis, utque eos cum duce suo, non hospites, sed piratas, non mercatores, sed commercii pestes, jurisque gentium violatores, intra regni vestri portus, et munimenta diutiùs consistere ne sinas; sed qua patent Lusitaniæ fines, terra marique pelli jubeas: sin hoc minùs, ut nobis saltem pace vestra liceat defectores nostros, et prædones propriis duntaxat viribus aggredi, et, si Deus dederit, in nostram potestatem redigere. Hoc ut prioribus literis vehementer petivimus, sic jam idem studio maximo atque opere ab majestate vestra contendimus. Hac sive æquitate, sive beneficio, non justitiæ solùm tuæ famam per omnes gentes benè moratas adauxeris, sed et nos imprimis, populumque Anglicanum Lusitanis jam ante à minime adversum, tibi tuoque populo majorem in modum devinxeris. Vale.

Westmonasterio, dat. 27 *Aprilis*, 1650.

Hamburgensibus.

De controversiis mercatorum, nonnullis etiam aliis de rebus quæ Reipubl. nostræ dignitatem aliquanto propriùs attingere videntur, scriptum inter nos haud semel, atque responsum est. Cum verò istiusmodi negotia solis literis confici vix posse intelligamus, esse autem à Carolo Stuarto immissos in urbem vestram seditiosos quosdam, nulla re magis quàm scelère atque audacia instructos, qui id agunt, ut nostrorum hominum, quorum præsertìm fides in patriam perspectior sit, commercium tàm vetustum in civitate vestra funditùs tollant, idcircò virum nobilem et spectatissimum Richardum Bradshaw nostrum apud vos internuntium esse jussimus: qui secundùm ea quæ à nobis mandata habet, de rebus iis atque negotiis quæ cum utriusque reipubl. utilitatibus conjuncta sunt, vobiscum uberiùs communicare, et transigere possit. Hunc igitur ut benevolè quam primùm audiatis rogamus; utque ei per omnia fides ea, isque honos habeatur, qui hujusmodi munus rectè obeuntibus ubique gentium haberi solet. Valete.

Westmonasterio, dat. 2 *Aprilis*, 1650.

Hamburgensibus.

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles Viri,
Amici charissimi;

Studia vestra quibus venientem ad vos residentem nostrum accepistis, tàm propensa, tamque egregia extitisse, et libenter intelligimus, et in eadem erga nos voluntate atque animo perseverare velitis magnoperè hortamur. Idque eò vehementiùs, quòd perlatum ad nos est, exules illos nostros, de quibus jam sæpe scripsimus, efferre se solito insolentiùs in urbe vestra, nec contumelias solùm, sed et minas quasdam atrocissimas in oratorem nostrum palàm projicere. Hujus itaque salutem atque etiam debitum honorem hisce rursùs literis commendatissimum vobis esse volumus. In illos autem perfugas et sicarios, tàm veteres quàm recentes, si maturiùs animadvertetis, et nobis gratissimum, et authoritate vestra atque prudentia dignum feceritis. Valete.

Westmonasterio, dat. 31 *Maii*, 1650.

Philippo *Quarto* Hispaniarum *Regi.*

Antonium Aschamum à nobis ad majestatem vestram nuper missum oratorem, eoque nomine à præfectis vestris perhumaniter et publicè acceptum, post itineris pericula tam longinqui, primo statim adventu in urbem regiam, omni præsidio nudatum, tam fœdo parricidio confossum in diversorio quodam, et cum Joanne Baptista de Ripa ejus interprete mactatum esse, magno sanè cum dolore accepimus. De illis autem parricidis jam comprehensis, ut fertur, et in custodiam datis, qui non nos duntaxat per illius latera, sed vestram quoque fidem atque honorem consauciare ac pænè transfigere sunt ausi, deque eorum quibuscunque hortatoribus ac sociis ut supplicium tanto scelere dignum primo quoque tempore sumatur, opere quam maximo à majestate vestra petimus. Quanquam id nihilo minus factum iri, quod petimus, utpote à rege sua sponte pio atque justo, etiamsi nemo peteret, non dubitamus. Quod reliquum est, ut corpus exanime amicis suis atque famulis in patriam deportandum tradatur, utque eorum saluti qui supersunt ea, quæ par est, ratione consultum atque provisum tantisper sit rogamus, donec responso ad hasce literas, si fieri potest, secum ablato, vestræ pietatis atque justitiæ testes ad nos quam primùm redierint.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 28 *Junii*, 1650

Excellentissimo Domino ANTONIO LUDOVICO DE LA CERDA, MEDINÆ CELI *Duci*, ANDALITIÆ *Præsidi; Consilium Status Parlamenti* ANGLIÆ *authoritate constitutum, Salutem.*

ACCIPIMUS ab ornatissimis viris quos nuper in Portugalliam ad persequendos proditores, resque nostras repetendas cum classe misimus, se ab Amplitudine Vestra, quoties contigit ut Gallæciæ oram legerent, quæ præfectura vestra est, et perhumaniter illis portubus exceptos fuisse, et iis rebus omnibus adjutos, quæ navigantibus usui solent esse. Ei vestra humanitas, cum pergrata nobis omni tempore fuisset, tum est nunc præcipuè, cum aliorum iniquum in nos animum nullo merito nostro aliquibus in locis experimur. Petimus itaque abs te, "Illustrissime Domine," ut in eadem erga nos voluntate ac benevolentia permanere velis: utque nostris hominibus, quoties ad ea littora naves appulerint, pro solita humanitate tua, favere et adjumento esse pergas; tibique persuadeas nihil nos beneficii loco abs te petere quod non eodem studio vel tibi vel tuis reddere, si quando similis occasio nobis dabitur, parati erimus.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 7 *Novemb.* 1650.

Signat. Consilii sigillo,
Jo. BRADSHAW Præses.

Illustri et Magnifico Civitatis GEDANENSIS *Senatui.*

Magnifici atque Amplissimi Domini, Amici Charissimi;

FREQUENTES ad nos literæ mercatorum nostrorum, qui Borussiæ per oram negotiantur, allatæ sunt, quibus tributum grave quoddam et insolitum nuper in magno Polonorum concilio imponi sibi queruntur: ut decimam scilicet facultatum suarum omnium partem sublevando Scotorum regi, nostro hosti, suppeditarent. Quod cum juri gentium contrarium planè sit, tractari hunc in modum hospites et mercatores, iniquissimum etiam, ut cujus tyrannide sint domi, divina ope, liberati, iidem in aliena republica stipendia persolvere cogerentur, non dubitamus quin pro illa libertate, qua frui vos intelligimus, tam grave onus mercatoribus imperari in urbe vestra pati nolitis; in qua amicitiam et commercium, nec sine magno vestræ civitatis emolumento, per tot annos habuere. Si est igitur ut nostrorum hominum apud vos mercaturam facientium tutelam suscipere velitis, quod quidem cùm ab æquitate et prudentia vestra, tum etiam à dignitate splendidissimæ urbis haud dubitantèr expectamus, eam operam dabimus, ut gratissimum id esse nobis omni tempore sentiatis; quotiès in ditione nostra Gedanenses vel negotia habuerint, vel naves, quod sæpè fit, ad portus nostros appulerint.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 6 *Feb.* 1650.

Internuntio PORTUGALLICO.

Illustris Domine,

LITERAS tuas hujus mensis quinto decimo Hamptona ad nos datas accepimus. In quibus significas te à rege Portugalliæ ad Parlamentum Reipublicæ Angliæ missum esse: quo autem muneris titulo, sive legati, sive agentis, sive internuntii non dicis; id quod ex literis quas à rege habes commendatitias sive credentiales intelligere velimus; quarum exemplar ad nos poteris quam primùm mittere; simul et illud scire, satisnè plena potestate instructus venias ad eas injurias expiandas, damnaque ea resarcienda, quæ à rege vestro illata huic reipublicæ sunt: dum hostem nostrum tota æstate proxima suis portubus tutatus classem Anglicanam in rebelles et perfugas quos cò usque insecuta erat, impetum facere parantem cohibuit, hostem ab invadendis nostris non cohibuit. De his omnibus ut satisfacias, si ampla et libera mandata accepisse te scripseris, et illarum quas diximus literarum exemplar unà miseris, deinceps curabimus, ut ad nos fide publica primo quoque tempore tutò commeare possis: ubi cum regis literæ perlectæ fuerint, tibi, quæ mandata porrò attulisti ea liberè exponendi facultas dabitur.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *Serenissimo Principi* D. FERDINANDO *Secundo, Magno Duci* ETRURIÆ, *&c. Salutem.*

LITERAS celsitudinis vestræ 22 Aprilis 1651, Florentiæ datas, et à residente vestro domino Almerico Salvetti nobis redditas accepimus, in quibus Anglico nomini quantoperè faveat celsitudo vestra gentemque eam quanti faciat, facilè perspicimus, id quod non solùm mercatores nostri, qui in portubus vestris multos jam annos negotiantur, verùm etiam adolescentes quique nostræ nationis nobilissimi, atque honestissimi, qui vestras per urbes aut iter fecere, aut excolendi ingenii causa commorati sunt, testantur atque confirmant, quæ cum nobis pergrata sanè sint, et acceptissima, tum hoc etiam atque etiam petimus, ut quo animo, quoque studio in nostros mercatores, aliosque nostræ reipublicæ cives Hetruscam ditionem peragrantes, serenitas vestra consuevit esse, in eo velit perseverare: nosque vicissim pollicemur atque recipimus, quod ad Parlamentum attinet, nihil defuturum, quod et commercio et amicitiæ mutuæ, quæ inter utramque gentem jam diù inveteravit, firmandæ ac stabiliendæ possit conducere; quam quidem omnibus utrinque humanitatis officiis, mutuaque observantia, in perpetuum conservari cupimus atque optamus.

Westmonasterio, 20 *Januarii,* 1651.

Subscripsit et Parlamenti sigillum apponi fecit
GULIELMUS LENTHALL,
Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *Illustri et magnifico Civitatis* HAMBURGENSIS *Senatui, Salutem.*

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles viri,
Amici charissimi;

PARLAMENTUM Reipublicæ Angliæ cum antiquam amicitiam, mutuumque commercium, quæ inter gentem Anglicam vestramque civitatem est, continuatum magnoperè vellet et conservatum, haud ita pridem Richardum Bradshaw, armigerum, residentis munere præditum illùc misit, eique inter alia mandata eò spectantia di-

certis verbis mandavit, ut contra quosdam vestræ ditionis justitiam efflagitaret, qui societatis Anglicæ concionatorem interficere sunt conati, quique deputato illius societatis impias manus injecêre, et mercatoribus quibusdam ejus societatis præcipuis impias manus injecêre, eosque in navem prædatoriam abduxerant, et quamvis prædictus residens, cum exciperetur primum et audiretur, accepta ab hac republica mandata illa sigillatìm vobis nota fecerit, quibus justitiæ vestræ exemplum in maleficos illos edendum expectabatur, tamen cùm expectationi nostræ responsum non esse intelligeremus, illud nobiscum cogitantes quanto in periculo et nostri homines et illorum facultates versarentur, si de incolumitate illorum et tutela adversus hostium malitiam et iniquos oppugnatores non satis provisum esset, rursùs prædicto residenti in mandatis dedimus, ut nostrum ejus rei sensum representaret: utque hujus reipublicæ nomine vos ut amicitiam et necessitudinem inter hanc rempub. vestramque civitatem initam magnumque usum qui huic reipub. cum vestra civitate intercedit conservare, adeoque mercatores nostros cum eorum privilegiis sine ulla violatione protegere velitis hortaretur; utque nominatìm in quemdam, cui nomen Garnes est, qui se in hanc rempublicam contumeliosè gessit, certosque ex societate mercatorum Anglica, vestra in urbe commorantes, ad contumeliam hujus reipublicæ magnamque nostrorum mercatorum molestiam, in Spirensem cameram publicè citavit: quare reparationem ejusmodi expectamus quæ æquitati et justitiæ consentanea est.

De hisce capitibus, et si quid amplius ad hujus reipub. cum vestra civitate amicitiam pertinuerit, prædictum residentem hujus reipublicæ nomine ad vos jussimus accedere: cui, ut fidem amplam in iis quæ huc spectantia proposuerit habeatis, rogamus.

Westmonasterio, dat. 12 *Martii*, 1651.

Subscripsit, et Parlamenti sigillum imprimendum curavit, Prolocutor, &c.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *serenissimæ* CHRISTIANÆ, SUECORUM, GOTHORUM, VANDALORUMQUE *Reginæ*, *&c. Salutem.*

Serenissima Regina;

MAJESTATIS vestræ literas ad parlamentum reipub. Angliæ 26 proximè elapsi Septembris Stockholma datas per Petrum Spiering Silvercroon accepimus, et perlegimus: et veterem quidem amicitiam, nec non commercium magnumque usum, qui Anglis cum Suecorum gente antiquitùs intercedit, permanere atque indies augere vehementer atque ex animo cupimus: Neque dubitamus, quin legatus à majestate vestra ampliter instructus venerit ad ea maximè proponenda, quæ in rem atque decus genti utrique futura imprimis fuissent, quæque nos audire ex eo paratissimi fuissemus, et quod utrinque potissimum salubre atque utile videretur, id primo quoque tempore effectum reddidisse. Verùm summo rerum moderatori Deo ita visum est, ut is antequam audiri ac petiisset de iis quæ parlamento exponenda ab majestate vestra in mandatis habebat, evenit ut ex hac vita excederet (cujus quidem desiderium ita ægrè atque acerbè tulimus, ut qui simul in divina voluntate acquiescere debeamus) unde et majestatis vestræ quæ mens esset adhuc scire nequeamus, ejusque rei progressibus in presens injecta mora sit: quocircà optimum nobis visum est hisce literis, quas, misso hac ipsa de re nuntio nostro, dedimus, significare vestræ majestati, quam gratæ literæ vestræ quamque acceptus vester publicus minister parlamento reipub. Angliæ fuerit; simulque vestræ majestatis amicitiam quantoperè expectamus; quàmque etiam, ut par est, tantæ principis amicitiam plurimi faciemus: deque illo quod inter hanc rempub. et majestatis vestræ regnum est commercio exaugendo, ita existimabimus quemadmodum de re maximi utrobique momenti existimare debemus: quod et ea de causa parlamento reipub. Angliæ acceptissimum erit. Adeoque vestram majestatem divinæ tutelæ recommendare volumus: Quorum nomine et authoritate.

Datis Westmonasterio die Martis ann. Dom. 1651.

Subscripsit et Parlamenti Sigillum imprimendum curavit Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipublicæ ANGLIÆ *Serenissimo Principi* FERDINANDO *Secundo* HETRURIÆ *Magno* DUCI, *Salutem.*

LITERAS celsitudinis vestræ 22 Aprilis 1651, Florentia datas, et à residente vestro domino Almerico Salvetti nobis redditas accepimus; in quibus Anglico nomini quantopere faveat celsitudo vestra, gentemque eam quanti faciat, facile perspicimus: id quod non solùm mercatores nostri, qui in portubus vestris multos jam annos negotiantur, verum etiam adolescentes quique nostræ nationis nobilissimi atque honestissimi, qui vestras per urbes aut iter fecere, aut excolendi ingenii causa commorati sunt, testantur atque confirmant. Quæ cum nobis pergrata sane sunt et acceptissima, tum hoc etiam atque etiam petimus, ut quo animo quoque studio in nostros mercatores, aliosque nostræ reipublicæ cives Hetruscam ditionem peragrantes serenitas vestra consuevit esse, in eo velit perseverare: nosque vicissim pollicemur atque recipimus, quod ad parlamentum attinet, nihil defuturum, quod et commercio et amicitiæ mutuæ, quæ inter utramque rempub. tam diu inveteravit, firmandæ ac stabiliendæ possit conducere: quam quidem omnibus utrinque humanitatis officiis, mutuaque observantia, in perpetuum conservari cupimus atque optamus.

Westmonasterio, Maii 22, 1651.

Parlamentum Reipublicæ ANGLIÆ *serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi* PHILIPPO *Quarto* HISPANIARUM *Regi, Salutem.*

PERMAGNAS nobis querelas deferunt hujus reipub. mercatores, qui in ditionibus vestræ majestatis mercaturam faciunt, de vi multa atque injuriis sibi allatis, deque novis etiam tributis sibi impositis à prefectis aliisque officialibus vestrorum portuum et locorum, ubi negotia habent, et nominatim in insulis Canariis,

idque contra fœderis articulos, quos commercii causa utraque natio inter se sanxit. Quas eorum querelas veras esse jurejurando confirmavere. Nobisque demonstrant, nisi jus suum obtinere possint, suaque damna resarciantur, nisi denique contra vim istiusmodi atque injurias præsidium aliquod certum, atque tutelam et sibi et fortunis suis habituri sint, non posse se amplius iis in locis negotiari. Quibus eorum querelis graviter à nobis perpensis, cumque facta illorum ministrorum iniqua, aut non omnino aut secus quàm res se habet ad notitiam vestræ majestatis pervenisse existimemus, visum est nobis ipsas eorum querelas cum hisce litteris ad majestatem vestram unà mittere; nec dubitamus quin majestas vestra, cum ipsius justitiæ amore, tum etiam commercii causa, quod vestris haud minus quam nostris hominibus fructuosum est, suis præcipere velit, ut ab iniquis illis nostrorum vexationibus abstineant, utque hujus gentis mercatores expeditam justitiam obtinere queant, necnon debitam earum injuriarum reparationem, quæ à domino Petro de Carillo de Guzman, atque aliis, allatæ sibi sunt, contra prædictos fœderis articulos, utque perficere velit majestas vestra, ut prædicti mercatores fructum illorum articulorum percipere queant, in eaque vestra tutela sint, ut tam ipsi quam fortunæ suæ ab omni injuria liberæ et incolumes esse possint. Hoc autem magna ex parte consecuturos se esse putant, si ademptam sibi illam de judice conservatore schedulam, qui eos à novo quodam consulatu in se quidem iniquiore defendat, majestas vestra rursus concesserit; ne si nullum ab injuria refugium sibi detur, abrumpi illud commercium, quod utrique genti commoda haud parva attulit, violatis hunc in modum fœderis articulis, necesse sit.

Westmonasterio, Augusti, 1651.

Serenissimo Principi VENETIARUM *Duci, Senatuique Celsissimo, Concilium Status Parlamenti Reipub.* ANGLIÆ *Authoritate constitutum, Salutem.*

Serenissime Princeps, celsissime Senatus,
Amici charissimi;

MERCATORES quidam nostri, quorum alteri Joannes Dickons, alteri Job Throckmorton nomen est, simulque alii apud nos questi sunt, quòd cum Novembris octavo et vigesimo 1651, ex jure et authoritate curiæ nostræ ammiralatus occupassent in navi Hirundine vulgo nuncupata, cui in Dunis consistenti Isaacus Taylor magister erat, centum dolia caveari vulgò dicti, quæ sua propria bona essent, inque sinu Moscovitico Archangeli dicto eadem in navem imposita; atque in ea curia, prout lege agitur, decretum obtinuissent, quo dicta caveari dolia sibi traderentur, fide sua prius interposita, se in illius curiæ sententia acquieturos; quodque eadem curia, quo lis illa ad exitum perduceretur, cum pro more scripsisset ad magistratus judicesque Venetos, literas, quibus petebant uti Joannem Piattum (Veneta sub ditione degentem, qui cavearum illum sibi vendicat) citarent quo re per procuratorem in ammiralatus curia Anglica se sisteret, ubi lis ista pendet, jusque suum probaret, tamen idem Piattus, et quidam David Rutts Hollandus, dum causa hæc in nostro hic foro pendet, multum supradicto Joanni Dickons, aliisque illis mercatoribus de caveare isthoc negotium facessit; eorumque bona et facultates nexu occupandas Venetiis curat: quæ omnia singulatim, et quid hactenus in predicta nostra curia sit actum in literis illis requisitoriis fusiùs exponitur; quas postquam à nobis inspectæ essent, ad serenissimam Venetiarum rempub. ut mercatoribus in hac causa adjumento esse possint, transmittendas censuimus; atque ab ea vehementèr petimus, ut non solum illæ literæ vim suam atque pondus illic habere queant, sed etiam ut bona illa et facultates mercatorum, quas prædictus Piattus et David Rutts nexu illigandas curarunt, liberentur; dictique rei ad nostram hic curiam remittantur, quid sui sit juris in hoc caveare sibi vendicando lege experturi. Qua in re celsitudo vestra et serenissima respub. fecerit et quod æquissimum in se est, et quod illibata utriusque reipub. amicitia est dignum, quod denique, oblata quavis occasione, pari hujus reipub. benevolentia atque officiis compensabitur.

Datis ab Alba Aula, die Feb. 1652.

Subscripsit et Concilii Sigillum imprimendum curavit, Consilii Præses.

Ad legatum HISPANICUM.

Excellentissime Domine,

CONCILIUM Status cum ex mandato parlamenti secundo die mensis Martii accepto de charta excellentiæ vestræ 17 Feb. commissariis hujus concilii exhibita deliberationem seriam habuerit, in qua excellentiæ vestræ visum est, proponere uti duobus capitibus illis nominatis quasi præviis responderetur, responsum hoc excellentiæ vestræ reddendum censet.

Parlamentum, ubi ad ea respondit, quæ ab excellentia vestra cum primum audiretur proposita sunt, tum etiam in iis literis quas ad Serenissimum Hispaniarum Regem scripsit, quàm sibi grata quamque accepta illa fuerit amicitia, ususque mutuus qui et ab illius regia majestate et à vobis ejus nomine oblatus est, quam denique deliberatum sibi fuerit, parem amicitiam quod ad se attinet, pariaque officia reddere uberius declaravit.

Exinde visum vestræ excellentiæ, cum primum audita in concilio est Decembris 19 styli veteris, huic concilio proponere, veluti rationem quandam auspicandæ arctioris hujus amicitiæ, cujus facta tum à vobis mentio erat, uti certi ex suo corpore nominarentur, qui ea quæ attulisset excellentia vestra audirent, iis perpensis de eorum utilitate ad concilium referre quam primum possint, cui vestro postulato ut satisfieret certos ex suo numero concilium nominavit, qui excellentiam vestram convenirent, quod et proinde factum est eorumque loco quæ proponenda expectabantur, chartam illam supradictam congressio ea protulit, ad quam responsum hoc concilii est.

Cum parlamentum ea declaraverit, vestraque excellentia progressum eum fecerit qui supradictus est, paratos nos esse, cum excellentia vestra in colloquium venire iis de rebus, quas domini regis vestri nomine proposueritis, tam de amicitia jam pridem inita, quam de arctiore ineunda, aut si quid à nobis hujus reipub. nomine in

medium proferetur; cumque ad singula ventum erit, ita respondebimus, ut par est, naturaque rei postulabit.

Alba Aula, Martii 12, 1652.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ, *serenissimo Principi* FREDERICO *Tertio* DANIÆ *Regi, &c. Salutem.*

Serenissime et potentissime Rex;

LITERAS vestræ majestatis, undevigesimo proximi Decembris ad parlamentum reipub. Angliæ ab arce regia Haphniæ datas, per virum nobilem Henricum Willemsen Rosenwing de Lysacker accepimus, eoque animi affectu, quem res illic propositæ merentur, libentissimè perlegimus, vestræque majestati persuasum hoc esse cupimus, eundem animum, eadem veteris amicitiæ, commercii, ac necessitudinis, quæ Angliæ cum Dania per tot annos intercessit, continuandæ et conservandæ studia, quæ in majestate vestra sunt, in nobis quoque esse; haud nescientes, quamvis divinæ Providentiæ visum sit, gentem hanc tùm benignè et placidè respicienti receptam apud nos prioris regiminis formam in melius mutare, easdem tamen utrinque rationes, eadem in commune commoda, eundem mutuò usum atque liberum commercium, quæ pactiones priores et fœdera inter utramque nationem pepererunt, etiamnum durare vimque priorem obtinere, utrasque etiam obligare, ut communem dent operam, fœdera illa quàm utilissima sibi mutuo reddendo, ut amicitiam quoque propriorem ac stabiliorem indies reddant; cumque vestræ majestati placuerit ea persequi consilia, quæ in literis vestris regiis scripta sunt, parlamentum eadem amplecti cum alacritate omni ac fide paratum erit, eaque omnia pro virili sua parte conferre, quæ illum ad finem conducere arbitrabuntur; sibique persuadent, majestatem vestram hac de causa, ea itidem consilia capturum esse ad hanc rempub. spectantia (cui etiam provisum pactis prioribus est) quæ ad hasce res facere possint ab majestate vestra nobis tàm cupientibus proposita. Parlamentum interea majestati vestræ ac populo fœlicitatem prosperaque omnia precatur.

Datis Westmonasterio, die April. An. Dom. 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti subscripsit ejus nomine atque authoritate Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *illustribus et magnificis* HANSEATICARUM *Civitatum Proconsulibus ac Senatoribus, Salutem.*

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles Viri,
Amici charissimi;

PARLAMENTUM Reipubl. Angliæ literas vestras sexto decimo Januarii proximè elapsi datas, perque vestrum publicum ministrum Leonem ab Aisema allatas, accepit atque perlegit, eumque ex earum authoritate audivit, qui et vestrarum civitatum erga hanc rempub. propensum et amicum animum exposuit, et antiqua illa inter easdem amicitia ut porrò maneat petivit. Parlamentum itaque pro se testatur atque confirmat pergratum sibi esse, pristinam illam amicitiam ac necessitudinem, quæ huic genti cum illis civitatibus intercessit, et renovari ratamque permanere, seque fore paratum quavis occasione commodùm oblata quod verbis in se recipit id reipsa solidè prestare, eademque fide et integritate antiqui illi amici et fœderati sui ut secum agant expectat: quæ autem prætereà residens vester speciatim in mandatis habuit, cum ea ad concilium status integra à nobis remissa fuerint, quæque proposuisset ibidem consultata, responsum illic atque transactum cum eo ita fuit, prout quidque maximè cum æqualitate et ratione consentire visum est, quod et residens vester renunciare ad vos poterit: cujus prudentia et spectata probitas collata in eum à vobis publici muneris nota dignum prædicat.

Datis Westmonast. die April. An. Dom. 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti subscripsit, ejusque nomine et authoritate, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *illustri et magnifico Civitatis* HAMBURGENSIS *Senatui, Salutem.*

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles Viri,
Amici charissimi;

PARLAMENTUM Reipub. Angliæ literas vestras quinto decimo Januarii proxime elapsi Hamburgo datas, perque nobilem virum Dominum Leonem ab Aisema vestrum et cæterarum civitatum Hanseaticarum residentem allatas, accepit atque perlegit, eumque ex earum authoritate audivit, et quæ amplius ab vestra civitate mandata speciatim habuit, de iis ad concilium status remisit, quibus ut exciperent quæ ab eo proponerentur, deque iis quæ justa et æqua viderentur, cum eo quàm primum transigerent, authores fuimus; quod etiam exinde factum est. Utque parlamentum earum rerum quæ à vobis afferentur debitam rationem semper se esse habiturum ostendit, suumque erga vestram civitatem singulare studium, misso illuc residente suo, ibique manere jusso, testatum reddidit; ita vicissim expectat, et meritò quidem postulat, à vobis æqua reddi iis in rebus quæ hujus reipub. ex usu, ab suo dicto residente suoque nomine vestræ civitati, antiquitùs amicæ nobis et fœderatæ, vel jam exposita vel in posterum exponenda erunt.

Westmonasterio, dat. die April. An. Dom. 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti subscripsit ejus nomine atque authoritate Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Concilium Status Reipublicæ ANGLIÆ *Serenissimo Principi* D. FERDINANDO *Secundo Magno Duci* HETRURIÆ, *Salutem.*

CONCILIUM Status cum à Carolo Longlando, qui in portu celsitudinis vestræ Liburnensi mercatorum Anglicorum negotia procurat, certius per literas fieret, quatuordecim naves præsidiarias Fœderatorum Belgarum in eum portum nuper venisse, qui naves Anglorum in ipso portu vestro aut incensuros se esse aut depressuros minati palàm sunt, vestramque serenitatem, cujus fidem atque opem Angliæ mercatores ibi commorantes imploraverant, Liburniensis

præsidii præfecto mandasse, uti illis Anglorum navibus auxilio esset, sui muneris atque officii judicavit esse, uti celsitudinem vestram certiorem faceret, quàm huic reipublicæ gratissima sit benevolentia illa atque tutela, quam mercatoribus Anglis tam benignè præbuistis, vestræque celsitudini promittit atque in se recipit mansuram apud se in omne tempus hujus benè meriti gratiam, paratumque se omni occasione fore parem amicitiam pariaque officia vestro populo reipsa præstare, omniaque facere, quæ conservandæ inter hanc gentem atque vestram solitæ benevolentiæ, atque commercio possint conducere. Cumque naves Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum inter ipsa de fœdere colloquia à semetipsis oblata in classem nostram summa cum perfidia non solùm in ipsis stationibus hostilia inceptaverint (quo in facinore DEUS, tanquam arbiter justissimus, adversum se illis atque infensum ostendit) verùm etiam in exterorum portubus naves mercatorum nostrorum capere aut demergere conatæ sint, necessarium etiam censuimus scriptum hoc parlamenti reipublicæ Angliæ ad celsitudinem vestram unà mittere; cujus emittendi occasionem dedere controversiæ inter hanc rempub. et Belgii provincias in præsentia coortæ. Ex quo celsitudo vestra facilè perspiciat, quàm iniqua, quam contra fas omne atque jus gentium facta illius populi in hanc rempub. extiterint, et quàm ex animo parlamentum studuerit, publicæ pacis causa, amicitiam eorum et societatem pristinam retinuisse.

Datis ab Alba Aula, Julii 29, 1652.

Subscripsit Concilii Nomine atque Authoritate Concilii Præses.

Ad Legatum HISPANICUM.

Excellentissime Domine,

CONCILIUM Status, deliberatione habita de illa chartula quam 27/6 *Maii/Junii*, 1652, ab excellentia vestra accepit, tum etiam de illa quam in concilio status cum audiretur 6/16 hujus mensis vestra exhibuit excellentia, ad binas illas chartulas responsum hoc reddit: parlamentum reipubl. Angliæ firmam amicitiam bonamque pacem, quæ huic repub. est cum Hispaniarum regia majestate, conservandi percupidum, ex quo idem primùm regis prædicti animum eodem inclinare excellentia vestra significavit, paratum semper fuisse eam utriusque gentis bono quam maximè firmare ac stabilire. Idque concilium status parlamenti nomine atque mandato suis chartulis aliquoties excellentiæ vestræ demonstravit; et speciatim, prout excellentia vestra petiverat, commissarios delegit, quæ et excellentiam vestram convenirent, ab eaque acciperent, quæ ad predictum finem conducentia proponerentur; quo in conventu eorum loco proponendorum visum est nobis generatim quædam, quasi futuro prævia colloquio, exhibere, de quibus concilio videbatur, parlamentum qui suus esset sensus chartis prioribus planum fecisse: tamen quo cumulatiùs satisfieret, utque excellentiæ vestræ nequa dubitatio restaret iis de rebus quæ tum proposuerat, concilium in ea chartula quæ 31/10 *Martii/Aprilis*, data est, paratum se esse ostendit cum excellentia vestra in colloquium venire iis de rebus quæ à parte regiæ majestatis prædictæ in mandatis haberet, tàm de pristina amicitia quàm de actione futura, de iis etiam quæ à nobis hujus reipub. nomine exhiberentur; cumque ad singula veniretur ea, quæ par esset, resque postularet, responsa dare: ad quæ visum est excellentiæ vestræ nihilum respondere neque per duos pene menses in ea re ulterius progredi. Vestramque chartulam 27/6 *Maii/Junii*, 1652, datam concilium ex eo tempore primam ab excellentia vestra accepit, in eaque hoc solum proponitis, uti pacis atque fœderis articuli inter Carolum regem nuperum vestrumque Dominum 6/15 Novembris 1630, pacti denuò percurrantur, utque ejus capita quæque vel amplificentur vel immutenter pro temporum et rerum alio nunc statu, necnon regendæ reipublicæ forma immutata, quod cum nihil amplius esset, quàm quod et nos in prædicta nostra chartula 31/10 *Martii/Aprilis* summatim atque dilucidè significaveramus, expectabat concilium quosdam speciatim articulos ex eo fœdere ab excellentia vestra propositum iri, cum ea amplificatione, iisque mutationibus, quarum facitis mentionem, cum alioqui nobis impossibile sit ullum aliud responsum hac de re dare, quàm quod jam dedimus. Verùm cum excellentia vestra ex charta sua novissima dilationem in nos conferre videatur, concilium idcircò chartulam vestram prædictam 27/6 *Maii/Junii* datam, quodque in ea propositum erat denuò inspexit, seque de eo quod illic est propositum, priore illa chartula excellentiæ vestræ plenè satisfecisse arbitratur, cui et hoc solum potest adjicere, se, cum excellentiæ vestræ videbitur, vel ex fœderibus jam factis vel alio quovis modo ejusmodi ferre conditiones, quæ ad præsentem rerum ac temporum statum erunt accommodatæ, quibus à parte vestra fundari amicitiam vultis, ea vobis responsa exinde redditurum, quæ ab se ad ea reddi æquum erit, quæque parlamentum in eodem perseverare studio testentur, illibatam atque firmam cum rege vestro domino amicitiam conservandis. Eaque ut augescat etiam, parlamentum omnem honestam seque dignam operam pro se quidem dabit.

Concilium prætcrea sui officii ducit esse, excellentiam vestram illius nostræ chartulæ Januarii 30, 1651, ad vos datæ admoneri, cui cum excellentia vestra responsum nondum dederit, instamus proinde atque expectamus, ut parlamento, de qua illic re facta mentio est, satisfactio detur.

Responsum Concilii Status ad Replicationem Dominorum Legatorum Extraordinariorum serenissimi Regis DANIÆ *et* NORWEGIÆ, *Commissariis Concilii traditam, ad Responsum illud quod reddidit Concilium ad quatuordecim eorum postulationes.*

PRÆDICTIS Dominis Legatis ut satisfiat de responso concilii ad quintum, sextum, septimum, octavum, et nonum articulum, assentitur concilium huic sequenti clausulæ suo responsorum fine adjiciendæ. Videlicet, præter illas colonias, insulas, portus et loca in partis alterutrius ditione, ad quæ loca ne quis negotiandi aut commercii habendi causa accedat, lege cautum est, nisi impetrata prius ejus partis licentia speciali, ad quam illa colonia, insula, portus, aut loca pertinuerint

Receptio cujusquam in navem quæ in flumina, portus, aut sinus alterutrius partis compulsa erit navem illam ulli exhibendæ molestiæ aut perscrutationi ex responso concilii ad articulum undecimum obnoxiam non faciet, quemadmodum prædicti domini legati in replicatione sua videntur intellexisse, præterquam ubi illa receptio contra leges, statuta, aut morem illius loci est, in quo illa navis portum capesserit, qua in re videtur concilio nihil statui quod durius sit, sed quod utriusque reipub. saluti sit æquè conducibile.

Quod ad probandum cujusnam propriè naves et bona illa erunt, quæ in naufragio ejici acciderint, concilium existimat necesse esse jusjurandum dari in illis curiis, quæ ad hujusmodi causas aut jam sunt constitutæ aut erunt constituendæ, ubi qua illa sibi vendicant audiri singuli possint, et cujusque jus cognosci ac dijudicari, quod scriptis testimoniis, quæ vulgo "certificata" nuncupantur, tam clarè atque distinctè fieri non potest, unde multi scrupuli ac dubitationes existere poterunt, multæ etiam fraudes ac doli in illud genus probationis irrepere, quod ne eveniat utriusque partis interest providere. Concilium etiam æquum esse arbitratur, definiri certum tempus, ante quod tempus qui justum earum rerum dominum se esse non probaverit, excludetur ad evitandas sine fine lites. Quod autem ad modum venundandi ea bona quæ ejecta in naufragio facile corrumpuntur, visum est concilio eum modum proponere qui ad lucernam dicitur, ut qui sit modus maximè probabilis verum bonorum pretium eliciendi ad dominorum emolumentum; tamen si prædicti domini legati inventam aliam rationem attulerint quæ huic fini magis conducere videbitur, per concilium non stabit quo minus id fiat quod æquum erit: neque intelligitur ob hanc rem huic tractationi moram afferendi occasio ulla præbeatur.

Quod autem ad eorum supplicium qui propositum fœdus ruperint, concilium id adjecit, cujus in responso suo ad articulum quartum decimum fit mentio ad majorem ejus articuli efficaciam, ipsumque fœdus eò firmius atque diuturnius reddendum.

Ad clausulam articuli quarti decimi extremam quod attinet respondere, non expedire censemus illis fœderibus ac societatibus, quarum in prædictis responsis facta est mentio, quæque generatim duntaxat proponuntur assensum nostrum exhibere antequam quales illæ sint, exploratius nobis fuerit, de quibus cum excellentiis vestris visum erit concilium certius facere, responsum expressius ad id reddere poterimus.

Replicatio Concilii Status ad responsum prædictorum Dominorum Legatorum quod ad senos articulos à prædicto Concilio nomine Reipub. ANGLIÆ *exhibitos est redditum.*

CONCILIUM, inspectis prædictorum dominorum legatorum diplomatis quibus collata in eos potestas est transigendi cum parlamento aut ejus commissariis de iis omnibus quæ transigi expediverit, fœderaque vetusta renovandi novaque jungendi, existimabat quidem prædictos dominos legatos ea authoritate esse præditos, ut et responsa dare possent, et omnia transigere, tam quæ à parte hujus reipub. quàm quæ à parte Regis Daniæ et Norwegiæ ferrentur, adeoque responsa quæ prædictis dominis legatis ad primam, secundam, tertiam et quintam concilii postulationem dare libuit haud expectabat, quo factum erit, ut huic præsenti tractationi necessario more afferatur, cum et in se æquissimum sit, et in concilio deliberatum, fœdus integrum tractando simul complecti tam de iis quæ ad hanc rempublicam quam quæ ad regna Daniæ et Norwegiæ spectant. Quapropter concilium enixè flagitat, ut excellentiæ vestræ respondere ad predictum nostrum primum, secundum, tertium, et quintum postulatum velint.

Ad quartum articulum de portoriis Gluckstadii cum ea jam antiquata sint, quemadmodum excellentiæ vestræ in responso meminerunt, instat concilium uti eorum illa antiquatio etiam per hoc fœdus rata habeatur, ne forte in posterum revocentur.

Quod ad sextum articulum, qui de pyratica est, eum quidem inseruit concilium ut qui ad utriusque commoda æquè pertineret, et ad commercium in commune stabiliendum, quod à pyratis atque prædonibus perquàm turbatur atque interrumpitur; cumque responsum dominorum legatorum de hoc articulo ad hostes tantùm referatur, mentionem piratarum nullam faciat, concilium idcirco expressius responsum ad id petit.

Cumque prædicti domini legati in sua replicatione ad responsum concilii et decimum suum articulum, et ad eum concilii responsum prætermiserint, concilio necessarium visum est prioribus suis postulatis sequentem hunc articulum adjungere.

Populum et incolas reipub. Angliæ, qui negotia aut commercium per ulla regna, regiones, aut ditionem Regis Daniæ et Norwegiæ habuerint portorii, tributi, census, vectigalis aut stipendii cujusvis plus in posterum non solvere aut alio quovis modo atque populus fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum, aliave quævis natio externa minimum illic solvens mercaturamque faciens, si solvit aut solutura est, parique frui et æquè ampla libertate privilegiis et immunitatibus, cum in adventu, tum in reditu, et quamdiu illic commorabuntur, in piscatu etiam, mercatura, atque alio quocunque modo, quo ullius exteræ gentis populus in prædictis regnis totaque ditione dicti Regis Daniæ et Norwegiæ fruitur aut frui queat; quibus itidem privilegiis populares Regis Daniæ et Norwegiæ per omnes provincias ac ditionem Reipublicæ Angliæ pariter fruentur.

Concilium Status Reipub. ANGLIÆ *serenissimo Principi Domino* FERDINANDO *Secundo, Magno Duci* HETRURIÆ, *Salutem.*

Serenissime Princeps, Amice Charissime,

CONSILIUM Status, cognito tàm per oratorem celsitudinis vestræ hic commorantem, quam per Carolum Longlandum mercatorum Anglicorum negotia Liburni procurantem, quanta cum benevolentia ac fide celsitudo vestra navium Anglicarum in Liburnensem portum se recipientium tutelam susceperit, contra Belgarum naves prædatorias exitium illis atque direptionem minitantes, literis undetrigesimo Julii datas (quas ad celsitudinem vestram, jamdudum pervenisse sperat) significavit quam id sibi gratum acceptumque accidisset, eodem-

que tempore scriptum parlamenti reipublicæ Angliæ de controversiis inter hanc rempublicam et Fœderatas Belgii Provincias in præsentia exortis ad serenitatem vestram unà misit. Cumque rursus per eundem Carolum Longlandum concilium intellexerit, quæ ulterius mandata dederit celsitudo vestra de incolumitate atque tutela navibus Anglicis præstanda, etiam Belgis, ne id fieret, importunè contra nitentibus, ne hanc quidem occasionem prætereundam esse censuit, significandi rursus celsitudini vestræ se vestram justitiam et singularem in tutandis navibus suis constantiam cum plurimi facere tum sibi etiam gratissimam habere. Quod cum solidæ amicitiæ studiique vestri in hanc rempub. haud leve indicium sit, persuadere sibi poterit celsitudo vestra paria officia atque studia in nobis erga vestram celsitudinem nunquam se esse desideraturam. Quæque declarare possint quàm nobis deliberatum sit eam amicitiam, quæ huic reipub. cum vestra serenitate est, quàm constantissimè atque diutissimè pro virili nostra parte conservare. Nos interim navibus nostris omnibus, quæ vestros portus intraverint, disertis verbis mandavimus, ut salutationes explosione tormentorum consuetas, omnemque honorem debitum vestræ celsitudini exhibere meminerint.

Datis Alba Aula, Septemb. 1652.

Et concilii sigillo deinde consignandis subscripsit
Concilii Præses.

Ad Legatum Hispanicum ALPHONSUM *de Cardenas.*

Excellentissime Domine,

LITERÆ excellentiæ vestræ $\frac{4}{15}$ Novembris 1652 datæ, et à secretario vestro Novembris 8 redditæ, unà cum duobus libellis supplicibus simul involutis, in concilio recitatæ sunt de navibus nimirùm Samsone et San Salvadore vulgò nominatis; ad quas concilium responsum hoc reddit: navem Anglicam præsidiariam, cum in prædictas naves non in Dunis, ut scribit excellentia vestra, sed in alto incidisset, tanquam hostium navem prædæ habitam in portum adduxisse; curiamque Ammiralatus, ad quam propriè de causis hujusmodi attinet cognoscere, illius causæ cognitionem pro jure sibi sumpsisse; ubi singuli partis utriusque quorum id interest ampliter et liberè audientur, jusque suum quisque obtinebit: vestræ porrò excellentiæ rogatum ad illius curiæ judices misimus, quo certiùs intelligamus quousque iis de navibus in judicio processerint. Quod simul ac nobis compertum erit, ea dari mandata hac de re curabimus, quæ et æquum erit, et ea dignum amicitia, quæ huic reipublicæ cum rege vestro intercedit, nec minùs confidimus, regiam ejus majestatem minimè passurum esse, hujus reipublicæ hostium bona sub nomine ejus subjectorum elabi aut delitescere.

Subscripsit et concilii sigillum apponendum curavit
Gulielmus Masham, Concilii Præses.

Datis ab Alba Aula, 11 *Novemb. an. Dom.* 1652.

Legato HISPANIENSI.

Excellentissime Domine,

ALLATUM nuper ad concilium est ab navarcho nostro Bodileo navium hujus reipublicæ ad Gaditanum mare præfecto, se cum tribus aliis navibus præsidiariis postquam undecim Belgicarum impetum continuato bidui certamine sustinuisset, ad portum Longonem vulgò dictum ad sarcienda quædam in eo prælio accepta incommoda, easque res comparandas quæ sibi ad pugnam opus essent, in portum Longonem vulgò dictum se recepisse, ubi ejus loci præfectus in eum cæterasque sub ejus ductu naves omnia et justissimi et humanissimi simul viri officia implevit; cumque is locus in ditione serenissimi regis Hispaniarum sit, concilium certè singularem presidii illius humanitatem reipsa cognitam arctioris amicitiæ mutuæ tam auspicatò cœptæ fructum uberem esse existimat; suique adeò officii ducit esse, ob acceptum tam opportunò beneficium ejus majestati gratias agere, vestramque rogat excellentiam, ut hoc regi suo serenissimo velit primo quoque tempore significare, eique persuasum reddere, parlamentum reipub. Angliæ paratum semper fore, paria amicitiæ atque humanitatis officia oblata quavis occasione referre.

Dat. Westmonasterio, 11 *Nov. An. Dom.* 1652.

Subscripsit et concilii sigillum apponendum curavit
GULIELMUS MASHAM, Concilii Præses.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ, *Serenissimo Principi* D. FERDINANDO *Secundo, Magno Duci* HETRURIÆ, *Salutem.*

Serenissime Princeps, Amice Charissime,

PARLAMENTUM reipub. Angliæ literas vestræ celsitudinis Augusti septimo decimo, Florentia datas, accepit: in quivus de restitutione navis cujusdam agitur oryza onustæ, quæ navis à capitaneo Cardio Liberniensi vendicatur. Et quamvis in nostra ammiralatus curia contra predictum Cardium in ea causa sententia judicum lata jam sit, et apud delegatos provocatio tum penderet, tamen cum hoc celsitudo vestra petat, parlamentum, quo tam amici principis benevolentiam ac necessitudinem quanti faciat testificari possit, mandavit quibus curæ ea res est, ut navis illa cum oryza, vel saltem ejus justum pretium prædicto capitaneo Cardio reddatur; cujus mandati fructum procurator ejus apud nos re ipsa jam percepit. Et quemadmodum celsitudo vestra, suum navibus Anglorum in portu Liburniensi patrocinium atque tutelam benignè præbendo, parlamentum sibi magnoperè devinxit (cujus rei gestæ narratio tam ab oratore hic vestro, quàm à Carolo Longland mercatorum nostrorum illic procuratore, delata nuper ad nos est) ita parlamentum summo vicissim studio dabit operam, quotiescunque occasio dabitur, ut sua omnia sinceræ amicitiæ atque benevolentiæ officia in celsitudinem vestram solidè constare possint; quam adeò divinæ benignitati atque tutelæ commendatissimam vult esse.

Datis Westmonasterio, die Novemb. 1652.

Subscripsit et sigillum reipub. apponendum curavit
Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi* DANIÆ *Regi, &c.*

Serenissime et Potentissime Rex,

PARLAMENTUM reipublicæ Angliæ postquam accepit ab illius classis præfecto quæ nuper ad Hafniam majestatis vestræ portum missa est, ut navibus mercatorum nostrorum inde redeuntibus domum præsidio esset; prædictis navibus permissum non esse secum discedere; verùm illic majestatis vestræ jussu retineri; productis etiam ab eo literis regis vestram ea in re sententiam declarantibus, negat explicatas in iis literis rationes cur naves illæ retineantur ulla in parte sibi satisfacere: ut igitur in re tanti planè momenti, quæque ad prosperum utriusque gentis statum tantoperè conducit, sequuturo fortasse majori cuipiam incommodo maturiùs occurratur, misit parlamentum virum illustrissimum et spectatæ fidei Richardum Bradshaw armigerum, Hamburgi oratorem, qui itidem ad majestatem vestram oratoris munus impleat, cum iis disertè mandatis, ut de prædicto negotio agat: vestramque adeò rogamus majestatem eidem velit viro et aurem benignam et fidem amplam perhibere, quicquid super hoc negotio vestræ majestati nostro nomine proposuerit: quam nos divinæ tutelæ et providentiæ commendatam volumus.

Datis Westmonasterio, 6 *die Novemb. an. Dom.* 1652.

Sub sigillo parlamenti ejusque nomine atque authoritate subscripsit Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *Serenissimo Principi* VENETIARUM *Duci, Salutem.*

PARLAMENTUM reipublicæ Angliæ literas celsitudinis vestræ, primo Junii 1652 datas, per Laurentium Palutium accepit, ex quibus cum et vestrum, et senatus propensum in hanc rempublicam animum prospiciat, occasionem hanc suum vicissim erga serenissimam rempublicam Venetam singulare studium ac benevolentiam declarandi, libenter arripuit, quam et re ipsa idque ex animo, demonstrare quoties usus venerit, haudquaquam gravabitur, cui et omnes vel conservandæ vel etiam augendæ amicitiæ ususque mutui rationes in medium allatæ erunt itidem acceptissimæ, vestræque adeò celsitudini et Reipublicæ Serenissimæ fausta omnia ac prospera exoptat atque precatur.

Datis Westmonasterio, die Decemb. an. Dom. 1652.

Subscripsit et parlamenti sigillum imponendum curavit Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *Serenissimo Principi* FERDINANDO *Secundo,* HETRURIÆ *Magno Duci, Salutem.*

CUM parlamentum reipub. Angliæ antehac suis navarchiis atque præfectis navium ad loca sub vestræ celsitudinis ditione appellentibus, etiam atque etiam mandaverit, ut se pacatè atque modestè gererent, eaque qua decet observantia erga principem serenissimum, cujus hæc respub. et conservare amicitiam tantoperè studeat, et tantis beneficiis affecta sit, prorsus inopinatum sibi quidem accidit, quod à navarcho Appletono in Liburniensi portu insolentiùs factum esse accepit; eum nimirùm ab eo vigili dum in molestationem ageret, vim attulisse, idque tum contra fidem atque obsequium huic reipublicæ ab eo debitum, tum contra observantiam atque honorem qui vestræ celsitudini sua in ditione jure optimo debetur: quam rem totam sicuti gesta est, ex literis vestris 7 et 9 Decembris, Florentia datis, parlamentum intellexit; uberiùs etiam per spectatissimum virum Almericum Salvettum, vestrum hìc residentem; atque vestræ celsitudinis honorem, qui hac in re agi videtur, usque adeò sibi commendatum habet, ut concilio status id negotii dederit, uti literas navarcho Appletono quam primum scribendas curaret, quibus is terrestri itinere confestim huc advolare juberetur, insoliti hujus facti et extraordinarii rationem redditurus (quarum exemplum literarum his inclusum unà mittitur) qui ubi advenerit et facti postulabitur, de eo id statutum iri pollicemur, quod testificari possit se vestri juris violationem haud minus moleste ferre, quam si ipsum jus suum violaretur. Quinetiam de nave dicta Phœnice Liburni recuperata consultatione habita, quæ res à celsitudine vestra necnon ab oratore suo narratur atque urgetur, contra datam à navarcho Appletono fidem fuisse, qua obstrictus erat ne Hollandos intra conspectum portus aut lanternæ adoriretur, vestramque celsitudinem ea fiducia nixam, Hollandis fide data de incolumitate promisisse, debere proinde eorum satisfactioni prospicere, quibus vestra sub fide damnum datum est, parlamentum ab excellentia vestra petit, ut hoc sibi persuasum habeat, hanc rem, quemadmodum sine suo consilio aut mandato est gesta, ita hoc etiam ab sua voluntate ac mente longissimè abesse, ut celsitudo vestra ullo incommodo aut honoris imminutione ex illo facto afficiatur: quin imò se operam daturum, ut vobis satisfaciendi aliqua ratio ineatur, prout sibi quæstione habita de re tota constiterit: quam ut plenius intelligere possit, ipsum navarchum Appletonum ab se audiri necessarium esse judicat; qui et eadem fide obstrictus erat, et ab excellentia vestra creditur, ejusdem violationi saltèm assensisse; præsertim cum is tam brevi sit ad nos reversurus, atque illum postquam parlamentum audiverit, et cum dicto oratore vestro rationes amplius contulerit, hac de re haud exigui sane momenti, eam sententiam feret, quæ et æqua erit, summæque benevolentiæ qua celsitudinem vestram prosequitur consentanea, collatis denique à vobis in se beneficiis haud indigna. De qua ne interim dubitaret celsitudo vestra, literis per eundem hunc tabellarium statim missis certiorem factam primo quoque tempore volebat; seque nullam occasionem esse prætermissurum, qua possit re ipsa testari, vestram amicitiam quanti faciat.

Datis Westmonasterio, 14 *die Decembris, an. Dom.* 1652.

Subscripsit et parlamenti sigillum imprimendum curavit, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Concilium Status Reip. ANGLICANÆ *Serenissimo Principi* FREDERICO, *Hæredi Norwegiæ, Duci Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Starmatiæ, Ditmarsiæ, Comiti in Oldenburgh et Delmenhorst, Salutem.*

QUANQUAM sapientissimo Deo visum est rerum omnium moderatori clementissimo, præter illud onus quod nobis cum majoribus nostris commune imposuit, ut pro libertate nostra contra tyrannos honestissima bella gereremus, iis nos etiam auspiciis eaque divina ope pro illis insigniter adjuvare, ut non solum civile bellum restringuere, sed et causas ejus in futurum præcidere, nec non et hostium externorum inopinatos impetus propulsare valuerimus, eundem tamen supremi numinis in nos favorem ac benignitatem gratissimis quantum possumus animis agnoscentes, non ita rerum nostrarum successibus efferimur, ut non singularem potiùs Dei justitiam ac providentiam edocti, atque nosmet largiter experti, et bellum omne quantum licet aversemur, et pacem cum omnibus cupidissimè amplectamur. Quemadmodum igitur quæ amicitia quæque fœderum jura nobis cum populis quibuscunque ac principibus antiqua intercessere, ea hactenùs cuiquam nec violavimus priores, nec violata voluimus, ita et celsitudo vestra, pro vetusta sua cum Anglis et à majoribus accepta amicitia, poterit certissima animi persuasione de nobis æqua omnia atque amica, et sibi et suis polliceri. Denique ut delata à celsitudine vestra nobis sua studia atque officia plurimi ut par est facimus, ita operam dabimus ut neque nostra ullo tempore vel sibi vel suis deesse sentiat: vestramque adeò celsitudinem omnipotentiæ numinique Dei omnipotentis quàm maximè commendatam cupimus.

Datis in Alba Aula, die Julii, an. 1653.

Subscripsit et consilii sigillum imprimendum curavit,
Concilii Præses.

Comiti OLDENBURGICO.

Illustrissime Domine,

PARLAMENTUM reipub. Angliæ plurimam salutem ab amplitudine vestra officiosissimè atque humanissimè sibi dictam, per Hermannum Mylium, jurisconsultum deputatum et consiliarium vestrum accepit: qui et fausta omnia parlamento reique Anglicæ, vestro nomine precatus est, et hujus reipub. amicitiam ut vobis sarta tecta permaneret simul expetivit: literas etiam liberi commeatus, quibus vestræ ditionis populus cò tutiùs negotiaretur, navigaret, et commercia exerceret, nec non et nostra ad publicos foris ministros mandata uti amplitudini vestræ rebusque vestris, suis officiis atque consiliis opitularentur, idem à nobis petivit. Nos et petitis hisce libenter annuimus, et cùm amicitiam, tùm etiam literas illas expetitas, illaque ad ministros publicos mandata sub parlamenti sigillo concessimus. Et quanquam aliquot jam menses abierunt, ex quo vester publicus minister ad nos primum accessit, ea tamen dilatio neque ex eo orta est, quo nos petitioni, amplitudinis vestræ nomine factæ, assentiri gravaremur, neque quo vester deputatus nos assiduè sollicitare ullo tempore destiterit, (qui certe omni cum diligentia nec non officiosa simul instantia, ut confecto negotio, compos voti dimitteretur, quotidiè nos efflagitavit,) verùm ex eo solùm accidit, quòd maxima quidem et gravissima reipub. negotia, quæque ad eam vehementer pertinere, aut agitarentur per hoc totum fere tempus, aut transigerentur. Qua de re dignitatem vestram illustriss. certiorem faciendam esse censuimus, ut ne quis dilationem hanc secùs interpretando, gravatim aut ægrè impetratum hoc esse existimet, quod à parlamento reipub. Angliæ libentissimè concessum est. Cujus nomine consignare hæc jussus est,

HENRICUS SCOBELL, Clericus Parlam.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ *Illustribus et Amplissimis Consulibus, Scultetis, Landam. et Senatoribus Cantonum Helvetiæ Evangelicorum, Tigurini, Bernensis, Glaronensis, Basileensis, Schaffusiensis, Abbatiscellani, nec non ejusdem Religionis Confœderatorum in Rhætia, Genevæ, Sanctogalli, Multusii, et Biennæ, Amicis nostris charissimis, Salutem.*

LITERAS vestras, illustres domini atque amici charissimi, Decembris 24, 1652, ad nos datas, accepimus, omni humanitate, benevolentia, studioque erga nos nostramque rempub. egregio refertas; quodque nobis semper majus et antiquius debet esse, charitatem fraternam et verè christianam spirantes. Deoque imprimis optimo maximo gratias agimus, qui vos totque vestras civitates nobilissimas, non tam illis montium claustris quàm insita vestra fortitudine, pietate, et prudentissima æquissimaque rerum civilium administratione, mutua denique fœderum fide circumvallatas atque munitas, firmissimum universis orthodoxis præsidium illis in locis excitavit atque constituit: vos deinde, qui per omnem Europam primi fere mortalium post invectas ab Aquilone barbarorum regum tyrannidos, Deo vestram virtutem prosperante, libertatem vobis peperistis, partam haud minore prudentia ac moderatione, tot per annos illibatam conservastis; de nobis nostraque libertate nuper vindicata tàm præclarè sentire, tamque sinceros evangelii cultores de nostro in orthodoxam fidem amore ac studio, tam constantèr persuaderi, id quidem longè nobis gratissimum est. Quod autem ad pacem nos piè sanè et affectu, ut nobis est persuasissimum, verè christiano adhortamini, permagnum certè pondus apud nos ea adhortatio habere debet; cum propter ipsam rem, quam suadetis, maximè expetendam, tùm propter summam etiam authoritatem, quæ vobis præ cæteris hac in parte meritò tribuenda est, qui inter maximos circumquaque bellorum tumultus, et ipsi summam pacem domi forisque tamdiu colitis, et aliis omnibus pacis colendæ simul hortatores et exemplum optimum extitistis; cùm id denique suadeatis, quod nos dedita opera, idque haud semel, non tam nostris rationibus, quàm universæ rei evangelicæ prospicientes, per legatos aliosque publicos ministros petivimus, amicitiam nimirùm et arctissimum fœdus cum fœderatus Belgarum provinciis feriendum. Verùm illi (sive illa perpetuò nobis infesta, regiis addicta partibus, tyrannidis et ipsa apud suos affectatæ comperta Arausiana factio potiùs dicenda est)

quo pacto legatos nostros, non de pace, sed de fraterna amicitia ac fœdere arctissimo venientes acceperint, quas postea belli causas præbuerint, ut nos, inter ipsa legatorum suorum de fœdere colloquia, instructa classe nihil tale cogitantes, in ipsis navium stationibus nostris, ultrò lacesserint, ex illo à nobis ea de re publicè scripto, et nunc unà cum hisce literis ad vos misso, abundè intelligetis. Nos autem in id sedulò incumbimus, Deo benè juvante, quamvis re hactenùs tàm prosperè gesta, ut neque nostris quicquam viribus aut copiis tribuamus, sed uni omnia Deo, neque successibus insolentèr efferamur: eundemque animum retinemus conficiendæ justæ atque honestæ pacis omnes occasiones amplecti paratissimum. Vos interim, illustres ac præstantissimi domini, quibus pium atque præclarum hoc studium est, solo evangelico amore impulsis, fratres inter se certantes componere atque conciliare, et omni apud homines laude digni, cœlestis illius pacificorum præmii apud Deum haud dubiè compotes futuri, cujus summæ benignitati atque gratiæ vos vestrosque omnes ex animo commendatos volumus, si qua in re vobis usui esse possumus, ad omnia cum amicorum tum fratrum officia promptissimi.

Datis Westmonasterio, die Octobris, an. Dom. 1653.

Subscripsit et parlamenti sigillum imprimendum curavit Prolocutor parlamenti reipub. Angliæ.

Legato HISPANICO.

Illustrissime Domine,

CUM graves ad nos allatæ essent querelæ Philippi Noelli, Joannis Godalli, et societatis mercatorum in Anglia Foyensium, navem quandam suam Annam Foyensem dictam, navem Anglicam à sese instructam, suis mercibus onustam, cum domum suam ad portum Foyensem cursum teneret, circa festum Michaelis Archangeli, à nave quadam presidiaria Ostendensi, cui præfuit Erasmus Bruerus, oppressam injustè et sine causa captam fuisse, inque ea nautas indignè et barbarè tractatos, consilium status ea de re ad Marchionem Ledæ scripsit, (quarum literarum exemplar amplitudini vestræ unà cum his mittimus) expectabatque ab eo sine mora mandatum iri, ut ex jure et æquo ista in re quam primum ageretur. Verùm cum denuò prædictus Noellus unà cum illa societate graviter queratur, quamvis literæ nostræ Marchioni redditæ fuerint, et mercatores illi ab eo tempore se Brugas ad maritimarum causarum curiam contulerint, ibique jus suum suæque causæ veritatem probaverint, justitiam tamen sibi denegari, tamque iniquè secum agi, ut quamvis per tres amplius menses cognitioni matura res fuerit, tamen ab illa curia se impetrare non posse ut sententiam tandem ferat; quin navis eorum et bona nihilo minus retineantur, seque per hanc moram in persequendo jure suo magnos sumptus fecisse. Non ignorat amplitudo vestra et juri gentium et commercii et amicitiæ, quæ inter Anglos et Flandros est, contrarium esse, ut navis aliqua Ostendensis navem aliquam Anglicam caperet, si quidem mercibus Anglicis onusta Angliam petat; quæque ab illo præfecto in nautas Anglicos inhumaniter ac barbarè commissa sunt pœnam gravem mereri. Concilium itaque hanc rem amplitudini vestræ commendat, petitque ut de ea in Flandriam scribere velitis, eamque operam primo quoque tempore dare, ut ne hoc negotium diutiùs extrahatur, sed uti ea justitia fiat, ut prædicta navis et bona, unà cum damnis, sumptibus et fœnore quæ Angli isti propter illam injustam interceptionem sustinuerunt, authoritate curiæ maritimæ Brugensis, aut alio modo bono iis reddantur, utque curetur nequa ejusmodi interceptio deinceps fiat, quin amicitia quæ nostris hominibus cum Flandris intercedit sine ulla violatione conservetur.

Obsignatum nomine et jussu concilii status parlamenti authoritate constituti.

Marchioni LEDÆ.

Illustrissime Domine,

GRAVES ad nos allatæ sunt querelæ, à Philippo Noello, et Joanni Godallo, et societate mercatorum Foyensium, de nave quadam sua, cui nomen Anna Foyensis, quæ cum esset navis Anglica, ab illis instructa, et ipsorum solummodo mercibus onusta, circiter festum Michaelis Archangeli ad portum suum renavigans, à nave præsidaria quæ ad Ostendam pertinebat, cujus erat præfectus Erasmus Bruerus, de improviso capta fuit. Nuntiatum porrò est, Ostendenses, cum in sua potestate navis esset, nautas omnes nimis inhumaniter tractasse, accenso fune digitis admoto, et navis magistrum undis immersisse, atque pœne suffocasse, ut minimè veram ab ipso confessionem extorquerent, de navi atque mercimoniis illis, quasi Gallorum essent. Quod tametsi magister ille cæterique socii navis firmiter pernegabant, Ostendenses tamen, et navim et merecedes in portum suum abduxerunt. Hæc in curia navali Angliæ, inquisitione facta, testibusque adhibitis, vera esse apparuere, ut ex autographis testimoniorum quæ cum his literis simul misimus manifesto liquebit. Cum itaque illa navis, Anna Foyensis dicta, atque mercimonia omnia peculiariter verè ac propriè ad Anglos pertineant, adeo ut nulla causa appareat cur Ostendenses vel illam vel ea vi caperent, multò minùs auferrent navis magistrum, aut societatem tam durè tractarent; cumque secundùm leges nationum atque amicitiam inter Anglos Flandrosque, navim illam atque mercimonia reddi oporteat, magnoperè petimus ab excellentia vestra, ut jus suum Anglicani maturè obtineant, atque illis satisfiat qui damnum acceperunt, utque commercium, et amicitia quæ inter Anglos Flandrosque est, diù atque firmitèr conservetur.

Legato HISPANICO.

PARLAMENTUM reipublicæ Angliæ cum intelligat, plurimos ex populo in hac urbe tàm excellentiæ vestræ, quàm aliorum legatorum et ministrorum ab exteris regionibus publicorum his versantium domos missæ audiendæ causa frequentare, concilio status mandavit, uti excellentiæ vestræ significaret, cùm hoc gentis hujus legibus damnatum, ac in hac nostra republica mali admodum exempli sit, offensionisque plenum, censere se, sui planè officii esse, ne quid tale dehinc

fiat providere; cœtusque ejusmodi in futurum prorsùs interdicere. Qua de re excellentiam vestram admonitam nunc esse cupimus, ut ne quem ex populo hujus reipublicæ missæ audiendæ causa suam in domum posthàc velit admittere. Et quemadmodum parlamentum diligenter curabit, ut legati jus et privilegia quæque vestræ excellentiæ inviolata serventur, ita hoc sibi persuasissimum habet, excellentiam vestram, quamdiu hìc commoratur, leges hujus reipub. per se suosve nolle ullo modo violatas.

Summarium damnorum singulorum et haud fictorum quibus Societas Anglicana multis Orientalis Indiæ locis à Belgica Societate affecta est.

	l.	s.	d.
1. Damna illa sedecim articulis comprehensa et pridem exhibita, quorum summa est 298555 regiorum $\frac{8}{8}$ quæ est monetæ nostræ - - - -	74638	15	0
2. De Pularonis insulæ fructibus satisfactionem dari postulamus ab anno 1622, ad hoc usque tempus, ducenties millenum regiorum $\frac{8}{8}$ præter dispendium futurum donec jus ditionis in illam insulam nobis restituatur eo rerum statu in quo fuit cum erepta nobis est, prout fœdere sancitum erat: quod est nostræ monetæ - - -	50000	0	0
3. Satisfactionem postulamus de omnibus illis mercimoniis cibariis et apparatibus, qui ab agentibus societatis Belgiæ apud Indos ablati sunt, aut iis traditi, aut ulli ex eorum navibus eo cursum tenentibus aut inde redeuntibus, quorum summa est 80635 regiorum: nostræ monetæ - - -	20158	0	0
4. Satisfactionem postulamus ob portoria mercium Belgicarum quæ in Perside aut navibus impositæ sunt, aut in terram expositæ ab anno 1624, prout nobis à rege Persarum concessum erat, quæ minoris æstimare non possumus quam octogies millenis regiis - -	20000	0	0
5. Satisfactionem postulamus ob quatuor ædes malitiosissimè et iniquissimè Joccatræ incensas, unà cum mercium apothecis repositoriis et apparatibus, cui rei prætor illic Belgicus occasionem dedit, de quibus omnibus ex eo ipso loco certiores postea facti sumus quam priores querelas exhibueramus; cujus damni summa est ducenties millenum regiorum - - - - -	50000	0	0
6. Satisfactionem postulamus ob 32899 libras piperis ex nave Endimione vi ablatas anno 1649, cujus damni summa est - - - - -	6000	0	0
	220796	15	0

Summarium damnorum aliquot particularium quibus etiam à Belgica Orientalis Indiæ Societate affecti sumus.

	l.	s.	d.
1. Propter damna quæ per eos fecimus qui Bantamum obsederunt, unde factum est ut per sex annos continuos eo commercio exclusi simus, et consequenter occasione sexcenties mille regios in coëmendo pipere locandi pro rata nostra portione, quo multas naves nostras in reditu onerare potuissemus, quo onere cum carerent passim per Indiæ littora cariem traxere: interea sors nostra apud Indos quæ vel pecuniæ vel bonorum erat stipendio nautico commeatu alioque apparatu imminuta et exhausta est, adeo ut prædictæ jacturæ haud minoris æstimari queant vicies centies et quater millenis regiis, id est nostræ monetæ - - - -	600000	0	0
2. Plura etiam propter damna ex amissa parte nostra debita fructuum in insulis Moluccis, Banda et Amboyna. ex quo tempore per cædem nostrorum ibi factam pulsi inde sumus ad usque illud tempus quo de jactura hac atque dispendio nobis satisfiat, quod spatium temporis ab anno 1622, ad hunc annum præsentem 1650, pro reditu anno 25000 librarum, annis 28, summam conficit	700000	0	0
3. Reparationem insuper postulamus centies et bis millenum nongentorum quinquaginta novem regiorum Surattæ, à populo Mogulli nobis ablatorum, quos Belgæ cum in modum tutati sunt, ut neque ex pecuniis neque ex bonis ejus populi quæ in ipsorum juncis seu navibus erant damna nostra resarcire possemus, quod quidem perficere et conati sumus et in manu nostra situm erat, nisi eos Belgæ iniquissimè defendissent, quæ pecunia amissa ad impensas faciendas jamdudum in Europa triplum peperisset: quod nos æstimamus - - - -	77020	0	0
4. Ob portoria Persidis quorum dimidia pars ab rege Persarum Anglis concessa est anno 1624, quæ usque ad annum 1629 supputata æstimatur octies millenis regiis, quemadmodum prius exponitur qua ratione subducta quatuor mille librarum in annos singulos præbere tenentur ab anno 1629, à quo unus et viginti anni sunt, atque indè summa conficietur - - -	84000	0	0
Ab altero summario -	220796	15	0
Summa totalis -	1681816	15	0

Locus figuræ regii O

Debitum ab eo tempore fœnus sortem ipsam longè superabit.

LITERÆ OLIVERII PROTECTORIS

NOMINE SCRIPTÆ.

Comiti Oldenburgico.

Illustrissime Domine;

Per literas vestras Januarii die vigesimo 1654 datas, certior sum factus, nobilem virum Fridericum Matthiam Wolisogum secretarium vestrum, et Christophorum Griphiandrum, cum certis mandatis ab illustrissima dignitate vestra in Angliam missos fuisse. Qui cùm ad nos accessissent, et susceptam Anglicanæ reipublicæ administrationem nobis vestro nomine gratulati sunt; et uti vos vestraque ditio in hanc pacem, quam cum fœderatis Belgii ordinibus proxime fecimus, assumeremini: ut denique salvam-guardiam illam quam vulgo vocant, à parlamento nuper vobis concessam, nostra nunc authoritate confirmaremus, petiverunt: ob istam itaque gratulationem tam amicam maximas, ut æquum est, gratias agimus: et illa duo postulata libenter concessimus; nulli etiam occasioni in posterum defuturi, quæ studium in vos nostrum poterit ullo tempore declarare. Idque ex supradictis oratoribus vestris pleniùs vos arbitror intellecturos; quorum fides, ac diligentia, in hoc vestro apud nos negotio præclarè constitit. Quod reliquum est, vobis, rebusque vestris felicitatem, atque ex voto pacem omnem exopto.

Westmonasterio, Jun. 27, 1654.

Illustrissimæ dignitatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c.
Protector.

Comiti Oldenburgico.

Illustrissime Domine;

Literas vestras Maii secundo die Oldenburgo datas accepi haud uno nomine gratissimas; cùm quòd essent ipsæ singulari erga me humanitate ac benevolentiâ refertæ; tum quòd illustrissimi Domini Comitis Antonii perdilecti filii vestri manu redditæ. Id quod eò magis honorificum mihi duco, ex quo illius virtutes tanta stirpe dignas, moresque eximios, studium denique in me egregium, non tam acceptum ab aliis, quàm re ipsâ cognitum atque perspectum, jam habeo. Neque dubium esse pôtest, quin eandem quoque suis domi spem faciat, fore se patris optimi præstantissimique simillimum; cujus præclara virtus atque prudentia perfecit, ut tota illa ditio Oldenburgica permultis ab annis, et summa pace frui, et pacis commoda percipere, inter sævissimos undique circumstrepentium bellorum tumultus, potuerit. Talem itaque amicitiam quidni ego quam plurimi facerem, quæ potest inimicitias omnium tam sapienter ac providè cavere? Pro munere denique illo magnifico est, Illustrissime Domine, quòd gratias habeo; pro jure est ac merito tuo, quòd ex animo sum

Illustrissimæ dignitatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c.
Protector.

Westmonasterio, 29 Junii, 1654.

Illustrissimo Domino Antonio Gunthero, Comiti in Oldenburgh, et Delmenhorst, Domino in Jehvern, et Kniphausen.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* Carolo Gustavo *Succorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ et Vandaliæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, Wissmariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Jul. Cliviæ et Montium Duci, &c. Salutem.*

Serenissime Rex;

Cum Succorum regnum per hosce dies summis populi studiis, omniumque ordinum suffragiis liberrimis, translatum ad vos esse, toto orbe terrarum percrebuerit, id maluisse majestatem vestram suis literis amicissimis, quàm vulgata fama nos intelligere, et summæ benevolentiæ erga nos vestræ, et honoris inter primos attributi, argumentum haud leve esse ducimus. Illam itaque vestris meritis egregiis accessionem dignitatis, præmiumque virtute tanta dignissimum, et sponte et jure vobis gratulamur: idque ut majestati vestræ, Suecorumque genti, reique toti christianæ, bonum atque faustum sit, quod et vobis maximè in votis est, junctis precibus Deum oramus. Quòd autem fœderis inter hanc rempublicam Sueciæque regnum recens icti conservationem majestas vestra, quod ad se attinet integerrimam, usque eò curæ sibi fore confirmat, ut quæ nunc intercedit amicitia, non permanere solum, sed, si id fieri potest, augescere etiam indies possit, id vel in dubium vocare nefas esse, tua tanti principis fide interposita, cujus eximia virtus non solùm in peregrina terra regnum tibi hæreditarium peperit, sed tantùm etiam

potuit, ut augustissima regina, Gustavi filia, cui parem omni laude heroinam multa retrò secula non tulêre, possessione imperii justissima inopinanti tibi ac nolenti ultrò cederet. Vestrum denique tam singulare erga nos studium, tamque præclaram animi significationem nobis esse gratissimam, omni ratione persuasum esse vobis cupimus; nullumque nobis pulchrius certamen fore, quàm ut vestram humanitatem nostris officiis nullo tempore defuturis, si id potest fieri, vincamus.

Westmonasterio, die 4 Julii, 1654.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

Illustrissimo Domino Ludovico Mendezio de Haro.

Quod accepi ex literis suis, illustrissime Domine, constitutum ac nominatum jam esse ab serenissimo Hispaniarum rege legatum, qui de suscepta à me Anglicana republica gratulatum huc primo quoque tempore veniret; cùm est meritò per se gratum, tùm tu id, qui ex te imprimis hoc me cognoscere voluisti, ut esset mihi aliquanto gratius atque jucundius, singulari tuo studio atque officii celeritate effecisti. Sic enim diligi atque probari me abs te, qui virtute tua atque prudentia tantam apud regem tuum authoritatem tibi conciliasti, ut vel maximis illius regni negotiis par animo præsis, haud minori profectò mihi voluptati debet esse, quàm judicium præstantissimi viri ornamento mihi intelligo fore. De meo autem in serenissimum Hispaniarum regem propenso animo, et ad amicitiam cum isto regno conservandam, atque etiam indies exaugendam, promptissimo, et huic qui nunc adest legato satisfecisse me spero, et alteri, cum advenerit, cumulatè satisfacturum. De cætero, illustrissime Domine, qua nunc flores apud regem tuum dignitate ac gratia, eam tibi perpetuam exopto; quasque res geris bono publico et administras, volo tibi prosperè feliciterque evenire.

Amplitudinis tuæ illustrissimæ studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c.

Alba Aula, Septembris die, 1654.

Serenissimo Principi Carolo Gustavo Adolpho, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Cum de voluntate vestræ majestatis in me singulari ex vestris sim nuper literis persuasus, quibus et ipse pari studio rescripserim, videor mihi ex ratione prorsus amicitiæ nostræ deinceps facturus, si quemadmodum quæ grata acciderint ad lætitiam mutuam communicem, ita quæ contraria, de iis vobis tanquam amicissimis, animi mei sensum doloremque aperiam. De me quidem sic existimo, eo me in loco reipub. jam esse constitutum, ut communi Protestantium paci imprimis, et quantum in me est, consulere debeam. Quo gravius necesse est feram quæ de Bremensium et Suecorum præliis mutuisque cladibus ad nos perferuntur. Illud primum doleo, amicos utrosque nostros tam atrociter, tamque Protestantium rationibus periculosè, inter se decertare; pacem deinde illam monasteriensem, quæ reformatis omnibus summo præsidio credebatur fore, ejusmodi peperisse infœlix bellum: ut nunc arma Suecorum in eos conversa sint, quos inter cæteros paulo ante religionis causâ acerrimè defenderent: idque potissimum hoc tempore fieri, cum pontificii per totam fere Germaniam reformatos ubique rursus opprimere, et ad intermissas paulisper injurias, vimque pristinam, redire palam dicantur. Cum itaque intelligerem dierum aliquot inducias ad Bremam urbem jam esse factas, non potui sane quin majestati vestræ, occasione hac data, significarem quàm cupiam ex animo, quamque enixè Deum pacis orem, uti istæ induciæ utrique parti feliciter cedant; utque in pacem firmissimam ex compositione utrinque commoda possint desinere: quam ad rem si meam operam conferre quicquam, aut usui fore, majestas vestra judicaverit, eam vobis libentissimè, ut in re Divino Numini proculdubio acceptissima, polliceor atque defero. Interea majestatis vestræ consilia omnia ut ad communem christianæ rei salutem dirigat Deus atque gubernet, quod idem non dubito quin et vos maximè velitis, animitùs exopto.

Alba Aula, Oct. 26, 1653.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Magnificis amplissimisque Consulibus ac Senatoribus Civitatis Bremensis.

Ex literis vestris per oratorem vestrum Henricum Oldenburgum ad nos datis, coortum civitati vestræ cum vicino potentissimo dissidium, quasque exinde ad angustias redacti sitis, eò majore cum molestia ac dolore intelligo, quo magis Bremensem civitatem, præter cæteras orthodoxa religione præstantem, diligo atque amplector; neque in votis quicquam habeo antiquius, quàm ut universum Protestantium nomen fraterno consensu atque concordia in unum tandem coalescat. Lætari interim communem reformatorum hostem hisce nostris contentionibus, et ferocius passim instare, certissimum est. Ipsa autem controversia, cum decisionis nostræ non sit quæ vos jam nunc exercet, Deum itaque oro ut quæ cœptæ sunt induciæ possint fœlicem exitum sortiri. Equidem quod petistis, ad Suecorum regem ea de re scripsi suasor pacis atque concordiæ, Deo nimirum imprimis gratæ, meamque operam ut in re tam pia libens detuli, vos uti æquum animum, neque ab ullis pacis conditionibus, honestis quidem illis, abhorrentem suadeo geratis; vestramque civitatem divinæ tutelæ ac providentiæ commendo.

Alba Aula, Oct. 26, 1654.

Amplitudinis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius Prot. Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ Illustrissimo Principi Tarentino, S. P. D.*

Perspectus ex literis tuis ad me datis religionis amor tuus, et in ecclesias reformatas pietas eximia, studiumque singulare, in ista præsertim generis nobilitate ac splendore, eoque sub regno in quo deficientibus ab orthodoxa fide tot sunt nobilissimis quibusque spes uberes propositæ, tot firmioribus incommoda subeunda, permagno me planè gaudio ac voluptate affecit. Nec minus gratum erat placuisse me tibi eo ipso religionis

nomine, quo tu mihi dilectus atque charus imprimis esse debes. Deum autem obtestor ut quam de me spem ecclesiarum et expectationem esse ostendis, possim ei aliquando vel satisfacere, si opus erit, vel demonstrare omnibus, quàm cupiam non deesse. Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum hujus quam obtineo in repub. meâ sive dignitatis sive muneris, nec ampliorem existimarem, nec jucundiorem, quàm ut idoneus sim, qui ecclesiæ reformatæ vel amplificationi vel incolumitati, vel quod maximum est, paci inserviam. Te verò hortor magnopere ut religionem orthodoxam, qua pietate ac studio à majoribus acceptam profiteris, eadem animi firmitate atque constantia ad extremum usque retineas. Nec sanè quicquam erit te tuisque parentibus religiosissimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis quanquam tuâ causâ cupio omnia, optare tibi melius aut præclarius queam, quàm si sic te pares atque instituas, ut ecclesiæ, præsertim patriæ, quarum in disciplina tam felici indole tamque illustri loco natus es, quanto cæteris præluces, tanto firmius in te præsidium suis rebus constitutum esse sentiant. Vale.

Alba Aula, die Aprilis, 1655.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ Serenissimo Principi* Immanueli *Sabaudiæ, Duci Pedemontii Principi, Salutem.*

Serenissime Princeps;

Redditæ sunt nobis Genevâ, necnon ex Delphinatu aliisque multis ex locis ditioni vestræ finitimis literæ, quibus certiores facti sumus, regalis vestræ celsitudinis subditis reformatam religionem profitentibus, vestro edicto atque authoritate imperatum nuper esse, uti triduo quàm hoc edictum promulgatum erit suis sedibus atque agris excedant pœnâ capitis, et fortunarum omnium amissione proposita, nisi fidem fecerint se, derelicta religione sua, intra dies viginti catholicam religionem amplexuros: Cumque se supplices ad celsitudinem vestram regalem contulissent, petentes uti edictum illud revocetur, utque ipsi, pristinam in gratiam recepti, concessæ à serenissimis majoribus vestris libertati restituantur, partem tamen exercitus vestri in eos impetum fecisse, multos crudelissime trucidâsse, alios vinculis mandâsse, reliquos in deserta loca montesque nivibus coopertos expulisse, ubi familiarum aliquot centuriæ eo loci rediguntur, ut sit metuendum ne frigore et fame brevi sint miserè omnes perituræ. Hæc cum ad nos perlata essent, haud sane potuimus quin, hujus afflictissimi populi tanta calamitate audita, summo dolore ac miseratione commoveremur. Cum autem non humanitatis modo, sed ejusdem religionis communione, adeoque fraterna penitus necessitudine cum iis conjunctos nos esse fateamur, satisfieri à nobis neque nostro erga Deum officio, neque fraternæ charitati, neque religionis ejusdem professioni posse existimavimus, si in hac fratrum nostrorum calamitate ac miseria solo sensu doloris afficeremur, nisi etiam ad sublevanda eorum tot mala inopinata, quantum in nobis est situm, omnem operam nostram conferamus. Itaque à vestra imprimis celsitudine regali majorem in modum enixè petimus et obtestamur, ut ad instituta serenissimorum majorum suorum, concessamque ab iis omni tempore et confirmatam subditis suis Vallensibus libertatem, velit animum referre. In qua concedenda atque confirmanda, quemadmodum id præstiterunt, quod Deo per se gratissimum proculdubio est, qui conscientiæ jus inviolabile ac potestatem penes se unum esse voluit, ita dubium non est quin subditorum etiam suorum meritam rationem habuerint, quos et in bello strenuos ac fidelissimos, et in pace dicto semper audientes, experti fuissent. Utque serenitas vestra regalis in cæteris omnibus et benignè et gloriosè factis avorum suorum vestigiis optimè insistit, ita in hoc nolit ab iisdem discedere etiam atque etiam obsecramus; sed et hoc edictum, et si quod aliud inquietandis reformatæ religionis causâ subditis suis rogatum sit, uti abroget; ipsos patriis sedibus atque bonis restituat; concessa jura ac libertatem pristinam ratam iis faciat; accepta damna sarciri, et eorum vexationibus finem imponi jubeat. Quod si fecerit regalis celsitudo vestra, et rem Deo acceptissimam fecerit, miseros illos et calamitosos erexerit et recreârit, et à suis omnibus vicinis, quotquot reformatam religionem colunt, maximam gratiam inierit; nobisque potissimùm, qui vestram in illos benignitatem atque clementiam obtestationis nostræ fructum arbitrabimur. Quod et ad omnes officiorum reddendas vices nos obligaverit; nec stabiliendæ solùm verum etiam augendæ inter hanc remp. vestramque ditionem necessitudinis et amicitiæ fundamenta firmissima jecerit. Neque verò hoc minus ab justitia vestra et moderatione animi nobis pollicemur: quam in partem Deum Opt. Max. oramus uti mentem vestram et cogitationes flectat: vobisque adeo vestroque populo pacem, ac veritatem, et successus rerum omnium felices, ex animo precamur.

Alba Aula, Maio, 1655.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi Transylvaniæ, Salutem.*

Serenissime Princeps;

Ex literis vestris sexto-decimo Novembris 1654, ad nos datis, singularem erga nos benevolentiam vestram atque studium perspeximus; et internuntius vester, qui illas nobis literas dedit, de contrahenda nobiscum societate et amicitia voluntatem vestram ampliùs coram exposuit. Nos certè occasionem hanc esse datam, unde nostrum quoque erga vos animum, et quanti celsitudinem vestram meritò faciamus, declarare atque ostendere possimus, haud mediocriter sanè gaudemus. Cum autem vestra in rempublicam christianam præclara merita laboresque suscepti ad nos usque famâ pervenerint, et hæc omnia certiùs, et quæ amplius rei christianæ vel defendendæ vel promovendæ causâ in animo habeatis, celsitudo vestra suis literis communicata nobis amicissimè voluerit, ea uberiorem insuper lætandi materiam nobis attulere: Deum nempe iis in regionibus excitâsse sibi tam potentem atque egregium suæ gloriæ ac providentiæ ministrum; qui, cum virtute atque armis tantum possit, de religione communi Protestantium tuenda, cui nunc undique malè et dictum et factum est, nobiscum unà sociare consilia cupiat. Deus

autem, qui utrisque nobis, tametsi locorum intervallo tam longè disjunctis, eundem religionis orthodoxæ defendendæ studium atque animum injecit, dubium non est quin earum præcipue rationum author nobis futurus sit, unde et nobis, et inter nos, et reformatorum reliquis principibus ac civitatibus, hac in re maximo esse adjumento atque usui possimus, occasionibus certè omnibus intenti, si quas Deus obtulerit, iis quod ad nos attinet, eodem Deo benè juvante, non deerimus. Interea celsitudini vestræ sine summo dolore commemorare non possumus, quantâ inclementiâ dux Allobrogum subditos suos Alpinarum quarundam vallium incolas, orthodoxam religionem retinentes, persequutus sit. Quos non solùm severissimo edicto, quotquot Romanam religionem suscipere recusârunt, sedes avitas bonaque omnia relinquere coëgit; verùm etiam suo exercitu adortus est, qui multos crudelissime concidit, alios barbarè per exquisitos cruciatus necavit, partem verò maximam in montes expulit fame et frigore absumendam, exustis domibus, et siqua eorum bona ab illis carnificibus non sint direpta. Hæc ut ad vos jamdudum nuntiata sunt, et celsitudini vestræ tantam crudelitatem graviter displicuisse, et vestram opem atque auxilium, quantum in vobis est, illis miserrimis, siqui tot cædibus atque miseriis adhuc supersunt, non defuturum, nobis facilè persuadetur. Nos literas duci Sabaudiæ, ad deprecandum ejus infensum in suos animum, jam scripsimus; sicut et Gallorum regi, idem ut is etiam velit facere; vicinis denique reformatæ religionis principibus, uti de illa sævitia tam immani quid nos sentiamus intelligere possint: quæ quanquam in illos inopes primum cœpta est, idem tamen omnibus eandem religionem profitentibus minatur: eoque majorem illis prospiciendi sibi in commune suisque omnibus consulendi necessitatem imponit: quam et nos eandem rationem, prout Deus nobis in animum induxerit, semper sequemur. Id quod celsitudo vestra persuadere sibi poterit quemadmodum et de singulari nostro erga se studio atque affectu, quo prosperos rerum omnium successus vobis animitus exoptamus; et vestra incœpta omnia atque conatus, quibus Evangelii cultorumque ejus libertati studetis, fœlicem exitum sortiri volumus.

Alba Aula, Maio, 1655.

OLIVERIUS *Protect. Serenissimo Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO ADOLPHO, *Suecorum Regi, Salutem.*

PERVENISSE nuper in regna vestra illius edicti acerbissimi famam, quo dux Sabaudiæ subjectos sibi Alpinos incolas, reformatam religionem profitentes, funditùs afflixit, et nisi religione Romana suam mutare fidem à majoribus acceptam intra dies viginti velint, patriis sedibus exterminari jussit, unde multis interfectis, cæteri spoliati, et ad interitum certissimum expositi, per incultissimos montes hyememque perpetuam, fame et frigore confecti, cum conjugibus ac parvulis jam nunc aberrant; et hæc graviter tulisse majestatem vestram nobis persuasissimum est. Nam Protestantium nomen atque causam, tametsi inter se de rebus non maximis dissentiunt, communem tamen et penè unam esse, adversariorum par in omnes Protestantes odium facilè demonstrat. Et Suecorum reges suam eum reformatis conjunxisse semper causam, illatis etiam in Germaniam armis ad Protestantium religionem sine discrimine tuendam, nemo est qui ignoret: petimus imprimis igitur, idque majorem in modum, à majestate vestra (nisi id jam fecerit, quod et reformatorum aliæ respublicæ et nos fecimus) ut cum Sabaudiæ duce per literas velit agere; suaque authoritate interposita, et hanc tantam edicti atrocitatem ab hominibus cum innocuis tum religiosis deprecando, si fieri potest, avertere conetur: etenim hæc initia tam sæva quo spectent, quid nobis omnibus minentur, admonere vestram majestatem supervacuum esse arbitramur. Quòd si is iræ suæ, quam nostris omnium precibus, auscultare maluerit: nobis profecto, siquod est vinculum, siqua religionis charitas aut communio credenda atque colenda est, communicato prius vestra cum majestate cæterisque reformatorum primoribus consilio, alia quamprimùm ineunda ratio erit, qua provideri maturè possit, nè tanta innocentissimorum fratrum nostrorum multitudo omni ope destituta miserrimè pereat. Quod idem quin majestati vestræ visum jam sit atque decretum cum nullo modo dubitemus, nihil consultius, ut nostra quidem fert sententia, esse poterit quam ut gratiam, authoritatem, consilia, opes, et siquid aliud necesse est, in hanc rem primo quoque tempore conferamus. Interea majestatem vestram Deo Opt. Max. commendatam ex animo volumus.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis et Præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus.*

EDICTUM ducis Sabaudiæ nuperrimum in subjectos sibi Alpinos incolas, orthodoxam religionem antiquitus profitentes, quo illi edicto, ni intra dies viginti fidem Romanam amplectantur, exuti fortunis omnibus, patriæ quoque sedes relinquere jubentur, et quanta crudelitate in homines innoxios atque inopes, nostrosque, quod maximè refert, in Christo fratres, illius edicti auctoritas grassata sit, occisis permultis ab exercitûs parte contra eos missa, direptis reliquis atque domo expulsis, unde illi cum conjugibus ac liberis fame et frigore conflictari inter asperrimos montes nivesque perpetuas jamdiu coacti sunt, rumore et vicinis undique ex locis creberrimis literis ac nunciis cognovisse vos jamdudum existimamus. Qua autem animi commotione, quo sensu fraternæ calamitatis, hæc vos affecerint, facilè ex dolore nostro qui certe est gravissimus intelligere videmur. Qui enim eodem religionis vinculo conjuncti sumus, quidni iisdem plane affectibus in tam gravi atque indigna fratrum nostrorum commoveremur? Et vestra quidem in orthodoxos, ubicunque locorum disjectos atque oppressos, spectata pietas atque in multis ecclesiarum difficultatibus et adversis rebus jam sæpe cognita est. Ego certe, nisi me fallit animus, quavis in re potius, quàm studio et charitate erga fratres religionis causâ violatos atque afflictos, vinci sustineam: quandoquidem ecclesiarum salutem atque pacem incolumitati etiam propriæ libens prætulerim. Quod igitur hactenus potuimus, ad Sabaudiæ ducem scripsimus; suppliciter penè rogantes, ut in hos homines in-

nocentissimos et subditos et supplices suos placatiorem animum ac voluntatem suscipiat, suas sedes atque fortunas miseris reddat, pristinam etiam in religione libertatem concedat. Scripsimus præterea ad summos Protestantium principes et magistratus, ad quos hæc maximè pertinere judicavimus, ut in Sabaudiæ duce exorando suam conferre operam nobiscum unà velint. Hæc eadem, et plura, forsitan vos quoque fecistis. Nam exemplum hoc tam periculosum, et instaurata nuper in reformatos tanta crudelitas, si auctoribus bene cedat, quantum in discrimen adducta religio sit vestram commonefacere prudentiam nihil attinet. Et is quidem si flecti nostris omnium precibus et exorari se passus erit, præclarum nos atque uberem suscepti hujus laboris fructum ac præmium reportabimus. Sin ea in sententia perstiterit, ut apud quos nostra religio vel ab ipsis evangelii primis doctoribus tradita per manus et incorruptè servata, vel multo antè quàm apud cæteras gentes sinceritati pristinæ restituta est, eos ad summam desperationem redactos, deletos funditùs ac perditos velit, paratos nos esse commune aliquod vobiscum cæterisque reformatis fratribus ac sociis consilium capere, quo et saluti pereuntium justorum consulere commodissimè queamus, et is demum sentiat orthodoxorum injurias atque miserias tam graves non posse nos negligere. Valete.

Civitatibus Helvetiorum Evangelicis.

Non dubitamus quin ad aures vestras aliquanto citius quàm ad nostras illa nuper calamitas pervenerit Alpinorum hominum religionem nostram profitentium, qui Sabaudiæ ducis in fide ac ditione cùm sint, sui principis edicto patriis sedibus emigrare jussi, ni intra triduum satisdedissent se Romanam religionem suscepturos, mox armis petiti et ab exercitu ducis sui occisi, etiam permulti in exilium ejecti, nunc sine lare, sine tecto, nudi, spoliati, afflicti, fame et frigore moribundi, per montes desertos atque nives cum conjugibus ac liberis miserrimè vagantur. Multo est minus cur dubitemus quin hæc, ut primum vobis nuntiata sunt, pari atque nos tantarum miseriarum sensu, eoque fortasse graviore quo illorum finibus propiores estis, dolore affecerint. Vestrum enim in primis orthodoxæ fidei studium egregium, summamque in ea cum retinenda constantiam tum defendenda fortitudinem, abundè novimus. Cum itaque religionis arctissimâ communione fratres, vel potius unum corpus, cum his miseris vos pariter nobiscum sitis, cujus membrum nullum affligi sine sensu, sine dolore, sine detrimento atque periculo reliquorum potest, scribendum ad vos hac de re et significandum censuimus, quanti nostrum omnium interesse arbitremur, ut fratres nostros ejectos, atque inopes communi ope atque auxilio, quoad fieri potest, juvemus et consolemur; nec eorum tantummodo malis et miseriis removendis, verum etiam nequid serpat latius, nequid periculi exemplo atque eventu vel nobis omnibus creari possit, maturè prospiciamus. Literas nos quidem ad Sabaudiæ ducem scripsimus, quibus, uti cum subditis suis fidelissimis pro clementiâ suâ lenius agat, eosque jam prope perditos suis sedibus ac bonis restituat, vehementer petivimus. Et his quidem nostris, vel nostrûm potius omnium conjunctis precibus, exoratum iri principem serenissimum, quodque ab eo tanto opere petivimus, facile concessurum speramus. Sin illi in mentem secùs venerit, communicare vobiscum consilia parati sumus, qua potissimum ratione oppressos tot injuriis atque vexatos innocentissimos homines, nobisque charissimos in Christo fratres, sublevare atque erigere, et ab interitu certissimo atque indignissimo conservare, possimus. Quorum salutem atque incolumitatem pro vestra pietate vobis quam maxime cordi esse confido: Ego eam certe vel gravissimis meis rationibus, immò incolumitate propriâ, potiorem habendam esse existimem. Valete.

Westmonasterio, *Maii* 19, 1655. O. P.

Superscript.

Illustribus atque amplissimis Dominis, Helveticorum Pagorum Protestantium et Confœderatarum Civitatum Consulibus ac Senatoribus, Salutem.

Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi Ludovico *Galliæ Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex;

Ex literis majestatis vestræ, quibus illa ad meas quinto et vigesimo Maii proximi datas rescribit, facilè intelligo nequaquam fefellisse me eam opinionem, qua mihi quidem persuasum erat, cædes illas immanissimas, barbaramque eorum hominum stragem, qui religionem reformatam in Sabaudia profitentur, à cohortibus quibusdam vestris factam, neque jussu vestro neque mandato accidisse. Quæ quantum majestati vestræ displicuerit, id vos vestris militum tribunis, qui hæc tam inhumana suo solo impetu injussi perpetraverant, ita maturè significâsse, deque tanta crudelitate ducem ipsum Sabaudiæ monuisse, pro reducendis denique istis miseris exulibus unde pulsi sunt, vestram omnem gratiam, necessitudinem, authoritatem tanta cum fide atque humanitate interposuisse, majorem equidem in modum sum lætatus. Ea nempe spes erat, illum principem voluntati ac precibus majestatis vestræ aliquid saltem hac in re fuisse concessurum. Verùm cum neque vestro, neque aliorum principum rogatu atque instantia, in miserorum causa quicquam esse impetratum perspiciam, haud alienum ab officio meo duxi, ut hunc nobilem virum, extraordinarii nostri commissarii munere instructum, ad Allobrogum ducem mitterem; qui tantæ crudelitatis in ejusdem nobiscum religionis cultores, idque ipsius religionis odio adhibitæ, quo sensu afficiar, uberiùs eidem exponat. Atque hujus quidem legationis eo feliciorem exitum speravero, si adhibere denuò et adhuc majore cum instantia suam authoritatem atque operam majestati vestræ placuerit; et quemadmodum fideles fore illos inopes dictoque audientes principi suo ipsa in se recepit, ita velit eorundem incolumitati atque saluti cavere, ne quid iis hujusmodi injuriæ et calamitatis atrocissimæ innocentibus et pacatis deinceps inferatur. Hoc cum in se justum ac verè regium sit, necnon benignitati vestræ atque clementiæ, quæ tot subditos vestros eandem illam religionem se-

quentes ubique salvos et incolumes præstat, summè consentaneum, à majestate vestra, ut par est, non possumus quin expectemus. Quæ hac simul operâ, cum universos per sua regna Protestantes, quorum studium erga vos summaque fides maximis in rebus perspecta jam sæpe et cognita est, arctiùs sibi devinxerit, tum exteris etiam omnibus persuasum reddiderit, nihil ad hoc facinus contulisse regis consilium, quicquid ministri regii atque præfecti contulerunt. Præsertim si majestas vestra pœnas ab iis ducibus ac ministris debitas repetiverit, qui authoritate propria, suaque pro libidine, tam immania patrare scelera sunt ausi. Interea cum majestas vestra factum hoc inhumanissimum, quo dignum est odio, aversari se testetur, non dubito quin miseris illis atque ærumnosis ad vos confugientibus, tutissimum in regno suo receptum atque perfugium sit præbitura; nec subditorum suorum cuiquam, ut contra eos duci Allobrogum auxilio adsit, permissura. Extremum illud est, ut majestatem vestram, quanti apud me sua amicitia sit, certiorem faciam: Cujus rei neque fructum ullo tempore defuturum confirmo.

Alba Aula, Julii 29, 1655. Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus, OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine Cardinalis;

CUM nobilem hunc virum cum literis, quarum exemplar hic inclusum est, ad regem mittere necessarium statuissem, tum ei, ut eminentiam vestram meo nomine salutaret, simul in mandatis dedi, certasque res vobiscum communicandas ejus fidei commisi: Quibus in rebus eminentiam rogo vestram, uti summam ei fidem habere velit, utpote in quo ego summam fiduciam reposuerim.

Alba Aula, Julii 29, 1655. Eminentiæ vestræ studiosissimus, OLIVERIUS, Prot. Reipub. Angliæ.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, Serenissimo Principi* FREDERICO III. *Daniæ, Norwegiæ, &c. Regi, Salutem.*

QUAM severo nuper et inclementi edicto, Allobrogum dux Immanuel suos ipse subditos Alpinarum vallium incolas, innoxios homines et religionis cultu purioris jam multis ab seculis notos ac celebres, religionis causâ finibus patriis exegerit, et, occisis permultis, reliquos per illa desertissima loca malis omnibus et miseriis inopes ac nudos exposuerit, et audisse jamdudum arbitramur majestatem vestram, et gravissimum ex ea re, prout tantum reformatæ fidei defensorem ac principem decuit, dolorem percepisse. Siquidem pro institutis christianæ religionis quæ mala atque miserias pars aliqua nostrorum patitur, earum sensu penitus eodem tangi omnes debemus; et sanè omnibus nobis et universo Protestantium nomini hujus facti eventus atque exemplum, quid periculi ostendat, nemo vestra majestate, si nos ejus pietatem atque prudentiam rectè novimus, melius videt. Scripsimus itaque libenter, ut quem dolorem ob hanc fratrum innocentissimorum calamitatem, quam sententiam, quod judicium de re tota vestrum esse speramus, idem planè et nostrum esse significemus. Itaque ad ducem Sabaudiæ literas dedimus, in quibus uti miseris atque supplicibus parcat, illudque atrox edictum porrò esse ratum ne sinat, magnopere ab eo petivimus. Quod si majestas vestra cæterique reformatorum principes fecerint, ut jam fecisse credimus, spes est leniri posse serenissimi ducis animum, et hanc iram suam tot saltem vicinorum principum intercessioni atque instantiæ condonaturum; sin perseverare in instituto suo maluerit, paratos nos esse testamur, cum majestate vestra, cæterisque religionis reformatæ sociis, eam inire rationem, quâ tot miserorum hominum subvenire quamprimum inopiæ, providere saluti ac libertati, pro virili parte nostra possimus. Vestræ interea majestati bona omnia atque fausta à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

Westmonasterio, Maio, 1655.

OLIVERIUS *Prot. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Amplissimis Consulibus et Senatoribus Civitatis Genevensis, Salutem.*

SUMMUM dolorem nostrum quem ex maximis et inauditis Protestantium calamitatibus valles quasdam Pedemontanas incolentium percepimus, quos Allobrogum dux tanta crudelitate persequutus est, jampridem vobis exposuissemus, nisi id magis operam dedissemus, ut eodem tempore intelligeretis tantis eorum miseriis non affici nos solum, verum etiam de sublevandis iis atque solandis, quantum in nobis est, prospicere. Quapropter eleemosynas per hanc totam rempublicam colligendas curavimus: quas ejusmodi fore haud immeritò expectamus, quæ nationis hujus affectum erga fratres suos tam immania perpessos demonstrare possint, et quemadmodum religionis eadem utrinque communio est, ita sensum quoque eundem calamitatum esse; interea dum pecuniæ collectio maturatur, quod sine spatio temporis fieri nequit, et miserorum istorum egestas atque inopia pati moram non potest, necessarium duximus duo millia librarum Anglicarum, quanta fieri potuit celeritate, præmittere inter eos distribuenda qui præsentissima ope atque solatio indigere maximè videbuntur. Cum autem nescii non simus innocentissimorum hominum miseriæ atque injuriæ quantopere vos affecerint, nec vobis quicquam labori aut molestiæ fore quod illis adjumento atque auxilio esse possit, prædictam pecuniæ summam illis calamitosis curandam ac numerandam ad vos transferre non dubitavimus; idque vobis negotii dare, ut pro vestra pietate ac prudentia providere velitis qua ratione æquissima quam primum illa pecunia egentissimis quibusque distribui queat, ut quamvis summa sane exigua sit, aliquid tamen sit saltem, quo illi inopes recreari ac refici in præsens aliquantum possint, donec uberiorem iis copiam suppeditare poterimus: vos hanc vobis datam molestiam æqui bonique consulturos esse cum non dubitemus, tum etiam Deum Opt. Max. oramus, uti populo suo religionem orthodoxam profitenti det animum sui in commune defendendi, sibique mutuò opem ferendi contra hostes suos immanissimos; qua in re

nostram quoque operam ecclesiæ utcunque usui fore lætaremur. Valete.

Junii 8, 1655. Mille quingentæ libræ de prædictis bis millibus à Gerardo Hensh Parisiis, quingentæ reliquæ per literas à Domino Stoupio, curabuntur.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, Serenissimo Principi Venetiarum Duci.*

Serenissime Princeps;

CUM rebus vestris omnibus contra hostem præsertim christiani nominis prospere gestis lætari semper consuevimus, tum et illo navalis prælii novissimo successu nequaquam sanè dolemus, quamvis id aliquo nostrorum cum detrimento accidisse intelligamus. Ostenderunt enim nobis, per libellum supplicem, negotiatores quidam nostri, Gulielmus et Daniel Gulielmi necnon Edoardus Bealus, navem suam, cui nomen Princeps Magnus, Constantinopolim ab se commercii causâ missam nuper fuisse: eam navem ab aulæ Turcicæ ministris ad commeatum et milites in Cretam insulam deportandos retentam, dum in illa classe Turcarum coacta eo navigaret, quæ à classe Venetorum oppugnata in itinere et superata est, captam et Venetias abductam, ab maritimarum causarum judicibus adjudicatam publicò fuisse. Cum itaque, inscientibus dominis et nullo modo probantibus, navis illa Turcis operam dare invitissima coacta sit, seque ex ea pugna explicare militibus referta non potuerit; serenitatem vestram magnopere rogamus, ut sententiam illam maritimæ curiæ velit nostræ amicitiæ condonare, navemque illam suis dominis, de vestra republica nullo suo facto malè meritis, restituendam curare. Qua in re impetranda, nobis præsertim petentibus, cum mercatores ipsos de vestra clementia benè sperare videamus, nos utique de ea dubitare non debemus: qui et præclara vestra concilia remque Venetam terrâ marique maxime uti pergat fortunare Deus omnipotens ex animo optamus.

Serenitatis vestræ Venetæque Reip. studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.
Westmonasterio, Decemb. 1655.

OLIVERIUS *Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* LUDOVICO *Galliarum Regi.*

Serenissime Rex;

MERCATORES aliquot nostrates, quorum nomina sunt Samuel Mico, Gulielmus Cocainus, Georgius Poynerus, aliique complures, per libellum supplicem nobis ostenderunt se, anno 1650, in navem quandam, cui insigne unicornus erat, permagnas rationes suas contulisse: eam navem bombyce, oleo, aliisque mercibus onustam, quæ, plus minus, triginta quatuor millibus librarum nostrarum ab iisdem æstimata sunt, ab nave prætoria et proprætoria majestatis vestræ in Mediterraneo Mari Orientali oppressam atque captam fuisse: nostros autem illa in navi, propterea quod nobis eo tempore cum Gallis illibata pax erat, cum contra naves regias vi se defendere noluissent, promissis Pauli et Terrerii navarchorum inductos, qui velle se nostros dimittere aiebant, prolatis onerum libellis, maritimis legibus paruisse: mercatores proinde suprà dictos procuratorem suum, qui navem illam ac bona restituenda sibi peteret, in Galliam misisse: ibi post triennium eoque amplius consumptum, cum ad sententiam de restitutione ferendam perventum jam esset, cardinalis Mazarini eminentiam eorum procuratori Hugoni Morello factam mercatoribus istis injuriam agnovisse; datumque iri satisfactionem, ut primùm confirmata pax inter utramque gentem, fœdusque, quod tum agitabatur, confectum atque ratum esset, in se recepisse: immò recentiùs majestatis vestræ apud nos legatum excellentissimum dominum de Bordeaux, ex mandato vestro vestrique concilii, disertis verbis confirmâsse, hujus navis atque bonorum peculiari exceptione habitum iri rationem, etiam seorsim ab iis controversiis, de quibus in commune decidendis ex fœdere provisum est: hujus promissi legatum ipsum, qui nunc percommodè negotiorum quorundam suorum causâ ad vos transmeavit, testem esse posse locupletem. Quæ cum ita sunt, jusque horum mercatorum in repetendis rebus suis tam præclare constet, à majestate vestra majorem in modum petimus, ut in eo obtinendo nulla iis mora diutiùs afferatur, velitque nostro rogatu has nobis redintegratæ amicitiæ et instaurati recèns fœderis esse primitias. Quod et fore confidimus, vobisque fausta omnia vestroque regno à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

Westmonasterio, Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Decemb. 1655. OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Civitatibus Helvetiorum Evangelicis.

Ex vestris ad nos tam actis publicis per commissarios nostros Genevâ transmissis, quàm literis 27 Decembris Tyguri datis, quo in loco res vestræ sint, cum non sint optimo, satis superque intelligimus: In quo etsi pacem vestram, tamque diuturnum sociale fœdus ruptum, dolemus, tamen cum id vestra culpâ nequaquam accidisse appareat, novam hinc vobis ex adversariorum iniquitate et pertinacia illustrandæ fortitudinis, constantiæque vestræ in evangelica fide jam olim cognitæ, parari rursus materiem confidimus. Nam Suitenses, qui, religionem nostram si quis amplectatur, capitale censent, quid moliantur, quibus hortatoribus tam hostiles spiritus in orthodoxam religionem susceperint, latere neminem potest, cui modò indignissima illa fratrum nostrorum in Pedemontio facta strages animo nondum excidit. Quapropter, dilectissimi amici, quod soletis esse, aspirante Deo fortes estote; jura vestra atque fœdera, immo conscientiæ libertatem, religionemque ipsam idolorum cultoribus obculcandam, concedere nolite; vosque ita parate, ut non propriæ duntaxat libertatis atque salutis propugnatores esse videamini, sed ut fratribus quoque vicinis, Pedemontanis præsertim illis ærumnosissimis, quibus potestis rebus, opitulari atque adesse possitis: hoc certò persuasi per illorum corpora ac neces ad vestra latera illum nuper aditum fuisse patefactum. De me scitote, incolumitatem vestram resque prosperas non minùs mihi curæ ac solicitudini esse, quàm si in hac

nostra Rep. coortum hoc incendium, quàm si in nostras cervices expeditæ Sultensium secures illæ (sicuti revera sunt in omnes reformatos) strictique enses essent. Ut primum itaque à vobis de statu rerum vestrarum, et obstinato hostium animo, certiores facti sumus, adhibitis in concilium viris quibusdam honestissimis, et ecclesiæ aliquot ministris pietate spectatissimis, de subsidio vobis mittendo, quantum quidem rationes nostræ in præsentia ferre possunt, ea decrevimus, quæ commissarius noster Pellus vobiscum communicabit. De cætero vestra omnia consilia, causamque imprimis hanc vestram justissimam sive pace sive bello tuendam, Deo Opt. Max. fautori commendare non desinimus.

Vestrarum amplitudinum ac dignitatum studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Westmonasterio, Jan. 1655.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO, *Dei Gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, &c.*

Serenissime Rex;

CUM amicorum inter se mutua omnia, tam adversa quam prospera, atque communia debere esse nemo non intelligat, quòd jucundissimam amicitiæ partem majestas vestra, gaudium nempe suum impertitum nobis, per suas literas voluerit, non potest id quidem nobis non esse longè gratissimum: quandoquidem et hoc singularis indicium humanitatis verèque regiæ est, ut nec vivere, ita ne gaudere quidem sibi soli velle nisi amicos quoque et fœderatos eâdem, quâ se, lætitiâ affectos esse sentiat. Itaque regi tam præstanti et natum esse filium principem, quem paternæ virtutis atque gloriæ speremus hæredem, meritò gaudemus, et idem quod regi olim fortissimo, Philippo Macedoni, sive felicitatis sive decoris, domi simul et foris, contigisse gratulamur: Cui eodem tempore et natus Alexander filius, et Illyricorum gens potentissima subacta, memoratur. Nam et Poloniæ regnum vestris armis ab imperio papano, quasi cornu quoddam, avulsum, et cum duce Brandenburgico pax piorum votis omnium exoptata, frendentibus licèt adversariis, facta, quin ad ecclesiæ pacem atque fructum permagnum sit momentum habitura non dubitamus. Det modò finem Deus tam præclaris initiis dignum; det modò filium, virtute, pietate, rebusque gestis patri similem: id quod et auguramur sanè, et à Deo Opt. Max. tam vestris rebus jam antè propitio, ex animo precamur.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Westmonasterio, Feb. 1655.

Daniæ Regi.

Serenissime ac potentissime Princeps;

QUESTI sunt per libellum supplicem, suo aliorumque mercatorum Londinensium nomine nobis exhibitum, Joannes Fremannus et Philippus Travesius, hujus reip. cives, se circiter mensem Octobris 1653, cum in navem quandam Sunderburgensem, cui nomen Salvatori, Nicolao Weinshiuks magistro, merces varias, pannum laneum, aliamque vestem textilem ac mercimonia plus tribus millibus librarum æstimata imposuissent, magistro mandasse, ut per fretum Balticum recto cursu Dantiscum navigaret, utque ad Elsenorum vectigal solveret, eique etiam pecuniam ad eam rem curasse: supradictum tamen magistrum perfidiosè, et contrà quàm ipsi à mercatoribus mandatum erat, prætervectum Elsenorum nullo portorio soluto Balticum pernavigasse. Navisque per hanc causam cum toto onere, non sine magno mercatorum damno, publicata atque retenta est. Quorum in gratiam jampridem ad legatum majestatis vestræ, Londini tunc temporis commorantem, scripsimus; qui, ut ipsi aiunt, pollicitus est, ut primum ad majestatem vestram rediisset, daturum operam, uti ratio mercatorum haberetur. Verum cum is postea aliis in regionibus majestatis vestræ negotia obiret, et ante discessum ejus et postea frustra se cum adiise ostendunt: unde procuratorem suum mittere coacti sunt, qui jus suum Hafniæ persequeretur, navemque illam ac bona liberari, sibique reddi, flagitaret: verum exinde nullum se fructum percepisse, nisi ut ad damna vetera novas impensas, et susceptum frustra laborem, adjungerent: cum fisco damnata, et retenta hactenus sint bona, tametsi ex lege Daniæ, quemadmodum ipsi in libello suo demonstrant, magister quidem navis ob suum delictum est ipse puniendus, navisque, non bona proscriptioni sunt obnoxia: eoque gravius accidisse sibi hoc malum existimant, quòd, sicuti nobis pernotum est, vectigal illud, quod Elsenoræ solvere debuisset, est admodum exiguum. Quapropter, cum mercatores nostri nullam proscriptioni causam præbuisse videantur, confessusque ipse magister paulo ante obitum sit, suo solùm delicto illatum hoc mercatoribus detrimentum esse, cumque pater defuncti jam magistri ipse per libellum supplicem majestati vestræ exhibitum, sicuti nos accepimus, culpam omnem in filium suum contulerit, mercatores absolverit, haud sane potuimus quin navis illius bonorumque retentionem iniquissimam esse arbitraremur; adeoque confidimus, simulatque majestas vestra hac de re certior facta erit, fore ut non modo has ministrorum suorum injurias improbet, verum etiam ipsos rationem reddere, bonaque illa suis dominis eorumve procuratoribus quamprimum restitui, damnaque inde data sarciri, jubeat. Quod et nos à majestate vestra majorem in modum petimus, utpote rem usque adeo æquam et rationi consentaneam, ut æquiorem petere aut expectare in causa tam justa nostrorum civium non posse videamur, haud minus æqua vestris subditis, quoties data occasio erit, reddituri.

Serenissimo Principi JOANNI *Quarto Lusitaniæ, &c. Regi.*

Serenissime Rex;

QUAM pacem et amicitiam cum Anglicana republica majestas vestra, legatione amplissima ac splendidissima jampridem ad nos missa, expetivit, eam à parlamento, quæ tum potestas rebus præfuit, inchoatam, et à nobis summo semper studio exoptatam, Deo imprimis favente, proque ea quam accepimus reipublicæ administratione, feliciter tandem confecimus, et in perpetuum,

uti spes est, sanximus. Itaque legatum vestrum extraordinarium dominum, Joannem Rodericum de Saa Meneses, comitem Pennaguiadanum, virum cum majestatis vestræ judicio comprobatum, tum humanitate, ingenio, prudentiâ, fide, præstantissimum à nobis repertum, cum expleti muneris egregia laude, et reportata secum pace, vobis reddimus. Quòd autem, per literas secundo die Aprilis Ulyssipone datas, majestas vestra quanti nos faciat, quamque impensè dignitati nostræ faveat, nósque rempublicam suscepisse gubernandam quantopere lætata sit, haud obscuris indiciis singularis benevolentiæ testatur, id vero mihi gratissimum esse, ex meis in majestatem vestram paratissimis omni tempore officiis, dabo operam ut facilè posthac omnes intelligant. Neque segniùs interea pro incolumitate vestra, vestrique regni felici statu, rerumque prospero successu, conceptis ad Deum precibus contendo.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis et Præpotentibus Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. D.*

Excelsi et præpotentes Domini, amici charissimi;

Ostendunt nobis mercatores quidam, cives nostri, Thomas Busselus, Richardus Bearus, aliique socii, navem quandam suam, Edmundi et Joannis nomine insignitam, dum ab ora Brasiliana Olyssiponem contenderet, ab navi quadam prædatoria Flissengensi, cui nomen Rubro Leoni, magister Lambertus Bartelsonus, oppugnatam se dedidisse; verum ea lege et pacto (id quod ipsum Lamberti chirographum obsignatum testabitur) ut navis, et quæcunque in illa fuissent Anglorum bona, Flissingæ restituerentur: eò cum appulsum est, navem quidem et nauticorum peculia reddita, mercatorum Anglicorum bona adempta, eorumque auctionem statim esse factam: se, mercatores nempe quibus hoc damni datum est, cum in foro Flissingensium suas res repeterent, iniquissima sententia lata, litem cum grandibus impensis post quinquennium perdidisse, ab iis nimirum judicibus abjudicatam, quorum nonnulli, cum in illa navi prædatoria suas rationes collatas habuissent, et judices et adversarii et rei simul erant: nihil jam sibi superesse spei nisi in vestra æquitate et incorrupta fide, ad quam nunc demum confugiunt: eam sibi fore propensiorem existimârunt, si nostra commendatio accessisset. Et hominibus condonandum hoc sane est, si in hac tanta fortunarum suarum dimicatione omnia timentibus, quid ab summa auctoritate atque potentia vestra sibi metuendum, quam quid apud integros præsertim judices de sua causa sit bene sperandum, sæpius in mentem veniat: nos quin religione, justitia, integritate vestra potius quam rogatu nostro adducti, quod æquum, quod justum, quod vobis denique dignum est judicaturi sitis, non dubitamus. Deus vos vestramque rempub. ad gloriam suam, suæque ecclesiæ præsidium, conservet!

Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.
Westmonasterio, April. 1, 1656.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* Carolo Gustavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ et Vandaliæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, Wismariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Jul. Cliviæ et Montium Duci, &c.*

Serenissime Princeps;

Perfunctus legatione sua apud nos Petrus Julius Coictus, atque ita perfunctus ut sua debita laude non inornatus à nobis dimittendus sit, ad majestatem vestram revertitur. Fuit enim cùm vestro præcipuè nomine, quod jure apud nos plurimi esse debet, nobis gratissimus, tum suo etiam merito, suo nempe munere diligentissimè obito, haud parum acceptus. Quam igitur commendationem vestram de eo accepimus, eam (si quid ad eam accedere testimonio ullo potest) et ab ipso impletam, et à vobis meritissimè datam, libentes utique testamur: quemadmodum et is poterit nostrum erga majestatem vestram singulare studium et observantiam, eadem fide atque integritate ad vos referre, verissimeque exponere. Extremum illud est ut majestati vestræ felicitatem omnem victoriarumque cursum contra omnes hostes ecclesiæ perpetuum, à Deo Opt. Maximoque optemus.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.
Westmonasterio, April. 17, 1656.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi, S. D.*

Serenissime Princeps;

Adierunt ad nos, per libellum supplicem, Joannes Dethic urbis Londini in hunc annum præfectus, et Gulielmus Wakefield mercator, conquesti, se anno 1649, Calendas circiter Octob. navem quandam, cui nomen Jonæ Londinensi, Jona quoque cognomento Lighthaghe magistro, suis mercibus, quæ Ostendam mitterentur, onerâsse: eam navem à prædone quodam Barkingensi, cui nomen White, (is filii regis Caroli defuncti nomine piraticam faciebat,) in ipso Thamesis ostio oppressam, atque inde Dunkirkam, quæ eo tempore in ditione Gallorum erat, fuisse abductam: cum autem edicto majestatis vestræ ann. 1647, et ann. rursus 1649, aliquot etiam consilii regii decretis, in gratiam parlamenti Anglicani, cautum esse intelligerent, ne naves ullæ aut merces, illius belli tempore, quoquo obtentu Anglis ereptæ, in majestatis vestræ portus quoscunque asportarentur, venalesve essent, misisse se statim Dunkirkam procuratorem suum, Hugonem Morellum negotiatorem, qui à domino Lestrado, illius oppidi per id tempus præfecto, reddi sibi suam navem cum mercibus postularet, cum eas præsertim magna ex parte adhuc integras, neque dum permutatas aut divenditas, in ipso oppido deprehendisset. Respondit præfectus, se regis Galliæ dono, ob navatam reipub. operam, præfecturam eam accepisse: curaturum proinde, uti ea sibi pretium operæ sit. Hoc responso frustratus, post

magnum cum temporis tum pecuniæ dispendium, procurator domum revertitur. Petitores, quæ restat sibi spes, eam in vestra sola clementia atque justitia repositam esse vident; ad quam per nostras literas faciliorem sibi aditum fore crediderunt: ea ne desit hominibus, contra jus omne et repetita vestra interdicta spoliatis, rogamus. Quod tamen si impetrabimus, quandoquidem hoc sanè æquissimum videtur, ab insita æquitate vestra, potius quam rogatu nostro, impetratum id esse statuemus.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.
Westmonasterio, Maio, 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis et præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. D.*

Excelsi et præpotentes Domini, amici charissimi;

DEMONSTRÂRUNT nobis, per libellum supplicem, Joannes Brunus, Nicolaus Gulielmus, aliique Londinenses, se, cum in navem, cui Bonæ Esperantzæ Londinensi nomen inditum erat, in Orientalem Indiam navigaturam, sortem quisque suam contulisset, procuratori suo negotium dedisse Februario mense 1644, ut bis mille quadringentas libras Belgicas ad illius navis periculum præstandum Amsterodami curaret: ea navis cum in itinere, ad oram ipsam Indiæ, ab Hollandica quadam, quæ ex navibus orientalis illius societatis erat, capta esset; qui præstando periculo se obligaverant, pactam pecuniam numerare recusâsse; et sextum jam annum posse nostros, qui summa cum assiduitate maximisque impensis jus suum persecuti sunt, dilationibus variis eludere. Quod cum petitoribus grave admodum atque iniquum videatur, et nonnulli ex iis qui se obligârunt vel jam diem obierint vel solvendo non sint, nequid fortè ad priora damna summi discriminis accedat, magnopere à vobis petimus, ut per tot annos in foro jactatis ac propriè naufragis istis vestram æquitatem portum esse atque perfugium velitis; utque de causa sua, quam illi justissimam esse confidunt, primo quoque tempore judicium fiat. Vobis interim omnia ad Dei gloriam, ecclesiæque præsidium, faustè atque feliciter evenire volumus.

Excelsarum et præpotentium dominationum
vestrarum studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.
Westmonasterio, Maio, 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis et præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. D.*

Excelsi et præpotentes Domini, amici charissimi;

CONQUERUNTUR apud nos graviter iidem, de quibus antea circa idus Septemb. superioris anni literas ad vos dedimus, Thomas et Gulielmus Lower, defuncti Nicholai Lower hæredes legitimi, se adversariorum suorum sive gratiâ sive opibus oppressos, quamvis causa sua imprimis optima, et, cum id satis non esset, literis etiam nostris ter deinceps commendati fuissent, impetrare hactenus nullo modo posse ut relictam testamento hæreditatem adire sibi liceat: Ab Hollandiæ foro, ubi primùm actio instituta erat, vestram ad curiam, rejecti, inde in Zelandiam transmissi, (quæ tria in loca totidem nostras literas attulerunt,) ab Zelandia nunc rursus ad vestrum summum judicium haud inviti remittuntur: ubi enim potestas summa est, ibi æquitatem quoque summam esse sperant: si ea spes fallat, elusi atque irriti, post hanc tantam juris obtinendi causâ concursationem suam, quem demum consistendi locum habituri sint, nesciunt: nam de literis nostris, si his jam quartis nos viderint nihil proficere, non est ut in posterum quicquam sibi polliceantur. Nobis certè gratissimum erit, si post tot rejectiones, facto sine mora judicio, hæredes plurimum quidem in æquitate atque justitia vestra, aliquid etiam in authoritate apud vos nostra præsidii sibi fuisse intellexerint. Quorum de altero non dubitamus, alterum vel amicitiæ nostræ daturos vos esse confidimus.

Excelsarum et præpotentium dominationum
vestrarum studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.
Westmonasterio, Maio, 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* JOANNI *Lusitaniæ Regi.*

Serenissime Rex;

CUM mercatoribus quibusdam Anglis, à nonnullis mercatoribus Lusitanis ex societate Brasiliensi, vecturæ commorationisque nomine, ann. 1649, et 1650, grandis pecunia debeatur, quæ pecunia à supradicta societate jussu majestatis vestræ retinetur, expectabant quidem dicti mercatores uti ea pecunia ex conditionibus proximi fœderis jampridem sibi numerata esset. Verùm ne amputetur sibi spes omnis ac ratio recuperandi sua debita verentur, ex quo intelligunt statuisse majestatem vestram ut quam pecuniam Brasiliensis societas ipsis debuisset in ærarium vestrum inferretur, utque portorii dimidia pars solvendis iis debitis impenderetur; atque hoc pacto mercatores legitimum duntaxat lucrum, sive fœnus pecuniæ suæ, accepturi essent; ipsa forte interim funditùs intereunte. Quod nos nobiscum reputantes quàm durum sit, eorumque justissimis precibus victi, has nostras ad majestatem vestram literas ipsis concessimus: hoc potissimum à vobis postulantes, uti præstandum curetis, ut supradicta societas Brasiliensis hujus reipub. mercatoribus quamprimum satisfaciat, tam de summa pecuniæ cuique eorum debita, quam de fœnore quinquennali: cum hoc et per se justum sit, et fœderi nuper vobiscum inito consentaneum: quod et nos eorum nomine à majestate vestra peramicè petimus.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.
*Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterio,
die Julii,* 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Serenissime Rex;

CUM amicitiam majestatis vestræ, tanti principis rebusque gestis tam clari, meritò plurimi faciamus, tum is, cujus operâ fœdus inter nos arctissimum sancitum est, illustrissimus dominus Christiernus Bondus, legatus vester extraordinarius necesse est gratus nobis et commendabilis hoc nomine imprimis fuerit. Hunc itaque hac legatione laudatissimè perfunctum, non sine summa cæterarum etiam virtutum egregiarum laude, ad vos dimittendum censuimus: ut qui antea in pretio apud vos atque honore fuit, nunc uberiores assiduitatis atque prudentiæ suæ fructus ex hâc nostra commendatione percepisse se sentiat. Quæ reliqua transigenda sunt, de iis legationem brevi mittendam ad majestatem vestram decrevimus: quam interim Deus incolumem defendendæ ecclesiæ suæ reique Succiæ columen conservet.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
Julii An. Dom. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* LUDOVICO *Galliæ Regi, S. D.*

Serenissime Rex, amice ac fœderate charissime;

DETULERUNT ad nos, per libellum supplicem, mercatores quidam Londinenses, Richardus Baker ejusque socii, navem quandam Anglicanam ab se conductam, cui nomen vernaculum The Endeavour, magister Gulielmus Joppus, trecentis atque tredecim vini optimi culeis ex Tenariffa insula Londinum advehendis onustam, dum inter Palmam et supradictam insulam cursum teneret, à quatuor navibus Gallicis, in speciem quidem onerariis, sed prædatorium in modum armatis, quibus Ægidius de la Roche navarchus erat, primo ac vigesimo Novembris die, An. Dom. 1655, occupatam fuisse, atque in Orientalem Indiam, quo is iter sibi esse prædicabat, cum omni onere ac plerisque nautarum abductam; reliquis quatuordecim ad Guineam Nigritarum in littus quoddam expositis. Quod eo consilio Ægidius fecisse se dictitabat, nequis eorum, ex terra tam longinqua et inhumana forte elapsus, testimonio læderet. Fatebatur enim, se neque mandatis instructum, ut Anglorum naves caperet, neque alias quas poterat antea cepisse, ut propterea quod inter Gallos nostramque remp. per eos ipsos dies convenisse pacem non ignorabat: sed cum in Portugallia constitutum sibi esset commeatus accipere, et ab adversis ventis rejectus attingere ea loca non potuisset, coactum se, ad supplendum quæ opus sibi essent, iis uti quæ in ista nave reperisset: credere se proinde, illarum navium dominos de damno satisfacturos. Damnum autem constat supra sedecim mille libras Anglicas, id quod ex juratis testibus facile apparebit, mercatoribus nostris datum. Verùm si tam levibus de causis temerare acta principum religiosissima, et quasi ludibrio habere, negotiatoribus quibusvis ob sua commoda licuerit, concidet profecto omnis posthac fœderum sanctitas, omnis principum fides atque authoritas obsolescet, proque nihilo habebitur. Quapropter non rogamus tantum, sed majestatis vestræ quàm maximè interesse arbitramur, ut qui regis sui fœdus, jusque jurandum sanctissimum, primi omnium tam facile violare sunt ausi, quamprimum dent pœnas tantæ perfidiæ atque audaciæ debitas; utque illarum interea navium domini de damno, etiam ipso suorum præjudicio, mercatoribus nostris summam per injuriam illato, satisfaciant. Deus majestatem vestram diutissimè conservet, remque Gallicam contra communem utriusque nostrum hostem tueatur atque sustineat.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reip.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Augusti An. Dom. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali* MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine;

CUM dandæ mihi literæ ad regem essent, eandem quoque ad eminentiam vestram scribendi occasionem arbitrabar mihi oblatam: cujus enim unius viri prudentia singularis Gallorum res maximas, summaque regni negotia, pari fide, consilio, ac vigilantia, moderatur, eum celari qua de re scriberem non convenire existimabam. Fœdus enim à vobis, quod dubitare nefas esset, sanctissime percussum, eodem penè die spretum ac violatum à Gallo quodam Ægidio, quatuor navium præfecto, ejusque sociis nequaquam inscientibus, querimur: quemadmodum et ex literis nostris ad regem datis, et ex ipsis mercatorum nostrorum postulatis, facile poterit cognoscere eminentia vestra; quam præter cæteros non fugit, quanti non magistratuum duntaxat, verum etiam ipsius regiæ majestatis, intersit violatores fœderum primos eos severiùs puniri. Verum illi fortasse, quo tendebant, in Orientalem Indiam jam nunc appulsi, nostrorum bona, contra jus omne atque fidem in recentissimo fœdere erepta, veluti prædam ab hostibus captam sibi habent. Illud est interea quod eminentiam vestram rogamus, ut quæ ab navium præfecto, tanquam itineri suo necessaria, nostris ablata sunt, ea ab illarum navium dominis, id quod ipsi prædatores æquum esse censebant, restituantur: qua in re vestram eminentiam, qua valet authoritate, plurimum posse intelligimus.

Eminentiæ vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii.
die Augusti An. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Prot. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis et præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. D.*

Excelsi et præpotentes Domini, amici ac fœderati charissimi;

NON dubitamus nos quidem quin omnes testimonium hoc nobis perhibituri sint, nullas in contrahendis externis amicitiis rationes defendenda religionis veritate

potiores unquam nobis fuisse, nec conjungendis eorum animis, qui Protestantium vel amici ac defensores, vel saltem non hostes essent, antiquius nos quicquam habuisse. Quo graviore animi dolore commovemur, quoties annuntiatum est, Protestantium principes ac civitates, quæ sibi mutuo amicissimæ summeque concordes esse deberent, suspectos inter se esse et non optimè animatos; vos præsertim, regemque Sueciæ, quibus fortiores orthodoxa fides defensores non habet, neque socios nostra respub. sibi conjunctiores, videri non æquè ac consuevistis vobis invicem confidere, immo indicia quædam vel nascentis inter vos dissidii, vel vacillantis amicitiæ, haud obscura apparere. Causæ quæ fuerint utrinque, et usque quo progressa animorum alienatio sit, ignotum esse nobis profitemur: veruntamen haud potuimus quin gravem sane molestiam animo caperemus ex ipsis initiis vel minimæ dissensionis inter fratres coortæ, ex qua tantum creari Protestantium rebus discrimen necesse sit; quæque si ingravescerit (quod Deus ne siverit) quantum inde Reformatis Ecclesiis periculum impenderet, quanta triumphandi materies inimicis nostris, et Hispanis potissimum, daretur, latere vestram prudentiam usumque rerum solertissimum non potest. Hispano certe tantum hinc fiduciæ, tantum spiritûs, accessit, ut non dubitaverit, per legatum suum apud vos commorantem, sua vobis consilia, idque de summa Reip. vestræ, audacissimè obtrudere: et partim injecto renovandi belli metu terrere, partim ostentata utilitatis falsa specie sollicitare vestros animos est ausus, ut relictis ejus hortatu amicis vetustis ac fidelissimis, Gallo, Anglo, atque Sueco, arctissimam cum hoste ac tyranno quondam vestro, pacato nunc scilicet, et, quod maxime metuendum est, blandiente, coire societatem velletis. Sane qui ex hoste inveteratissimo, arrepta tam levi occasione pro consiliario repente vestro se gerit, quid est quod iste sibi non sumeret, quò non audaciæ progrederetur, si cernere id semel oculis posset, quod nunc animo duntaxat concipit atque molitur, discordiam nempe inter Protestantes ac bellum intestinum. Nescii non sumus, vos, pro sapientia vestra, qui sit Europæ universæ status, quæ Protestantium præsertim conditio, sæpius cum animis vestris cogitare; Helvetiorum pagos, orthodoxam fidem sequentes, novorum motuum à popularibus suis fidem papæ sequentibus jam jamque ciendorum expectatione suspensos teneri, ex eo vix dum bello emersos, quod religionis planè causâ ab Hispano, qui hostibus eorum et duces dederat et pecuniam suppeditaverat, conflatum est atque accensum; vallium Alpinarum incolis consilia Hispanorum eandem rursus machinari cædem atque perniciem, quam superiore anno crudelissimè intulerunt; Protestantes Germanos sub ditione Cæsaris gravissimè vexari, sedesque patrias ægrè retinere; regem Sueciæ quem Deus, uti speramus, fortissimum religionis orthodoxæ propugnatorem excitavit, cum potentissimis reformatæ fidei hostibus bellum anceps atque asperrimum totis regni viribus gerere; vestris provinciis infesta vicinorum papistarum, quorum princeps Hispanus est, nuper icta fœdera minitari; nos denique indicto Hispanorum regi bello esse occupatos. In hac rerum inclinatione siqua inter vos regemque Sueciæ discordia existeret, reformatarum totius Europæ ecclesiarum quam miseranda conditio esset, quæ immanium hostium crudelitati ac furori objicerentur? Hæc nos cura haud leviter tangit; eundemque vestrum esse sensum confidimus, proque vestro in communi Protestantium causa præclaro semper studio, utque pax inter fratres eandem fidem, eandem spem sequentes intemerata servetur, vos vestra consilia ad has rationes esse accommodaturos, quæ cæteris quibuscunque anteponendæ sunt, nec quod paci inter vos Sueciæque regem stabiliendæ possit conducere, quicquam esse omissuros. Qua in re si nos usûs ullius esse possumus, quantum apud vos vel authoritate vel gratia valemus, nostram vobis operam libentissimè profitemur, Sueciæ quoque regi eandem deferre paratissimi, ad quem etiam legationem quamprimùm mittere in animo habemus, quæ hac de re quid nostræ sententiæ sit exponat. Deumque vestros utrinque animos ad moderata consilia flexurum esse speramus, vosque cohibiturum, nequid ab alterutra parte fiat quod irritare possit, remque ad extrema deducere: sed ut, contrà, pars utraque removere velit quicquid alterutri offensum aut suspiciosum esse queat. Id si feceritis, et hostes frustrabimini, et amicis solatio eritis, et vestræ denique saluti reipubl. quàm optimè prospicietis. Hoc etiam uti persuasissimum sit vobis rogamus, daturos nos esse operam, quoties facultas oblata erit, uti nostrum erga fœderatas Belgii provincias summum studium benevolentiaque appareat. Deum proinde assiduis precibus obtestamur, ut vestram remp. pace, opibus, libertate, atque imprimis Christianæ fidei amore ac vero cultu, florentissimam conservare perpetuò velit.

Vestrarum celsitudinum potentium studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmon. die Aug. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* JOANNI *Lusitaniæ Regi, S. D.*

Serenissime Rex;

DIE undecimo Julii proximi, stylo veteri, sanctionem pacis à majestate vestra jam ratæ, à legato vestro extraordinario Londini transactæ, necnon arcanorum et præliminarium articulorum, per Thomam Maynardum accepimus: perque literas à Philippo Meadow, nostro Olyssipone internuntio, eodem tempore datas, nostram etiam dictæ pacis et articulorum sanctionem, pro iis mandatis quæ à nobis ea de re acceperat, majestati vestræ ab ipso redditam intelligimus: cum supradicta sanctionis instrumenta ineunte Junio proximo vicissim data acceptaque fuissent, adeo ut nunc inter utramque gentem pax firmissima sancita sit. Qua ex pace nos quidem voluptatem haud mediocrem percipimus; propterea quòd eam et communi utriusque gentis utilitati fore arbitramur, hostiumque communium haud levi detrimento: qui ut prioris fœderis turbandi rationem aliquam primò invenerunt, ita nunc, ne idem instaurari fœdus posset, intentatum nihil reliquerunt. Neque dubium nobis est, quin suspicionum utrinque offensionumque inter nos materiam creandi occasionem nullam prætermissuri sint. Quas nos quidem, quantum in nobis est, quàm longissimè amovere

animo nostro ita constanter decrevimus, immo ut majorem indies mutuam fiduciam hæc nostra pariat necessitudo, tam vehementer cupimus, ut eos pro hostibus habituri simus, qui ullis artibus amicitiam nostram imminuere conabuntur, inter nos nostrosque populos hac pace stabilitam; eundemque esse majestatis vestræ animum ac voluntatem facilè nobis persuademus: Cumque placuerit majestati vestræ suis in literis ad nos quarto et vigesimo Junii, stylo novo, datis, et diebus aliquot post instrumentum confirmatæ pacis datum atque acceptum nostro internuntio traditis, clausularum quarundam hujus fœderis mentionem facere, quas aliquantum immutatas velit, ut quæ huic reipublicæ, quemadmodum majestas vestra censet, levis admodum sint momenti, Portugalliæ regno maximi, peculiari tractatione agere iis de rebus quæ à majestate vestra proponuntur, et si quid præterea fœderi stabiliendo, vel etiam arctiùs obstringendo, conducere alterutri parti videbitur, parati erimus: in qua majestatis vestræ, suique populi haud secus atque nostri, ut utrisque æquè satisfiat, rationem habebimus: atque hæc omnia Olyssipone an Londini agitanda ac transigenda sint, vestra optio erit. Verùm hoc fœdere jam rato, signisque gentis utriusque ritè obsignato, dato denique vicissim atque accepto, immutare partem ejus ullam idem esset atque totum rescindere; quod majestatem vestram minimè velle pro certo habemus. Majestati vestræ fausta omnia ac prospera exoptamus.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
Augusti die 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* JOANNI *Lusitaniæ Regi, S. D.*

Serenissime Rex;

PERLATUM ad nos est facinus illud inhumanum ac nefarium, quo cædes Philippi Meadowes, internuntii apud vos nostri, transigendæ pacis causâ à nobis missi, attentata est: cujus atrocitas tanta fuit, ut divino plane numini atque tutelæ ejus conservatio attribuenda sit. Nosque ex litteris majestatis vestræ, sexto et vigesimo Maii proximi ad nos datis, perque Thomam Maynardum nobis redditis, permotam facti indignitate majestatem vestram de authoribus jussisse quæri intelligimus, ut supplicium de iis, pro eo ac meriti sunt, sumatur. Verùm comprehensos esse ullos ex iis, aut jussa vestra hac in parte quicquam effecisse, nondum accepimus. Quapropter nostrum esse duximus palam significare, tentatum illud facinus barbarum, et partim commissum, quàm indignè feramus: atque adeo à majestate vestra postulamus, ut ab illius facinoris authoribus, sociis, administris, supplicium debitum repetatur: Et quo hoc maturiùs fiat, ut honestissimi integerrimique viri, quique gentis utriusque paci quàm maximè student, huic quæstioni præficiantur, quò res penitùs investigari, tamque in authores sceleris quam in ministros severiùs animadverti possit. Id nisi fiat, neque majestatis vestræ justitia, neque nostra hujusque reipub. existimatio, vindicari, neque conservandæ inter utramque gentem amicitiæ ulla ratio firma esse, poterit. Majestati vestræ fœlicia faustaque omnia precamur.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
Aug. die 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Illustrissimo Domino Comiti* MIRANO, *S. D.*

Illustrissime Domine;

SINGULARE tuum erga me atque hanc rempub. studium haud mediocriter nos demeruit, tibique devinxit: id vestris ex literis, 25 Junii proximi ad me scriptis, facile perspexi, tum etiam ex iis, quas ab internuntio nostro Philippo Meadowes, conficiendæ pacis causâ ad Lusitaniæ regem à nobis misso, accepi: quibus is de eximio vestro studio atque opera in hac pace transigenda abundè nos docuit: hujus novissimam sanctionem et accepi libentissimè, mihique persuadeo fore, ut neque collatæ in hanc pacem operæ tuæ, neque in Anglos benevolentiæ, neque fidei erga regem hac in re spectatæ, unquam te pœniteat: quandoquidem, annuente Deo, sperandum est, hanc pacem et utrique genti permagna emolumenta, et hostibus incommoda haud exigua, esse allaturam. Quod solum in hoc negotio triste atque infaustum accidit, fuit illud facinus in internuntium nostrum Philippum Meadowes nefariè susceptum atque tentatum: Cujus in occultos auctores haud segnius inquiri oportuit, quam in manifestos sceleris ministros: neque de regis vestri justitia ac severitate in tanto scelere puniendo, neque de tua cum primis ad eam rem opera, ut qui fas piumque colas, et pacis inter utramque nationem studiosus fueris, dubitare possum: quæ quidem stare nullo modo potest, si facta hujusmodi nefaria impunita atque inulta ibunt. Verùm tua facinoris illius nota detestatio facit, ut necesse mihi non sit plura de hac re in præsentia dicere. Cum itaque de mea erga te benevolentia, quam et rebus omnibus demonstrare paratissimus ero, certiorem te fecerim, extremum illud est, ut te tuaque omnia divinæ benignitati ac tutelæ à me scias esse commendatissima.

Amplitudinis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
Aug. die 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Serenissime Rex, amice ac fœderate charissime;

CÙM eundem nobiscum animum, idem consilium, in majestate vestra inesse animadvertam, Protestantium fidei defendendæ contra hostes ejus, hoc tempore, si unquam aliàs, infestissimos, unde est quòd tam prosperis successibus vestris victoriarumque nuntiis penè quotidie lætemur, tum illud sanè vehementer doleo, quòd unum lætitiam hanc nostram turbat atque corrumpit, perferri ad nos, inter læta cætera, vestram cum fœderatis Belgii provinciis amicitiam pristinam non satis con-

stare; remque eo deductam inter vos, in mari præsertim Baltico, ut ad discordiam spectare videatur. Cujus causas quidem ignorare me fateor; eventum certe (nisi Deus avertat) Protestantium summæ rei periculosissimum fore facile perspicio. Quapropter pro illa artissima necessitudine, quæ cum utrisque vestrûm nobis intercedit, proque eo, quo duci omnes imprimis debemus, religionis reformatæ studio atque amore, nostrum esse censuimus, quemadmodum fœderatos Belgii ordines ad pacem et æquanimitatem magnopere hortati sumus, ita nunc majestatem vestram hortari. Satis superque hostium Protestantibus ubique est: nunquam acrioribus odiis inflammati conspirâsse in exitium nostrum undique videntur. Testes Alpinæ valles, haud ita pridem miserorum cæde ac sanguine redundantes; testis Austria, edictis nuper et proscriptionibus Cæsariis concussa; testis Helvetia; quid enim attinet pluribus verbis tot calamitatum recentium memoriam luctumque revocare? Hæc omnia loca quis nescit Hispanorum et Romani pontificis consilia incendiis, cladibus, vexationibus orthodoxorum, per hoc biennium miscuisse? Si ad hæc tot mala Protestantium fratrum inter se dissensio accesserit, inter vos præsertim, quorum in virtute, opibus, constantia, præsidium ecclesiis reformatis constitutum est maximum, quantum humanæ opis est, periclitari religionem ipsam reformatam, atque in summo discrimine versari, necesse erit. Quod contra, si universum Protestantium nomen ea qua decet inter se fraterna consensione perpetuam pacem coluerit, nihil omnino erit quod pertimescamus, quid hostium vel artes vel vires incommodare nobis possint, quos sola nostra concordia vel propulsabit vel frustrabitur. Quapropter majestatem vestram majorem in modum oro atque obsecro, ut ad confirmandam cum fœderatis provinciis amicitiam pristinam, si qua in parte collapsa est aut imminuta, propensum atque benignum animum afferre velit. Siquid est in quo mea opera, fides, diligentia, ad compositionem usui esse possit, eam omnem vobis profiteor atque defero. Deus modò aspiret, faustumque esse jubeat, quod cum summa felicitate cursuque perpetuo rerum prosperarum majestati vestræ exopto.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,

Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii, die Aug. 1656.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Ordinibus Hollandiæ.*

Excelsi et præpotentes Domini, amici charissimi;

Demonstratum est nobis à Gulielmo Coopero, pastore Londinensi, civeque nostro, Joannem le Maire Amsterodamensem, socerum suum, ante annos circiter triginta-tres rationem quandam excogitâsse, qua reip. vestræ reditus, sine ullo populi onere, multo auctiores fierent; factaque cum Joanne Van den Brook societate partiendi inter se præmii, quod ex illo invento suo reportâssent, (id autem erat parvi sigilli in provinciis constitutio,) ob hoc celsitudines vestras præpotentes supradicto Van den Brook ejusque posteris tria millia geldricorum (quæ trecentas libras valent) in singulos annos pensitanda spospondisse: jam verò, etsi inventa illa parvi sigilli ratio facilis admodum et expedita reperta est, magnosque ex eo tempore reditus celsitudinibus præpotentibus vestris, nonnullisque vestris provinciis, retulit, tamen ad hodiernam usque diem, quamvis multa sollicitatione petitum, illius pacti præmii nihildum adnumeratum esse: unde postquam supradictis Van den Brook et le Maire longarum dilationum pertæsum est, actionem illam in supradictum Gulielmum Cooperum civem nostrum jure esse translatam: qui, cum fructum industriæ soceri sui percipere cupiat, ad nos per libellum supplicem se contulit, ut hanc ejus postulationem celsitudinibus vestris præpotentibus commendare vellemus; quod ei non esse denegandum censuimus. Quapropter celsitudines vestras præpotentes amicè rogamus, uti petitionem supradicti Gulielmi Cooperi ea de re benignè audire velitis, pactumque industriæ præmium, atque stipendium tam justum, et pro numero tot annorum præteritorum et annua deinceps pensione solvendum curare. Quod cum non dubitemus quin celsitudines vestræ præpotentes libenter facturæ sint, utpote et justum, et munificentia vestra dignum, parati et nos vicissim erimus, vestris quoque popularibus in postulatis suis, quoties nobis edentur, æquè propenso animo favere.

Vestrarum celsitudinum præpotentium studiosissimus,

Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Septemb. an. 1656

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi.*

Serenissime Rex, amice ac fœderate charissime;

Inviti facimus ut majestatem vestram de suorum injuriis, post pacem instauratam, toties interpellemus: verùm et vos factas nolle confidimus, et nos nostrorum querimoniis deesse non possumus. Navem Antonium Diepensem ante fœdus jure captam ex judicum sententia, curiæ nostræ maritimæ præsidentium, facile constat. Ejus prædæ partem, quatuor millia plus minus coriorum, Robertus Brunus, mercator Londinensis, ab iis qui auctioni præfuerunt, quod et ipsi testantur, coëmit: ex iis circiter ducenta cùm Diepam advecta post ratam pacem coriario cuidam Diepensi vendidisset pecuniamque redegisset, ea pecunia in manibus procuratoris sui occupata atque retenta, litem sibi impingi, suumque jus illo in foro se obtinere non posse, queritur. Quocirca majestatem vestram rogandum censuimus, ut ad consilium suum de re tota referri velit, pecuniamque illam iniquissima lite extricari. Etenim si ante pacem facta et judicata, post pacem rursus in controversiam atque judicium vocabuntur, quis sit fructus fœderum futurus, non videmus. Verùm hujusmodi querelarum nullus finis erit, nisi in fœdifragos hosce tam frequentes exemplum aliquod severitatis maturè statuatur; id quod majestati vestræ quamprimùm curæ fore speramus: Quam Deus interim tutela sua sanctissima dignetur.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,

Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Septemb. an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* JOANNI *Lusitaniæ Regi.*

Serenissime Rex;

TRANSACTA jam feliciter inter hanc rempub. Lusitaniæque regnum pace, necnon ad commercium quod attinet recte atque exordine cautum atque sancitum cùm sit, necessarium esse duximus Thomam Maynardum, à quo hæ literæ perferuntur, ad majestatem vestram mittere; qui consulis munere negotiatorio, vestra in ditione, ad mercatorum res rationesque ordinandas, fungatur. Cùm autem hoc sæpius usu venire possit, ut adeundi majestatem vestram fieri sibi copiam nonnunquam postulet, tam de commercio quam aliis de rebus quæ nostra hujusque reip. interesse possint, à majestate vestra petimus, ut illi, quoties audito opus sit, benignum velitis aditum atque aurem præbere; id vestræ erga nos benevolentiæ pro argumento singulari atque indicio habebimus: interim majestati vestræ Deum Opt. Max. fortunare omnia volumus.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS, Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterii,
die Octob. 1656.

Suecorum Regi.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex;

TAMETSI ea est solita majestatis vestræ et spontanea in viros bene meritos benevolentia, ut omnis eorum commendatio supervacanea possit videri, tamen nobilem hunc virum Gulielmum Vavasorem, equitem auratum, majestatis vestræ sub signis merentem, et ad vos jam proficiscentem, noluimus sine nostris ad majestatem vestram literis dimittere. Quod eo libentius fecimus, posteaquam significatum nobis est, jampridem eum, majestatis vestræ auspicia secutum, multis in præliis vestra causa suum sanguinem profudisse: adeo ut Suecorum reges proximi ob militarem ejus peritiam, operamque sæpe in bello strenuè navatam, cum agro et annuis pensionibus, veluti virtutis præmio, remuneraverint. Neque verò dubitamus quin majestati vestræ in hodiernis bellis permagno sit usui futurus, cum sit fide ac bellicarum rerum scientia jamdiu spectata. Eum itaque majestati vestræ, pro eo ac meritus est, commendatum cupimus; simulque rogamus, ut quæ illi præterita stipendia processerint solvantur. Hoc nobis erit gratissimum; nec gratificari vicissim majestati vestræ, quoties facultas erit, gravabimur; cui fausta omnia ac prospera exoptamus.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Octob. an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* JOANNI *Lusitaniæ Regi, S. D.*

Serenissime Rex, amice ac fœderate charissime;

EXHIBUIT nobis libellum supplicem Thomas Evans nauclerus, civis noster, in quo ostendit, se an. 1649, et 1650, cum navi sua, cui nomen Scipioni, quadringentarum amphorarum, et cui ipse præfuit, societati Brasiliensi operam navâsse: eam navem, cum onere toto et apparatu, majestatis vestræ jussu ereptam sibi esse: unde damnum homini factum, præter amissum ex tanta sorte sexennii lucrum, commissarii, ex fœdere ad decidendas controversias utrinque dati, plus septem millibus librarum nostrarum, sive bis totidem milreis Lusitanicis, æstimârunt; quemadmodum et ad nos retulerunt. Quod detrimentum tam grave cum supradictum Thomam vehementer afflixerit, coactus ad repetendas ex fœdere res suas Olyssipponem navigare, petiit suppliciter à nobis, ut literas nostras hac de re ad majestatem vestram sibi daremus: nos, tametsi in communi causa mercatorum, quibus à societate Brasiliensi debebatur, superiore anno scripsimus, tamen ne cui nostram opem poscenti defuisse videamur, majestatem vestram pro amicitia rogamus, ut hujus nominatim hominis ratio habeatur; utque velit majestas vestra suis omnibus ita præcipere, ut ne quid obstare possit, quo minus is in ea urbe, quod sibi à societate Brasiliensi vel aliunde debetur, sine ullo impedimento exigere, et sine mora possit recuperare. Deus majestatem vestram perpetua felicitate augeat; nostramque amicitiam faxit quàm diuturnam.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Octob. an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Illustri et Magnifico Civitatis Hamburgensis Senatui, S. D.*

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles viri, amici charissimi;

GRAVEM detulerunt ad nos querimoniam Jacobus et Patricius Hays, cives hujus reip. sc, sui fratris Alexandri, qui intestatus diem obiit, hæredes legitimi cum sint, atque ita ipsius curiæ vestræ sententia, ante annos duodecim secundùm se lata, contra fratris viduam pronuntiati fuissent, bonaque defuncti fratris cum fructibus, excepta solùm viduæ dote, adjudicata sibi ex eo judicio essent, non potuisse tamen hactenus, neque pro suo jure, neque literis Caroli olim regis eadem de re scriptis, ullum laborum suorum ac sumptuum ex ea sententia fructum consequi: obesse sibi scilicet potentiam atque opes Alberti van Eizen, decurionis apud vos primarii, apud quem bonorum pars maxima deposita est; eum agere omnia, ne ea bona hæredibus restituantur. Elusi, ac dilationibus confecti, summam denique ad inopiam redacti, supplicant nobis ne se negligamus tantis injuriis, fœderata in civitate, oppressos. Quod nos cum officii imprimis nostri intelligamus esse, ut nequis civis noster præsidium suis rebus, atque susceptum patrocinium in nobis requirat, petimus quod à civitate vestra videamur facile impetrare posse, ut sententiam ipsimet vestram hisce fratribus ratam esse velitis; neque per causam provocationis ad Spirensem Cameram, vel primò simulatæ vel nunc irritæ, moram justitiæ fieri diutiùs patiamini. Nam de summa ipsius causæ jurisperitorum nostrorum sententias requisivimus;

unaque descriptas obsignatasque ad vos misimus. Quod si rogando nihil proficitur, erit necessariò, idque ex consueto jure gentium, quod tamen minimè vellemus, ad reciproca deveniendum: id ne accidat, vos pro vestra prudentia provisuros esse confidimus.

Amplitudinum vestrarum studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Ex palatio nostro Westmonasterii, die Octob. 16. an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi* LUDOVICO *Galliæ Regi, S. D.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, amice ac fœderate charissime;

PERVENISSE ad majestatem vestram literas nostras arbitramur, Maii quarto-decimo superioris anni datas: in quibus Joannem Dethicum, eodem anno Londini urbis præfectum, et Gulielmum Wakefeild, mercatorem, per libellum supplicem nobis ostendisse scripsimus, navem Jonam suis mercibus onustam, quæ Ostendam veherentur, Dunkirkam, quæ tum temporis in Gallica ditione erat, à prædone quodam Caroli Stuarti filii auspiciis piraticam faciente ex ipso Thamesis ostio fuisse abreptam: se, cum ex edictis vestris vestrique consilii decretis, quibus erat cautum, nequa navis Anglorum, ab hostibus parlamenti capta, vestris portubus reciperetur, venalisve esset, à domino Lestrado, illius oppidi præfecto, postulâssent, ut reddi sibi navem suam atque bona juberet, responsum ab eo tulisse, sanè neque viro primario dignum, neque eo qui regi suo satis dicto audiens videretur, se scilicet ab rege Galliæ, ob navatam in bello operam, hanc præfecturam præmio accepisse; curaturum proinde uti ea quàm maximè quæstui sibi sit; per fas videlicet ac nefas: id enim minime laborare videbatur. Quasi verò hanc præfecturam atque provinciam majestatis vestræ dono accepisset, ut socios juxtà spoliaret, vestraque edicta in eorum gratiam promulgata pro nihilo haberet. Quod enim rex Galliæ, si maximè ab hostibus factum contra nos voluisset, facti tamen participes suos esse vetuit, id regius præfectus, contra regium interdictum, non modo fieri est passus, ut nos vestris in portubus diriperemur, prædæque essemus, verum etiam ipse diripuit, ipse prædæ habuit, seque facti authorem palam professus est. Hoc itaque responso mercatores, infecto negotio, irriti atque elusi discessere: nosque hæc itidem superiore anno majestati vestræ per literas significavimus, successu licèt haud multo meliore; nihildum enim responsi ad eas literas habuimus. Quod non habuerimus accidisse id credimus, propterea quòd eo tempore præfectus ille apud exercitum in Flandria fuit; nunc in urbe ipsa Parisiorum degit, vel potius per urbem, perque aulam, nostrorum spoliis locupletatus impunè volitat. A majestate igitur vestra nunc denuò id petimus, quod ipsius majestatis vestræ interest in primis providere, nequis ad sociorum injurias edictorum regiorum contemptionem audeat adjungere: sed neque ad legatos sive commissarios de controversiis communibus utrinque dandos rejici propriè hæc causa poterit; quandoquidem hìc non sociorum jus duntaxat, sed auctoritas ipsa vestra, regiique nominis reverentia, agitur. Illud enim mirum sit, si mercatores damna sua molestiùs quàm majestas vestra sui ferat imminutionem. Eam si non ferat, eadem opera simul perficiet, ut neque amicissimorum de repub. nostra edictorum pœnituisse, neque in suorum injuriis connivisse, neque nostræ postulationi non tribuisse quod par sit, videatur.

Majestati vestræ voluntate, amicitia, fœdere, devinctissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio, die Novemb. an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi* FREDERICO III. *Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorumque Regi; Duci Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, et Dithmarsiæ; Comiti in Oldenburgh et Delmenhorst, &c. S. D.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, amice ac fœderate charissime;

LITERAS majestatis vestræ sexto-decimo Februarii Hafniâ datas ab ornatissimo viro Simone de Petkum, oratore apud nos vestro, accepimus. Iis perlectis, et voluntatis erga nos vestræ præclara significatio, et ipsius rei, de qua scriptum erat, pondus usque eò nos permovit, ut statim ad majestatem vestram mittere qui, mandatis nostris instructus, nostra consilia vobis hac de re plenissime exponeret, in animo haberemus. Et quanquam idem nobis etiamnum animus manet, hactenus tamen idoneum aliquem cum iis mandatis dimittere, quæ gravissimum hujusmodi negotium postularet, non potuimus; quemadmodum jam brevi facturos nos esse speramus. Interea non omittendum diutiùs existimavimus majestatem vestram certiorem facere, præsentem rerum in Europa statum haud mediocri nos cura ac cogitatione sollicitos tenuisse: cum ab aliquot jam annis summo cum dolore videamus Protestantium principes, ac civitatum primores, (quos, ex communi religionis atque salutis vinculo, omnem sese mutuò confirmandi ac defendendi inire rationem oporteret,) inter se indies magis magisque infirmè animatos, quid quisque moliatur, quidve struat, suspectum habere; metum amicis, spem hostibus præbentes, inimicitias atque dissidia potius hac rerum inclinatione portendi, quam firmum invicem animorum consensum, ad præsidium mutuum ac defensionem. Atque hæc quidem sollicitudo eo altiùs animo nostro insedit, quo magis in majestate vestra regeque Sueciæ adhuc aliquid residere mutuæ suspicionis videtur; vel saltem non eam existere voluntatum conjunctionem, quam communis nostrum omnium in orthodoxam religionem amor ac studium flagitaret; dum majestati vestræ injecta forte aliqua suspicio est, fore ut ab rege Sueciæ detrimentum aliquod ditionis vestræ commerciis afferatur; suspicante vicissim Suecorum rege, ne, per vos, et bellum quod nunc gerit difficilius et contrahendarum societatum ratio impeditior, sibi reddatur. Non præterit majestatem vestram, pro ea summa prudentia, quam adhibere suis omnibus in rebus solet, quantum discriminis Protestantium summæ rei impendat, si istiusmodi suspiciones inter vos diu versen-

tur; quanto magis, quod Deus avertet, siquod hostilitatis indicium erumperet. Utcunque hæc se habeant, nos, quemadmodum et Suecorum regem, et fœderati Belgii ordines, ad pacem et moderata consilia magnopere hortati sumus, (adeoque redintegrari inter eos pacem atque concordiam vehementer gaudemus, nam et capita quoque illius fœderis à dominis Ordinibus transmissa ad nos sunt,) ita nostras esse partes duximus, nostræque amicitiæ quam maxime convenire, ut qui sensus noster his de rebus sit, majestatem vestram ne celaremus, (præsertim cùm, ut ita faciamus, majestatis vestræ literis amicissimis tam studiose invitemur; id quod etiam benevolentiæ erga nos vestræ pro argumento singulari sanè habemus atque amplectimur,) vestræque majestati ante oculos poneremus, quantum nobis necessitatem, qui Protestantium religionem sequimur, divina providentia imposuerit colendi inter nos pacem, idque nunc maximè, cum hostes nostri acerrimè, si unquam alias, rem gerere, et conjùrâsse undique in perniciem nostram, videntur. Valles Alpinas, miserorum nuper incolarum cæde ac sanguine madentes, commemorare nihil attinet; nec conquassatam per eosdem dies Cæsareis proscriptionibus atque edictis Austriam; nec denique contra Helvetios Protestantes Helvetiorum Papistarum infestos impetus. Quis nescit Hispanorum dolos ac machinationes per hosce aliquot annos hæc loca omnia incendiis, ruinis, cladibus Protestantium, permiscuisse? Si ad hæc mala reformatorum fratrum inter se dissensio velut cumulus accedat, inter vos præsertim, qui nostrarum virium tanta pars estis, et in quibus tantum præsidii ac roboris Protestantium dubiis temporibus comparatum atque repositum est; quod ad opem humanam attinet, pessùm ire Protestantium res, et in extremo discrimine atque occasu versari, necesse erit. Quod contra, si pax constet inter vos vicinos, cæterosque orthodoxos principes, si concordiæ fraternæ omni ex parte studeatur, non erit cur, Deo bene juvante, vel vim vel versutiam nostrorum hostium pertimescamus; quorum conatus nostra sola consensio vel dissipabit vel frustrabitur. Neque vero dubitamus quin majestas vestra ad hanc pacem beatam impertiri suam operam, quam potes maximam, et libens velit, et velle desitura non sit. Qua in re ipse etiam communicare consilia cum majestate vestra, atque conjungere, paratissimus ero; utpote et veram amicitiam professus, et cui non solum pactam inter nos tam auspicatò servare pacem deliberatum omnino sit, verum etiam necessitudinem hanc, quæ nunc intercedit, prout Deus facultatem dabit, arctiori vinculo constringere. Idem Deus interim majestati vestræ secunda ac prospera omnia concedat.

Majestati vestræ amicitia, fœdere, ac voluntate, conjunctissimus,

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Dabantur ex Aula nostra Westmonasterii, Decem. an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo illustrissimoque Principi ac Domino, Domino* GULIELMO, *Hassiæ Landgravio, Principi Herefeldiæ, Comiti in Cattimeliboco, Decia Ligenhain, Nidda et Schaumburgo, &c.*

Serenissime Princeps;

AD literas celsitudinis vestræ non sic altero pòst anno, quod prope jam pudet, rescripsissemus, nisi nos admodum invitos permulta sanè, eaque gravissima, quorum curam, pro nostro in repub. munere, differre non potuimus, interpellâssent. Quæ enim literæ debebant esse nobis gratiores, quàm quæ à principe religiosissimo, majoribus quoque religiosissimis orto, de pace religionis, deque concordia ecclesiarum concilianda, sunt scriptæ; quæ etiam literæ eundem planè animum, idem pacis christianæ promovendæ studium, non solum suo, verum etiam universi ferò orbis christiani opinione ac judicio, et ipsæ nobis tribuunt, et universim attributum esse gratulantur? Et nos quidem per tria hæc olim regna quid hac in parte simus conati, quidque hortando, ferendo, præeundo, divino maxime auxilio, effecerimus, et norunt nostri plerique, et in summa conscientiæ tranquillitate sentiunt. Eandem præsertim Germaniæ totius ecclesiis, ubi acriùs ferè, jamque diu nimis dissidetur, pacem optavimus; perque nostrum Duræum, hoc idem multos jam annos frustra molientem, siquid eam in rem nostra opera conferre posset, ex animo detulimus. In eadem nos etiamnum sententia permanemus; eandem illis ecclesiis fraternam inter se charitatem optamus: sed quam sit hoc arduum conciliandæ pacis negotium inter ipsos pacis, ut præ se ferunt, filios, summo cum dolore satis superque intelligimus. Nam, ut utrique Reformati nempe et Augustani in unius ecclesiæ communionem aliquando coalescant, sperandum vix est; suam utrique sententiam ne possint vel voce vel scriptis defendere, prohiberi sine vi non poterunt; vis autem cum pace ecclesiastica consistere non potest: hoc tantùm se sinant exorari qui dissentiunt, ut humanius saltem et moderatius velint dissentire, nihiloque minus inter se diligere; utpote non hostes, sed fratres in levioribus licet dissentientes, in summa tamen fidei conjunctissimos. Hæc nos inculcando, hæc suadendo nunquam defatigabimur; quod ultrà est, humanis neque viribus neque consiliis datur: Deus quod suum solius est suo tempore perficiet. Tu interim, serenissime princeps, præclaram in ecclesias declarationem animi tui, sempiternum sanè monumentum et majoribus tuis dignum et omnibus posthac principibus imitandum reliquisti. Nos celsitudini vestræ, pro eo ac merita est, felicitatem cæteris in rebus quantum ipsa cupit, mentem, ea quam nunc habes, haud meliorem (quid enim potest esse melius?) à Deo optimo maximo precamur.

Westmonasterio, die Martii, an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi Duci Curlandiæ.*

Serenissime Princeps;

DE benevolentia celsitudinis erga nos vestræ et aliàs, et tum quidem aliunde nobis constitit cùm orationem nostram ad Moscoviæ Ducem iter facientem, et in ditione vestra per aliquot dies commorantem hospitio

benignè accepisti: nunc justitiæ et æquitatis suæ haud leviora indicia daturam esse celsitudinem vestram et suopte ingenio et nostro rogatu confidimus. Cum enim Joannes Jamesonus, Scotus, navis cujusdam vestræ magister, fidelem naucleri operam septennioque cognitam vobis navaverit, seque illam navem Balenam sibi commissam, in ostio fluminis, ut mos est, gubernatori vestro appellendam in portum tradidisset, eumque imperitè suo munere fungentem quod solum potuit sæpius monuisse multis testibus probaverit, non ejus profecto culpa, sed gubernatoris vel imperitia vel pervicacia fractam esse navem nemini non liquet. Quod cum ita sit, à celsitudine vestra majorem in modum petimus, ut supradicto Joanni magistro neque illud naufragium imputare, neque eam idcirco stipendio debito velit privare; cujus spe sola jam altero naufragio bonis omnibus amissis, se utcunque in extrema inopia sustinet et solatur.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio
die Martii, An. 1657.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c., Amplissimis Consulibus ac Senatoribus Reip. Gedanensis, S. P. D.*

Amplissimi, magnifici viri, amici charissimi;

Urbem vestram industria, opibus et optimarum artium studiis florentem cum nobilissimis quibusque urbibus semper esse duximus conferendam: nunc posteaquam in hoc bello, quod vestris jamdiu in finibus geritur, Polonorum sequi partes quam Suecorum maluistis, sanè et religionis causa quam colitis, et commercii quod cum Anglis vetustum jam habetis, optavimus ut ea vobis maxime consilia placerent, quæ cum Dei gloria urbisque vestræ dignitate ac splendore viderentur esse conjunctissima. Quocirca petimus pro amicitia, quæ vobis cum Anglorum gente multo usu firmata jamdiu constat, et siqua in gratia apud vos nostrum quoque nomen est, ut insignem inter primos Suecorum duces Conismarcum, egregium præsertim bello virum, casu et suorum proditione mari interceptum belli lege, non acerbissimè adhuc gesti, dimittere velitis, sin id minus vestris rationibus convenire arbitramini, ut leniore saltem ac liberiore custodia habendum censeatis. Utrum horum vobis faciendum decreveritis, id profecto imprimis quod existimatione urbis vestræ dignum est decernetis; deinde ab omnibus præclaris belli ducibus magnam gratiam inibitis; nos denique, quicquid id vestra interesse putatis, haud mediocri sanè beneficio devincietis.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio,
Aprilis, an. 1657.
Vestrarum amplitudinum studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi ac Domino Imperatori Ducique magno Universæ Russiæ, Soli Domino* Voladomæri, *Moschoæ, Novogrodi, Regi Cazani, et Astracani, Syberiæ, Domino Vobscoæ, Magno Duci Smolenchi, Tuerscoiæ et aliarum, Domino ac Magno Duci Novogrodæ, Inferiorumque Regionum Chernigoi, Rezanscoæ et aliarum, Domino omnis plagæ Septentrionalis, item Domino Everscoæ, Cartalinsæ aliarumque permultarum; S. P. D.*

Anglorum genti cum imperii vestri populis vetus amicitia magnusque usus, id quod nemo nescit, amplissimumque commercium jamdiu fuit; illa verò virtus singularis, Imperator Augustissime, qua majoribus suis majestas vestra longè prælucet, et quæ de ea est vicinorum omnium principum opinio, potissimùm nos movet, ut majestatem vestram et eximio studio colamus, etque communicata cupiamus, quæ et rei christianæ et rationibus vestris haud parum conducere, nec minus nominis vestri gloriæ serviare posse existimemus. Quapropter ornatissimum virum Dominum Richardum Bradshaw, summa fide, integritate, prudentia, usuque rerum, ex aliis etiam legationibus, nobis cognitum, ad majestatem vestram misimus oratorem; qui et singulare erga vos nostrum studium, summamque observantiam vobis exponat, et supradictis de rebus agere cum majestate vestra possit. Eum itaque ut benignè nostro nomine accipiatis, eique ut, quoties commodum erit, liberum aditum, auresque benignas, fidem denique in iis omnibus quæ proposuerit aut transegerit, eandem atque nobismetipsis, si coràm adfuissemus, præbere velitis rogamus; adeoque majestati vestræ atque imperio Russico fausta omnia à Deo opt. max. precamur.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterii, die
April. an. Dom. 1657.
Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Protector Reip. Angl. &c.

Oliverius, *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi* Carolo Gustavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ et Vandaliæ, &c.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex,
amice ac fœderate charissime,

Vir nobilissimus Gulielmus Jepsonus, militum tribunus, et parlamenti nostri senator, cui hoc munus honori erit, quod majestati vestræ hasce literas dabit, certiorem eam faciet, quanta cum perturbatione ac dolore nuntium accepimus belli illius funesti inter majestatem vestram Daniæque regem coorti; quamque nobis cordi ac studio sit, nullam nostram operam aut officium prætermittere, quoad Deus facultatem dederit; ut huic ingruenti malo remedium aliquod maturè afferatur, cæque simul calamitates avertantur, quas inferri ex hoc bello religionis causæ communi necesse erit; hoc præsertim tempore, quo adversarii nostri contra orthodoxæ fidei professionem et professores cùm consilia perniciosissima tùm vires arctissimè conjungunt. Hæc atque alia nonnulla permagna ad utriusque gentis commoda rationesque publicas momenti adduxere nos, ut hunc virum ornatissimum internuntii extraordinarii prædictum munere ad majestatem vestram mitteremus:

Quem uti amicè recipiatis, eique, iis in rebus quas cum majestate vestra nostro nomine communicaverit, summam fidem adhibeatis rogamus; cum is sit cujus fidei atque prudentiæ nos quoque plurimum tribuamus. Simul et illud petimus, ut majestas vestra nostram erga se resque suas benevolentiam singularem, atque studium persuasissimum sibi habeat; cujus nos argumenta certissimam per omnem occasionem et propenso animo et officiis paratissimis præbebimus.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterii,
Aug. an. Dom. 1657.

Majestatis vestræ amicus et fœderatus conjunctissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angl. &c.

Excellentissimo Domino, DOMINO *de* BOURDEAUX, *Serenissimi Regis Galliarum Legato extraordinario.*

Excellentissime Domine,

MERCATORES quidem Londino-derrienses Samuel Dausonus, Joannes Campsejus, et Joannes Nevinus, per libellum supplicem, Serenissimo Domino protectori ediderunt, se, posteaquam fœdus inter hanc rempub. regnumque Galliæ redintegratum intellexerant, an. Dom. 1655 navem quandam, cui nomen Anglicè The Speedwell, melioris ominis causa, quam eventus ferebat, impositum, cujus Joannes Ker magister erat, mercibus quibusdam ex portu Derriensi Burdegalam convehendis onerasse; eam navem illic onere exposito, vinoque aliisque mercibus inde impositis, captam in reditu die 24 Novembris anni supra dicti à duabis Brestensum navibus armatis, quarum alteri Adrianus Vindmian Swart, alteri Jacobus Jonsonus, præfuit, ab iisdem etiam in portum Brivatem, vulgo Brestensem, fuisse abductam; ibique et jure captam judicatam esse, et auctione venditam, cum mille centumque libras nostras æstimatione justa valuisset, extra damnum mille librarum præterea datum: de quibus recuperandis omni se honesta ratione cum illius loci præfectis egisse: id sibi hactenus frustra fuisse: se etiam moribus edictum curiæ maritimæ consecutos esse, quo citarentur in judicium qui navem illam cepissent, autem jure esse captam defendere statuissent. Edictum hoc et recte atque ordine promulgatum et redditum: idque ab ejusdem curiæ ministris publicis maturè Domino legato Galliæ significatum esse: cum nemo contra comparuisset, testes aliquot juratos de re judicanda interrogatos esse. Quæ res cum à petitoribus ad celsitudinem Domini protectoris delata sit, ab eaque cognitioni atque sententiæ concilii mandata, cumque de facto et testimoniis juratis libello supplici adjunctis abunde constet, petitoribusque liberum commercium Burdegalæ sit datum, mercesque illic emptæ atque impositæ vi sint in reditu ereptæ et occupatæ contra fœderis fidem, ut supra demonstratum est, quis non videt hoc esse æquissimum, aut navem cum onere petitoribus restitui, aut de damno cùm captæ navis tum juris persequendi plene satisfieri? Peto igitur ab excellentia vestra, atque etiam serenissimi domini protectoris nomine peto, omnem velit operam dare, omnique operæ authoritatem etiam sui muneris adjungere, ut primo quoque tempore horum alterutrum fiat. Cum neque in causa æquiore laborare possit, neque mihi gratiore; qui eo diligentius curasse quod mandatum mihi est videbor, quo excellentia vestra maturius quod suum est præstiterit.

Ex Alba Aula, Augusti an. Dom. 1657.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi D.* FREDERICO WILHELMO *Marchioni Brandenburgensis, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Camerario, ac Principi Electori Magdeburgi, Prussiæ, Juliæ, Cliviæ, Montium, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiorum Vandalorumque, necnon in Silesia Crosnæ et Carnoviæ Duci, Burggravio Norinbergensi, Principi Halberstadii et Mindæ, Comiti Marcæ et Ravensbergi, Domino in Ravenstein: S. P. D.*

Serenissime Princeps, amice ac fœderate charissime,

CUM ea sit celsitudinis vestræ singularis virtus et pace et bello terrarum orbe toto jam clara, ea magnitudo animi atque constantia, ut amicitiam vestram omnes fere principes vicini ambiant, amicum et socium nemo fideliorem sibi aut constantiorem cupiat, ut nos quoque in eorum numero esse intelligatis, qui de vobis vestrisque egregiis de rep. christianæ meritis quam optimè quamque præclarè sentiunt, nobilissimum virum Gulielmum Jepsonum, tribunum militum et Parlamenti nostri senatorem, ad vos misimus, qui vobis nostro nomine et plurimam salutem dicat, et rebus vestris felicitatem omnem ominetur atque exoptet; nostram denique benevolentiam summumque studium erga vestram serenitatem verbis amplissimis exponat; eique proinde fidem, iis in rebus de quibus vobiscum egerit, eandem habeatis rogamus, ac si a nobismetipsis testata omnia atque confirmata coràm essent.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio Augusti
an. Dom. 1657.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Amplissimis civitatis Hamburgensis Consulibus ac Senatoribus: S. P. D.*

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles viri,
Amici charissimi;

CUM vir ornatissimus Gulielmus Jepsonus, tribunus militum, et parlamenti nostri senator, ad Suecorum regem serenissimum à nobis missus vestram per urbem iter faciat, in mandatis dedimus, uti vos quoque ne præteriret nostro nomine insalutatos; neque non rogatos, ut si qua in re vestra authoritate, consilio aut præsidio opus sibi esse judicaverit, ei quibus rebus potestis præstò esse velitis. Id quo libentius feceritis eo majorem a nobis iniise vos gratiam intelligitis.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio, die Aug.
an. Dom. 1657.

Amplissimis Civitatis Bremensis Consulibus ac Senatoribus. S. P. D.

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles Viri,
Amici charissimi;

QUI noster animus erga vestram civitatem, quæque benevolentia, cùm propter puriorem apud vos religio-

nis cultum, etiam propter urbis celebritatem, sit, et sensistis aliàs, et quoties facultas dabitur sentietis. Nunc, cum ornatissimus vir Gulielmus Jepsonus, tribunus militum, et parlamenti nostri senator, ad serenissimum regem Sueciæ per urbem vestram oratoris munere instructus iter faciat, hoc tantum in præsentia voluimus, ut et vos ille peramanter perque amicè nostro nomine salutet, et siquid acciderit in quo vestra ope atque amicitia usus sibi esse possit, id uti à vobis pro nostra necessitudine peteret. Qua in re non magis defuturos vos esse confido, quam de nostro erga vos amore singulari ac studio dubitare debetis.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra die Aug. an. Dom. 1657.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Amplissimis Civitatis Lubecensis Consulibus ac Senatoribus, S. P. D.*

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles viri, amici charissimi,

Gulielmus Jepsonus, vir nobilissimus, militum tribunus, et parlamenti nostri senator, ad serenissimum Suecorum regem ab urbe vestra haud longe castra habentem publico munere ornatus proficiscitur, quapropter ei per urbem vestram aut ditionem iter facenti ut omni adjumento, si opus erit, atque præsidio, pro nostra amicitia atque commercio, adesse velitis rogamus. De cætero et salutatos vos esse nostro nomine peramicè volumus, deque nostro erga vos propenso animo ac voluntate esse persuasissimos.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, die Aug. an. Dom. 1657.

Oliverius *Protect. Reipubl. Angliæ, &c. Amplissimis Civitatis Hamburgensis Consulibus ac Senatoribus, S. P. D.*

Amplissimi, magnifici, et spectabiles viri, amici charissimi,

Qui hasce ad vos literas perfert, Philippus Meadowes, oratoris munere a nobis instructus ad serenissimum Daniæ regem per urbem vestram proficiscitur. Eum, siquid erit, in quo vestram authoritatem adjumento sibi fore aut præsidio existimaverit, commendatum vobis magnopere volumus. Nostraque commendatio, quo solet esse apud vos pondere, eodem uti nunc sit rogamus: vobis vicissim. siquid ejusmodi occurrit non defuturi.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio, die Aug. an. 1657.

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* Frederico *Hæredi Norwegiæ, Duci Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, Ditmarsiæ, Comiti in Oldenburgh et Delmenhorst.*

Serenissime princeps, amice charissime,

Missus à nobis vir domi nobilis Gulielmus Jepsonus, militum tribunus, et parlamenti nostri senator, ad serenissimum Suecorum regem, quod paci communi reique Christianæ felix faustumque sit, legationem obit. Ei inter alia negotium dedimus, ut cum in itinere salutem plurimam serenitati vestræ nostro nomine, dixisset, pristinamque nostram benevolentiam et constantissima studia significasset, ab eo quoque peteret, ut authoritate vestra munitus iter tutum atque commodum habere per vestram ditionem possit. Quo beneficio celsitudo vestra nos nostraque vicissim officia majorem in modum demerebitur.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, die Aug. an. 1657

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, Serenissimo Principi* Ferdinando *Magno Duci Hetruriæ.*

Serenissime Dux magne, amice charissime,

Ostendit nobis per libellum supplicem societas mercatorum nostrorum, qui ad oras Mediterranei maris orientalis negociantur, præfectum quendam navis Lodoviculi, sive Anglicè The Little Lewis, nomine Gulielmum Ellum, cum Alexandræ in Egypto esset, conductum à Satrapa Memphitico ut oryzam, saccharum et caphiam, ipsius Turcarum principis in usum, Constantinopolim aut Smyrnam comportaret, classi se Ottomanicæ in itinere subduxisse, et, contra datam fidem, navis totum onus Liburnum avertisse: ibi præda potitum nunc agere. Quod facinus, pessimi sanè exempli, cùm Christianum nomen probro, mercatorum fortunas degentium sub Turca direptionis periculo objiciat, petimus à celsitudine vestra, ut illum hominem comprehendi et in custodiam tradi, navemque et bona retineri, jubeat, quoad significatum à nobis erit curasse nos res illas Turcarum principi reddendas. Vestræ celsitudini sicubi nostris officiis usus vicissim erit, paratissima omni tempore fore profitemur.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, die Septemb. an. 1657.

Celsitudinis vestræ studiosissimus,

Oliverius Protector reip. Angliæ, &c.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino* D. Frederico Wilhelmo, *Marchioni Brandenburgensi, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Camerario, ac Principi Electori Magdeburgi, Prussiæ, Juliæ, Cliviæ, Montium, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiorum Vandalorumque, necnon in Silesia, Crosnæ et Carnoviæ Duci, Burggravio Norinbergensi, Principi Halberstadii et Mindæ, Comiti Marcæ et Ravensbergi, Domino in Ravenstein.*

Serenissime Princeps, amice ac fœderate charissime,

Alteris ad celsitudinem vestram literis per oratorem nostrum, Gulielmum Jepsonum, aut redditis aut brevi redditis legationis ipsi à nobis mandatæ fidem fecimus; idque sine vestrarum virtutum aliqua mentione, nostræque erga vos benevolentiæ, significatione facere non potuimus. Verum nequis vestra de rebus Protestantium egregiè merita, quæ summa omnium prædicatione celebrantur, nos obitu tetigisse tantùm videamur, resumendum nobis nunc idem argumentum, nostraque officia non libentiùs quidem aut animo propensiore, aliquanto tamen prolixius deferenda serenitati vestræ censuimus. Et meritò sanè, cum ad aures nostras

quotidie perferatur, fidem vestram atque constantiam omnibus tentatam machinis, solicitatam technis, labefactari tamen, et ab amicitia fortissimi regis ac socii, nullo modo posse dimoveri; idque cum eo loco Suecorum res nunc sint, ut in retinenda eorum societate celsitudinem vestram reformatæ potius religionis causa communi, quàm suis commodis duci manifestum sit; cumque hostibus vel occultis vel jam prope imminentibus cincta undique et penè obsessa sit, copiæ ut sint validæ non tamen sint maximæ, ea tamen firmitate animi ac robore esse, eo consilio ac virtute imperatoria, et unà vestra voluntate niti totius rei summa ac moles, bellique hujus maximi exitus pendere videatur. Quapropter nihil est quod dubitet celsitudo vestra, quin de amicitia nostra summoque studio polliceri omnia sibi possit: qui vel ipsi ab omni laude derelicti nobis videremur, si præclara ista fide atque constantia cæterisque vestris laudibus minùs delectaremur, aut vobis ipsis communi religionis nomine minus deberemus. Quòd si rebus ab ornatissimo viro Joanne Frederico Schlezer consiliario et oratore apud nos vestro propositis respondere, pro eo ac studemus, hactenus non potuimus (quanquam is omni assiduitate ac diligentia id agit atque contendit) conditioni rerum nostrarum hoc velit imputare celsitudo vestra rogamus; sibique imprimis persuadere nihil nobis esse antiquius aut optatius, quam ut vestris rationibus cum religionis causa tam conjunctis usui quam plurimùm atque subsidio esse possimus. Interim tam clara virtus ac fortitudo ne ullo tempore deficiat aut opprimatur, dignave laude aut fructu careat Deum opt. max. precamur.

Ex aula nostra, Westmonasterio, die Sept. an. 1657.

Celsitudinis vestræ studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Excellentissimo Domino, DOMINO *de* BOURDEAUX, *Serenissimi Galliarum Regis Legato extraordinario.*

Excellentissime Domine,

POSTULAVIT a serenissimo Domino protectore, Lucas Lucius mercator Londinensis de sua quadam navi, cui nomen Maria, quæ cum ab Hibernia Bajonam peteret, vi tempestatis ad fanum Divi Joannis de Luz, appulsa, ibi retenta et occupata est actione Martini cujusdam de Lazon; nec restituta donec à procuratoribus mercatoris illius satisdaretur, se de illa navi atque onere cum Martino lege experturos. Tulit enim præ se Martinus deberi sibi grandem à parlamento Angliæ pecuniam, mercium quarundam suarum nomine, quæ in navi quadam Sancta Clara anno 1642 parlamenti auctoritate sunt retentæ. Verum cum satis constaret, Martinum illum earum mercium verum dominum non esse, sed cum Antonio quodam Fernandez verorum dominorum Richaldi et Iriati jus persequi, dissidentibusque inter se Martino et Antonio, decreverit parlamentum uti merces illæ retinerentur quoad lege esset decisum utri eorum reddendæ essent, paratusque fuerit semper Antonius lege agere; contrà, neque Martinus neque pro eo quisquam in judicio hactenus comparuerit, quæ omnia ex Lucæ petitoris libellis libello supplici annexis liquent; iniquissimum sanè est, ut is, qui jus suum suppositium cum Antonio collega suo de alienis bonis experiri apud nos recusat, cogeret nostros homines verosque dominos de suis bonis in aliena ditione contendere: Quin idem æquitati vestræ atque prudentiæ videatur, non dubitat serenissimus dominus protector; à quo sum jussus, hanc Lucæ Lucii causam æquissimam excellentiæ vestræ singularem in modum commendare: ne Martino, qui jus alienum apud nos persequi negligit, eo obtentu aliis eripiendi jus suum apud vos potestas detur.

Westmonasterio, die Octob. an. 1657.

Excellentiæ vestræ studiosissimus.

OLIVERIUS, *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Duci ac Senatui Reip. Venetæ.*

Serenissime Dux atque Senatus, Amici charissimi;

NUNCII rerum vestrarum contra Turcas felicissimè gestarum tam crebri ad nos perferuntur, ut nobis non sæpius ulla de re ad vos scribendum, quam de insigni aliqua victoria gratulandum sit. Hanc recentissimam, et reipublicæ vestræ quam maxime lætam atque opportunam cupimus, et quod gloriosissimum est, christianorum omnium sub Turca servientium quam maxime liberatricem. Nominatim Thomam Galileum navis, cui nomen The Relief, olim præfectum, serenitati vestræ ac senatui, tametsi non nunc primum, nunc tamen eo libentiùs quo latiori tempore, quinquennalem captivam commendamus. Ei cùm à vobis imperatum esset, ut cum navi sua reipublicæ vestræ operam navaret, solus cum multis hostium triremibus congressus, nonnullas depressit, magnamque stragem edidit; tandem combusta navi captus vir fortis, deque Veneta rep. tam benè meritus, quintum jam annum in misera servitute barbarorum degit. Unde se redimat facultatum nihil est; nam quicquid erat, id à celsitudini vestra et senatu, vel navis vel bonorum vel stipendii nomine debere sibi ostendit. Verùm ut facultates non deessent; hostes tamen non alia lege dimissuros se eum profitentur, quam si suorum aliquis, qui illis in pretio æquè sit, permutetur. Petimus itaque magnopere à vestra atque senatus celsitudine serenissima, petit per nos senex miserrimus, captivi pater, mœroris et lachrymarum plenus, quæ nos quidem permoverunt, ut primùm quoniam ex tot prosperis prœliis Turcarum tanta copia captorum vobis est, unam aliquem ex eo numero, quem illi recipiant, hostem vestro milite fortissimo, nostro cive, senis mœstissimi filio unico commutare velitis. Deinde, ut quod stipendii, vel aliis nominibus ipsi à repub. debetur, id quam primùm velitis patri aut procuratori ipsius annumerandum curare. Priori quidem rogatu nostro, vel potius æquitate vestra effectum est, ut statim re cognita, putatisque rationibus constitutum esset quid debeatur: verum illum supputationem ingentibus fortasse aliis negotiis, nulla solutio secuta est. Nunc miseri conditio dilationem salutis diutiùs non fert: eum, si omnino salvum vultis, danda opera est, ut squalore illo carceris teterrimo quam primùm liberetur. Id sine mora, sine hortatu etiam nostro humanissima voluntate vestra facturos vos esse confidimus: quandoquidem justitia, moderatione, atque prudentia non minus quam belli

gloria victoriisque floretis: atque ut diutissimè floreatis, devicto hoste potentissimo, Deum opt. max. precamur.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
die Octob. an. 1657.

Celsitudinum vestrarum studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis et præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. P. D.*

Excelsi et præpotentes Domini, amici ac fœderati charissimi;

REDIT ad vos vir illustrissimus Gulielmus Nuport legatus vester annis jam aliquot apud nos extraordinarius: sed ita redit, petito ad tempus duntaxat à vobis commeatu, ut eum brevi reversurum speremus. Ea enim est fide, vigilantia, prudentia, æquitate apud nos in suo munere versatus, ut majorem in unoquoque genere virtutem ac probitatem neque nos desiderare in legato, viroque optimo, neque vos possitis; eo animo ac studio ad pacem inter nos et amicitiam sine fuco et fraude conservandam, ut, illo hanc legationem obeunte, quid inter nos offensionis aut scrupuli suboriri queat aut pullulare, non videamus. Et discessum sanè ejus molestiore animo ferremus, hac præsertim rerum ac temporum inclinatione, nisi persuasissimum nobis hoc esset, neminem melius posse aut fidelius vel rerum utrobique statum, vel nostram erga celsitudines vestras benevolentiam studiumque integrum coràm exponere. Quapropter hunc ut virum undiquaque præstantissimum, deque rep. et sua et nostra optime meritum, accipere redeuntem velitis rogamus: sicuti et nos verissimo nostrarum laudum testimonio ornatum abeuntem dimisimus prope inviti. Deus ad ipsius gloriam ecclesiæque præsidium orthodoxæ vestris rebus felicitatem, nostræ amicitiæ perpetuitatem concedat.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
die Nov. an. 1657.

Celsitudinem vestrarum studiosissimus.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis et præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. P. D.*

Excelsi et præpotentes Domini, amici nostri ac fœderati charissimi;

GEORGIUS Duningus vir nobilis nobis est multis ac variis negotiis, summa fide, probitate ac solertia, perspectus jamdiu et cognitus. Eum ut apud vos oratoris munere fungatur, mittendum censuimus, mandatisque nostris amplissimè instruximus. Eum itaque amico, ut consuevistis, animo recipiatis rogamus: et quoties habere se significaverit, quod nostro nomine vestrum cum excelsis ordinibus agat, amicè audire, fidemque adhibere; et quæ vos vicissim communicanda nobis censebitis, ea omnia, sicuti rectè potestis, perinde ac si nos ipsi coram essemus, ei committere velitis. De cætero vobis vestræque reip. ad Dei gloriam ecclesiæque præsidium secundas res omnes ex animo precamur.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, die
Decemb. an. Dom. 1657.

Celsitudinum Vestrarum studiossissimus,
OLIVERIUS, &c.

Ordinibus Hollandiæ.

CUM ea nostræ reip. cum vestra intercedat necessitudo, ea sint utrinque negotia, ut sine oratore atque interprete vel hinc vel inde misso res tantæ ad utilitatem utriusque gentis constitui commodè vix possint, ex usu communi fore arbitrati sumus, ut Georgium Duningum virum nobilem, multis ac variis negotiis summa fide, probitate ac solertia spectatum, jam diu nobis et cognitum, eo munere instructum mitteremus: qui nostro nomine apud vos maneat, iis maxime officiis intentus, quibus nostra amicitia sarta tecta conservari posse quam diutissimè videatur. Hac de re cum ad excelsos et præpotentes ordines scripsimus, tum vos quoque qui in Provincia vestra summæ rei præsidetis, et Fœderati Belgii tanta pars estis, certiores faciendos per literas duximus; ut et nostrum oratorem ea ratione qua convenit accipiatis, et quæ ille cum excelsis Dominis ordinibus transegerit, ea vobis persuadeatis peræque firma ac rata nos esse habituros, ac si ipsi rebus transactis coràm interfuissemus. Deus consilia vestra et facta omnia ad gloriam suam et ecclesiæ pacem dirigat.

Westmonasterio, &c. Decemb. 1657.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* FERDINANDO *Magno Duci Hetruriæ.*

Serenissime Dux Magne, amice noster plurimum colende,

PERMAGNAM nobis attulere voluptatem literæ celsitudinis vestræ decimo Nov. Florentia datæ; in quibus benevolentiam erga nos vestram eo vidimus perspectiorem, quanto res ipsæ verbis, facta promissis certiora benevolentis animi indicia sunt: quæ nempe rogavimus celsitudinem vestram, juberet illum navis Lodovici parvi præfectum Gulielmum Ellum, qui fidem Turcis datam turpissimè fregerat, et ipsum comprehendi, et navem cum mercibus in portu retineri, quoad Turcarum quæ essent redderentur, ne nomen Christianum per istiusmodi furta labem aliquam susciperet, ea omnia, et summo quidem studio, quod satis intelligimus, scripsit celsitudo vestra se præstitisse. Nos itaque cum pro accepto beneficio gratias agimus, tum hoc porrò nunc petimus, quandoquidem satisfactum iri Turcis mercatores in se receperunt, ut et præfectus ille custodia liberetur, et navis cum mercibus quamprimum dimittatur; ne Turcarum forte rationem potiorem, quam nostrorum civium habuisse videamur. Interim celsitudinis vestræ spectata voluntate erga nos singulari, et sanè gratissima sic libenter fruimur, ut ingratitudinis notam non recusemus, nisi pari promptitudine vobis vicissim gratificandi occasionem quam primum dari nobis exoptamus, ex qua nostram quoque in reddendis

officiis promptitudinem animi rebus ipsis erga vos demonstrare possimus.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
Decemb. an. 1657.

Celsitudinis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, &c.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, amice ac fœderate invictissime;

MULTA simul attulere nobis literæ majestatis vestræ 21 Feb. in castris Selandicis datæ, cur, et privatim nostra, et totius reipub. Christianæ causa, lætitia haud mediocri afficeremur: primum quod rex Daniæ, non sua credo voluntate aut rationibus, sed hostium communium artibus factus hostis, repentino vestro in intimum ejus regnum adventu, sine multo sanguine, cò sit redactus, ut, quod res erat, utiliorem sibi pacem bello contra vos suscepto tandem judicaverit: deinde cum is eam nulla se ratione citius posse consequi existimaret, quam si delata sibi jamdiu ad conciliandam pacem nostra opera uteretur, quod majestas vestra solis internuntii nostri literis exorata, tam facili pacis concessione ostenderit, quantum nostra amicitia atque gratia interposita apud se valeret: meumque imprimis in hoc tum pio negotio officium esse voluerit, ut pacis tam salutaris protestantium rebus, uti spero, mox futuræ ipse potissimum unus conciliator atque auctor propemodum essem. Cum enim religionis hostes conjunctas opes vestras alio pacto frangere se posse desperarent, quàm si vos inter vos commisissent, habebunt nunc, profectò quod pertimescant, ne armorum animorumque, ut spero, vestrorum hæc inopinata conjunctio ipsis belli hujus conflatoribus in perniciem vertat. Tu interim, rex fortissime, macte tua egregia virtute; et quam felicitatem in rebus tuis gestis victoriarumque cursu contra regem nunc socium hostes ecclesiæ nuper admirati sunt, eandem in sua rursus clade, Deo benè juvante, fac sentiant.

Westmonasterio, ex Palatio nostro,
30 *die Martii,* 1658.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi* FERDINANDO *Magno Duci Hetruriæ.*

Serenissime Princeps,

QUOD satisfacturum arbitramur celsitudini vestræ de nostro classis præfecto qui ad portus vestros nuper est delatus, vestro apud nos oratori respondimus: interim per libellum supplicem nobis ostendit Joannes Hosierus Londinensis, cujusdam navis, cui Dominæ nomen, magister, se, cùm anno 1656, mense Aprili, navem suam ex syngrapha (chartam partitam jus nostrum vocat) Josepho Armano Italo cuidam locasset, isque factas in syngrapha pactiones ter apertè fregisset, coactum esse demùm, ne navem suam, totumque onus ejus, sortem deniquè totam amitteret, more mercatorio, declarata publicè ejus fraude, et in tabulas publicas relata, Liburni in jus eum vocare: eum autem, ut fraudem fraude tueretur, adhibitis in societatem duobus aliis negotiatoribus litigiosis, de pecunia Thomæ cujusdam Clutterbuxi sex mille octonos, conficto quodam obtentu, petitoris hujus nomine occupasse: se. post multas impensas consumtumque tempus, jus suum Liburni obtinere non posse; ne audere quidem, propter adversariorum minas atque insidias, in judicio illic comparere. Petimus itaque à celsitudine vestra, ut cùm huic homini oppresso subvenire, tum hujus adversarii insolentiam pro consueta sua justitia velit coercere: frustra enim authoritate principum leges essent civitatibus latæ, si vis atque injuria, cùm, ne omnino sint leges, efficere non possint, possint efficere terrore ac minis, ne quis ad eas audeat confugere. Verum in hujusmodi audaciam quin maturè animadversura sit celsitudo vestra, non dubitamus; cui pacem prosperaque omnia à Deo opt. max. precamur.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra,
die 7 April. an. 1658.

Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi LUDOVICO *Galliarum Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, amice ac fœderate augustissime;

MEMINISSE potest majestas vestra quo tempore inter nos de renovando fœdere agebatur; quod optimis auspiciis initum multa utriusque populi commoda, multa hostium communium exinde mala testantur, accidisse miseram illam Convallensium occisionem, quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam vestræ misericordiæ atque tutelæ summo cum ardore animi ac miseratione commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur majestatem vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro ea qua apud ducem Sabaudiæ valere debuit vel auctoritate vel gratia: nos certè aliique multi principes ac civitates, legationibus, literis, precibus interpositis, non defuimus. Post cruentissimam utriusque sexus omnis ætatis trucidationem, pax tandem data est, vel potius inducti pacis nomine hostilitas quædam tectior: conditiones pacis vestro in oppido Pinarolii sunt latæ; duræ quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque inopes dira omnia atque immania perpessi facilè acquiescerent, moda iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur; non statur; sed enim earum quoque singularum falsa interpretatione variisque diverticulis fides eluditur ac violatur; antiquis sedibus multi dejiciuntur, religio patria multis interdicitur, tributa nova exiguntur, arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebro erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant: ad hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter eos Romanam religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur; ut omnia nunc rursus videantur ad illorum internecionem miserrimorum spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit. Quod ergo per dextram tuam, rex christianissime, quæ fœdus nobiscum et amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor, per illud christianismi tituli decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris: nec tantam sæviendi licentiam non dico principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum principem, multo

minus in ætatem illius principis teneram, aut in muliebrem matris animum tanta sævitia cadere potest) sed saccrrimis illis sicariis ne permiseris; qui cum Christi servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores servaret, ejus mitissimo nomine atque institutis ad innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutuntur: eripe qui potes, quique in tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot supplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii, sanguinem rursus sitiunt; suæque invidiam crudelitatis in principes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Tu verò nec titulos tuos aut regni fines ista invidia, nec evangelium Christi pacatissimum ista crudelitate fœdari te regnante patiaris. Memineris hos ipsos avi tui Henrici protestantibus amicissimi dedititios fuisse; cum Diguierius per ea loca, qua etiam commodissimus in Italiam transitus est, Sabaudum trans Alpes cedentem victor est insecutus: deditionis illius instrumentum in actis regni vestri publicis etiamnum extat; in quo exceptum atque cautum inter alia est, ne cui postea Convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem conditionibus quibus eo avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc implorant, avitam abs te nepote supplices requirunt: tui esse, quàm cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione aliqua, si fieri possit, malint atque optarint: id si non licet, patrocinio saltem, miseratione atque perfugio. Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad te confugientes ne rejicias: sed nolim te, rex tantus cum sis, aliis rationibus ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide a majoribus data, pietate, regiaque animi benignitate ac magnitudine permoveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque integra tua erit, et ipse patrem misericordiæ ejusque filium Christum regem, cujus nomen atque doctrinam ab immanitate nefaria vindicaveris, eo magis faventem tibi atque propitium per omnem vitam experieris. Deus opt. max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum hominum christianorum tutandam salutem, vestrumque verum decus majestati vestræ hanc mentem injiciat.

Westmonasterio, Maii, an. 1658.

Civitatibus Helvetiorum Evangelicis.

Illustres atque amplissimi Domini,
amici charissimi;

De Convallensibus vicinis vestris afflictissimis, quàm sint à principe suo gravia et intoleranda religionis causa passi, cùm propter ipsam rerum atrocitatem horret prope animus recordari, tum ad vos ea scribere quibus notiora multo sunt, supervacuum duximus. Exempla etiam literarum vidimus quas legati vestri pacis jamdudum Pinarolianæ hortatores atque testes ad Allobrogum ducem illiusque Taurinensis consilii præsidem scripserunt; in quibus ruptas esse omnes pacis conditiones, illisque miseris fraudi potiùs quàm securitati fuisse singulatim, ostendunt atque evincunt. Quarum violationem ab ipsa statim pace data in hunc usque diem continuatam, et indies graviorem nisi æquo animo patiuntur, nisi se conculcandos planè et pessumdandos prosternunt atque abjiciunt, religione etiam ejurata, impendet eadem calamitas, eadem strages, quæ ipsos cum conjugibus ac liberis tertio abhinc anno sic miserabilem in modum attrivit atque afflixit, et subeunda iterum si est, funditus eradicabit. Quid agant miseri? quibus nulla deprecatio, nulla respiratio, nullum adhuc certum perfugium patuit; res est cum feris aut cum furiis, quibus priorum cædium recordatio nullam pœnitentiam, aut suorum civium miserationem, nullum sensum humanitatis aut fundendi sanguinis satietatem attulit. Hæc ferenda planè non sunt, sive fratres nostros Convallenses orthodoxæ religionis cultores antiquissimos, sive ipsam religionem salvam volumus. Et nos quidem locorum intervallo plus nimio disjuncti, quod opis aut facultatis nostræ fuit, et præstitimus ex animo, et præstare non desinemus. Vos qui non modo fratrum cruciatibus ac penè clamoribus, verum etiam eorumdem furori hostium proximi estis, prospicite per Deum immortalem, idque maturè, quid vestrarum nunc partium sit; quid auxilii, quid præsidii vicinis ac fratribus, alioqui mox perituris, ferre possitis ac debeatis, prudentiam vestram ac pietatem, fortitudinem etiam vestram consulite. Causa certè eadem est religio, cur iidem hostes vos quoque perditos velint, immo cur eodem tempore, eodem superiore anno, fœderatorum vestrorum intestino marte perditos voluerint. Vestra duntaxat in manu post opem divinam videtur esse, ne purioris ipsa stirps religionis vetustissima in illis priscorum fidelium reliquiis excindatur: quorum salutem in extremum jam discrimen adductam si negligitis, videte ne vosmetipsos paulò post proximæ vices urgeant. Hæc dum fraternè ac liberè hortamur, ipsi interea non languescimus: quod solum nobis conceditur tam longinquis, cùm ad procurandam periclitantium incolumitatem tùm ad sublevandam egentium inopiam, omnem operam nostram et contulimus et conferemus. Deus det utrisque nobis eam domi tranquillitatem ac pacem, eum rerum ac temporum statum, ut omnes nostras opes atque vires, omne studium ad defendendam ecclesiam suam contra hostium suorum furorem ac rabiem, convertere possimus.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
Maii die, an. 1658.

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali Mazarino, *Salutem.*

Eminentissime Domine,

Illatæ nuper protestantibus, qui valles quasdam Alpinas in ditione ducis Sabaudiæ incolunt, gravissimæ calamitates cædesque cruentissimæ fecère, ut inclusas has literas ad majestatem regiam, hasque alteras ad eminentiam vestram scripserim. Et quemadmodum de rege serenissimo dubitare non possum, quin hæc tanta crudelitas, qua in homines innoxios atque inopes tam barbarè sævitum est, vehementer ei displiceat atque offensa sit; ita mihi facilè persuadeo, quæ ego à majestate regia illorum causa miserorum peto, ad ea impetranda vestram quoque operam atque gratiam, velut cumulum, accessuram. Cum nihil planè sit, quod Francorum genti benevolentiam apud suos omnes vicinos reformatæ religionis cultores majorem conciliaverit, quam libertas illa ac privilegia, quæ ex edictis suis atque actis publicis permissa protestantibus atque con-

cessa sunt. Et hæc quidem respublica cùm propter alias tum hanc potissimum ob causam Gallorum amicitiam ac necessitudinem majorem in modum expetivit. De qua constituenda jamdiu cum legato regio apud nos agitur, ejusque tractatio jam penè ad exitum perducta est. Quid! quod etiam singularis benignitas eminentiæ vestræ, ac moderatio, quam in summis regni rebus gerendis erga protestantes Galliæ semper testata est, à prudentia vestra et magnitudine animi ut hoc sperem atque expectem, facit; qua ex re et fundamenta arctioris etiam necessitudinis inter hanc rempublicam, regnumque Gallicum eminentia vestra jecerit, meque sibi privatim ad officia omnia humanitatis ac benevolentiæ vicissim reddenda obligaverit: adeoque hoc velim eminentia vestra sibi persuasissimum habeat.

Eminentiæ vestræ Studiosissimus.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, Serenissimo ac Potentissimoque Principi* LUDOVICO *Galliarum Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, amice ac fœderate augustissime,

THOMAM Vicecomitem Falconbrigium generum meum in Galliam proficiscentem, et ad testificandum obsequium suum et observantiam, qua majestatem vestram colit, venire in conspectum vestrum, regiam manum osculari cupientem, tametsi propter consuetudinem ejus jucundissimam invitus dimitto, tamen cùm non dubitem quin ab aula tanti regis, in qua tot viri prudentissimi fortissimique versantur, multo instructior ad res quasque laudatissimas, et quasi consummatus ad nos brevi sit reversurus, obsistendum esse ejus animo ac voluntati non sum arbitratus. Et quanquam is est, nisi ego fallor, qui per se satis commendatus, quocunque accesserit, videri possit, tamen si se mea gratia majestati vestræ aliquanto commendatiorem fuisse senserit, eodem me quoque beneficio affectum atque devinctum arbitrabor. Deus majestatem vestram incolumem, nostramque amicitiam firmissimam communi orbis christiani bono quam diutissimè conservet.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Maii die, an. 1658.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali* MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine,

CUM Thomam Vicecomitem Falconbrigium generum meum proficiscentem in Galliam serenissimo regi commendaverim, non potui quin ea de re eminentiam vestram certiorem facerem, nec non vobis etiam eundem commendarem: id quantum ponderis atque momenti ad superiorem quoque commendationem allaturum sit non nescius. Quem certè fructum commorationis apud vos suæ, sperat autem non mediocrem hunc fore, percepturus est, ejus maximam partem favori vestro ac benevolentiæ non poterit non debere; cujus prope sola mens ac vigilantia res tantas eo in regno sustinet ac tuetur. Quicquid ei gratum eminentia vestra fecerit, id mihi fecisse se existimet; id ego in multis vestris erga me humaniter et amicè factis numerabo.

Westmonasterio, Maii. an. 1658.

OLIVERIUS *Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali* MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine,

CUM illustrissimum virum Thomam Bellassisum Vicecomitem Falconbrigium generum meum serenissimi regis adventum in castra ad Dunkirkam gratulatum mitterem, eidem præcepi, ut vestram quoque eminentiam adiret, meoque nomine et plurimam salutem dicat, et gratias vobis agat, cujus potissimum fide, prudentia, vigilantia perfectum est, ut res Gallica tam diversis in partibus, et præsertim in vicina Flandria contra Hispanum hostem communem tam prosperè geratur: à quo nunc celeriter, uti spero, fraudum et insidiarum, quibus se maxime tuetur, aperta atque armata virtus pœnas reposcet: quod uti fiat quàm citissimè, nos certe neque copiis, quantum possumus, neque votis deerimus.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Maii, an. 1658.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi* LUDOVICO *Galliæ Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, amice ac fœderate augustissime,

UT nuntiatum est venisse in castra majestatem vestram, tantisque copiis infame illud opidum piratarum atque asylum Dunkirkam obsedisse, et magnam cepi voluptatem, et spem certam, fore nunc brevi, Deo bene juvante, ut infestum minùs posthac latrociniis mare tutiùs navigetur; fore ut Hispanicas fraudes, ducem alterum ad Hesdenæ proditionem auro corruptum, alterum ad Ostendam dolo captum, virtute bellica majestas vestra nunc brevi vindicet. Mitto itaque nobilissimum virum Thomam Vicecomitem Falconbrigium generum meum, qui et adventum vestrum in tam propinqua nobis castra gratularetur, et coràm exponat quanto nos studio majestatis vestræ res gestas non junctis solum viribus nostris, sed votis etiam omnibus prosequamur, uti Deus opt. max. et ipsam incolumem, et nostram amicitiam firmissimam communi orbis Christiani bono quam diutissimè conservet.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Maii, an. 1658.

Serenissimo Principi FERDINANDO, *Duci Magno Hetruriæ.*

Serenissime Dux Magne,

CUM celsitudo vestra in omnibus quidem literis suis summam erga nos benevolentiam suam nobis semper significaverit, dolemus id præfectis vestris ac ministris aut tam obscurè significatum, aut tam male esse intellectum, ut in portu Libernensi, ubi maximè quæ vestra sit erga nos benevolentia intelligi oporteret, nos nullum ejus fructum aut indicium percipere queamus; immo alienum potius et hostilem vestrorum in nos animum indies experiamur. Quàm enim non amicis nostra classis Liburnensibus usa nuperrime sit, quàm nullis adjuta rebus, quàm hostiliter denique accepta bis ab illo oppido discedere coacta sit, cum ex eo ipso loco multis testibus fide dignis, tum ex ipso navarcho

nostro, cui cùm classem credamus, narrandi fidem derogare non possumus, satis videmur nobis nimisque certò cognovisse. Priore ejus adventu cal. Jan. post redditas celsitudini vestræ literas nostras, vestraque omnia humanitatis officia nostris hominibus ultro delata, petentibus ut portus Ferrarii commoditate uti liceret, responsum est, id concedi non posse, ne rex Hispaniæ scilicet noster hostis offenderetur. Et tamen quid est quod princeps amicus amico præbere communius possit, quàm littoris ac portus aditum? quid est quod nos expectare ab hujusmodi amicitia possimus, quæ hostium nostrorum animum ne offendat, incommodare nobis quàm commodare, aut vel minimis rebus subvenire paratior sit? Et primo quidem ex singulis navibus duobus vel tribus nautis duntaxat excensus in terram, sive commercium (quam vos practicam vocatis) est datum: mox ut auditum est in oppido, navem quandam Belgicam, quæ frumentum in Hispaniam portabat, à nostris esse interceptam, quod erat antea commercii statim adimitur; Longlandius, qui nostris illis mercatoribus præsidet, classem adire non permittitur; aquatio, quæ omnibus non planè hostibus libera est, non sibi nisi sub armatis custodibus iniquo pretio, et quidem egerrimè præbetur: tot nostris mercatoribus, qui non sine maximo vestrorum emolumento illic versantur, suos ne invisant populares aut ulla re adjuvent interdicitur. Posteriore ejus adventu, sub exitum mensis Martii, egressus ex navibus nemini datur: quinto post die cùm naviculam quandam Neapolitanam prætoria navis nostra incidentem in nos fortè excepisset, ducenta plus minus tormenta ab oppido classem versus displodantur, quorum nullum ictu nos læsit ne attigit quidem: quod argumento esse potest quàm longe hæc à portu atque castelli ditione in alto gererentur, quæ vestros quasi portu violato sic sine causa irritarunt: confestim aquatorum nostrorum scaphæ intra portum oppugnantur; una capitur, detinetur; reposcentibus neque scapham neque homines redditum iri respondetur, nisi capta illa navis Neapolitana reddatur, quam constat libero mari captam, ubi capi licuit. Ita nostri multis modis incommodati sine illo commeatu, quem numerata pecunia coëmerant, abire denuo coguntur. Hæc si celsitudinis vestræ voluntate ac jussu quod speramus non fiunt, petimus id ostendat præfecti illius supplicio, qui amicitias domini sui violare tam facile in animum induxit: sin est ut sciente ac volente vestra celsitudine commissa hæc sint, cogitet nos, ut benevolentiam vestram plurimi semper fecimus, ita apertas injurias à benevolentia dignoscere didicisse.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Maii die an. 1658.

Vester quoad licet bonus amicus
OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi* LUDOVICO *Galliæ Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque rex, amice ac fœderate augustissime,

QUOD tam celeriter illustri missa legatione majestas vestra meum officium cumulo rependit, cùm singularem benignitatem, animique magnitudinem testata est suam, tum meo etiam honori ac dignitati quantopere faveat, non mihi solùm declaravit, verum etiam universo populo Anglicano: quo nomine majestati vestræ, pro eo ac de me merita est, gratias et ago et habeo maximas. De victoria quam conjunctis nostris copiis Deus contra hostes felicissimam dedit, vobiscum unà lætor; nostrosque in eo prœlio neque subsidiis vestris, neque majorum suorum bellicæ gloriæ, neque suæ denique virtuti pristinæ defuisse, perquàm etiam gratum est. De Dunkirka, quam deditioni proximam majestas vestra sperare se scribit, eam nunc deditam tam citò posse me rescribere insuper gaudeo: neque unius urbis jactura duplicem perfidiam Hispanum propediem esse luiturum spero; quod capta urbe altera effectum esse, velim majestas etiam vestra tam citò possit rescribere. Quod reliquum pollicetur meas rationes curæ sibi fore, de eo regi optimo atque amicissimo pollicenti, ejusque legato excellentissimo atque ornatissimo viro duci Crequiensi idem confirmanti, non diffido; Deumque opt. max. majestati vestræ reique Gallicæ domi bellique propitium exopto.

Westmonasterio, die Junii, an. 1658.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali* MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine,

CUM regi serenissimo per literas gratias agam, qui honoris et gratulationis reddendæ causa, suæque lætitiæ de nobilissima recenti victoria mecum communicandæ legationem splendidissimam misit, ingratus tamen sim, nisi eminentiæ quoque vestræ debitas simul gratias per literas persolvam; quæ ad testandam suam erga me benevolentiam, meique rebus omnibus quibus potest ornandi studium, nepotem suum præstantissimum atque ornatissimum adolescentem unà misit, et siquem haberet apud se propinquiorem aut quem pluris faceret, eum potissimum fuisse missurum scribit: addita etiam ratione, quæ ab judicio tanti viri profecta ad meam haud mediocrem laudem atque ornamentum pertinere existimo; nempe ut qui sanguine conjunctissimi sibi sunt in me honorando atque colendo eminentiam suam imitarentur. Et humanitatis quidem, candoris, amicitiæ vestrum in me diligendo exemplum haud postremum fortasse habuerint; summæ virtutis summæque prudentiæ alia in vobis longe clariora; quibus regna resque maximas summa cum gloria administrare discant. Qua res uti possit eminentia vestra quam diutissimè quamque felicissimè gerere ad totius regni Gallici, immo totius reip. Christianæ commune bonum, vestrumque proprium decus, non defutura mea vota polliceor.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
die Junii, an. 1658.

Eminentiæ vestræ studiosissimus.

OLIVERIUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, amice ac fœderate charissime,

Quoties communium religionis hostium importuna consilia variasque artes intuemur, toties nobiscum reputamus, quàm necessarium orbi Christiano, quàmque salutare sit futurum, quò faciliùs adversariorum conatibus iri obviàm possit, protestantium principes inter se, et potissimùm majestatem vestram cum repub. nostra arctissimo fœdere conjungi. Id à nobis quantopere fit, quantoque studio expetitum, quàm denique gratum nobis accidisset, si Suecorum nostræque res ea conditione ac loco fuissent, ut fœdus illud ex utriusque animi sententia sanciri, alterque alteri opportunissimo auxilio esse potuisset, oratoribus vestris, ex quo primùm illi hoc apud nos egerunt, testatum reddidimus. Neque vero illi suo muneri defuerunt; sed quam cœteris in rebus consueverunt, eandem hac quoque in parte prudentiam ac diligentiam adhibuerunt. Verùm ea nos domi improborum civium perfidia exercuit qui in fidem sæpius recepti, res novas tamen moliri, et cum exulibus, etiam cum hostibus Hispanis discussa jam sæpe et profligata consilia repetere non desinunt, ut in propulsandis periculis propriis occupati, neque curam omnem, neque integras opes quod in votis erat, ad communem religionis causam tuendam convertere hactenus potuerimus. Quod licuit tamen, quantumque in nobis situm erat, et anteà studiosè præstitimus, et siquid in posterum majestatis vestræ rationibus conducere videbitur, id non velle solùm, verùm etiam summa ope vobiscum unà agere per occasiones non desistemus. Interea majestatis vestræ rebus prudentissimè fortissimèque gestis gratulamur atque ex animo lætamur: eundemque uti velit Deus felicitatis atque victoriæ cursum esse quam diuturnum ad sui numinis gloriam assiduis precibus exoptamus.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Junii die, an. 1658.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi Lusitaniæ Regi. S. P. D.*

Serenissime Rex, amice ac fœderate,

Ostendit nobis per libellum supplicem Joannes Buffield, mercator Londinensis, se anno 1649, merces quasdam Antonio Joanni et Manueli Ferdinando Castaneo Tamirensibus tradidisse, ut iis divenditis earum rationem mercatorum more sibi redderent: tum in Angliam dum navigaret, in piratas incidisse, spoliatumque ab iis damnum haud mediocre accepisse: hoc audito, Antonium et Manuelem eò quod hunc interfectum credebant, traditas sibi merces statim pro suis habuisse, adhuc etiam retinere, rationemque omnem de iis recusare; atque huic fraudi subsecutam paulo post Anglicarum mercium proscriptionem obtendere; coactum se demum superiore anno, hyeme media in Lusitaniam redire, sua repetere; sed frustra; hos enim neque bona neque rationem ut reddant adduci posse; et quod mirum sanè videatur, privatam illarum mercium possessionem proscriptione publica defendere: cùm videret se hominem longinquum deteriore conditione cum Tamirensibus in sua patria contendere, ad majestatem vestram se confugisse; conservatoris judicium, qui judicandis Anglorum causis constitutus est, supplicem poposcisse; à majestate vestra rursus ad forensem illam cognitionem, unde confugerat, rejectum esse. Quod etsi per se iniquum non est, tamen cùm perspicuum sit Tamirenses istos vestro edicto publico ad suam privatam fraudem abuti, à majestate vestra majorem in modum petimus, ut causam hujus multis casibus afflicti, ad inopiamque redacti, ad conservatorem potius judicem proprium velit pro sua clementia integram remittere: quo possit inops fortunarum suarum quod superest ab illorum hominum infida societate recuperare: id, re cognita, quin majestati vestræ nobiscum unà maximè placeat non dubitamus.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, die Aug. an. 1658.

Serenissimo Principi Leopoldo *Austriæ Archiduci, Provinciarum in Belgio sub* Philippo *Hispaniarum Regi Præsidi.*

Serenissime Domine,

Carolus Harbordus, vir equestris apud nos ordinis, per libellum supplicem ad nos detulit, se bona quædam et suppellectilem cum ex Hollandia Brugas in ditionem vestram asportasset, de iis, ne sibi per vim atque injuriam eripiantur, inopinatò periclitari. Ea nempe, cum à Comite Suffolchiensi pro quo se grandi ære alieno obstrinxerat, ex Anglia an. 1643. missa ad se idcirco fuissent, ut haberet, quo sibi satisfaceret, siquid pro illo dissolvere cogeretur, a Richardo Grenvillo, qui et ipse equestris ordinis esse fertur, occupari, et quo in loco custodiebantur, effractis foribus atque articulis possideri: hoc solo titulo, deberi sibi nescio quid à Theophilo Suffolchiensi comite defuncto, ex quodam nostræ curiæ Cancellariæ decreto, eaque proinde bona quasi Theophili Comitis essent, eique decreto obnoxia, se referenda in tabulas curasse: cùm ex nostris legibus neque ipse comes, qui nunc est, et cujus hæc bona sunt, eo decreto teneatur, neque bona ejus occupari aut retineri debeant: id quod ex sententia ejusdem curiæ unà cum hisce literis ad vos missa, declaratur, quas quidem literas supradictus Carolus Harbordus à nobis petiit, uti per eas celsitudinem vestram rogatam vellemus, ut bona illa et recensione omni, et iniqua ista Richardi Grenvilli actione, primo quoque tempore liberentur: cùm hoc contra morem jusque gentium planè sit, at cuiquam in aliena ditione ea de re actio detur, quæ in ea regione, ubi causa actionis orta est, legitimè dari non possit. Hanc causam ut celsitudini vestræ commendaremus, et ipsa justitiæ ratio, et prædicata passim vestra æquanimitas permovit. Quod siquo tempore usus venerit, ut de jure aut commodis vestrorum apud nos agatur, haud remissa profecto nostra studia, immo omni tempore propensissima experturos vos esse polliceor.

Westmonasterio.

Celsitudinis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Supremæ Curiæ Parlamenti Parisiensis.

Nos commissarii magni sigilli Angliæ, &c. supremam curiam parlamenti Parisiensis rogatam volumus curare velit uti Miles, Gulielmus, et Maria Sandys, defuncti nuper Gulielmi Sandys et Elizabethæ Soamæ uxoris ejus liberi, natione Angli, ætate nondum adulta, Parisiis, ubi nunc in supradictæ curiæ tutela sunt, ad nos quamprimum redire possint; eosque liberos Jacobo Mowato Scoto, viro probo atque honesto velit committere, cui nos hanc curam delegavimus, ut eos et inde acciperet, et ad nos huc adduceret: recipimusque, occasione hujusmodi oblata, jus idem atque æquum subditis Galliæ quibuscunque ab hac curia redditum iri.

LITERÆ RICHARDI PROTECTORIS

NOMINE SCRIPTÆ

Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliarum Regi.*

Serenissime ac potentissime Rex, amice ac fœderate,

Cum serenissimus pater meus gloriosæ memoriæ Oliverius reip. Angliæ protector, omnipotente Deo sic volente, supremum jam diem tertio Septembris obierit, ego successor ejus in hoc magistratu legitimè declaratus, tametsi in summo mœrore ac luctu, non potui tamen quin de re tanta primo quoque tempore majestatem vestram per literas certiorem facerem, quam et mei patris et hujus reip. amicissimam hoc nuntio repentino haud lætaturam esse confido. Meum nunc est à vestra majestate petere, de me sic velit existimare, ut qui nihil deliberatius in animo habeam, quàm societatem et amicitiam quæ gloriosissimo meo parenti vestra cum majestate fuit, summa fide atque constantia colere; ejusque fœdera, consilia, rationes vobiscum institutas eodem studio ac benevolentia observare ratasque habere: legatum proinde apud vos nostrum eadem qua prius potestate præditum volo: quicquid id nostro nomine vobiscum egerit, ita accipere velitis rogo quasi à me ipso actum id esset. Vestræ denique majestati comprecor fausta omnia.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, 5 *Septemb.* 1658.

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali Mazarino.

Eminentissime Domine,

Quanquam nihil mihi acerbius accidere potuit, quàm de serenissimi et præclarissimi patris mei obitu scribere, tamen cum sciam quanti ille fecerit eminentiam vestram, quanti vos illum, neque dubitem quin eminentia vestra, cui summa rei Gallicæ commissa est, amici ac fœderati tam constantis tamque conjuncti mortem molestissime latura sit, permagni referre arbitratus sum, ut eam quoque, simul cum rege, de hoc casu gravissimo per literas monerem; vobisque etiam, quoniam id æquum est, confirmarem, me ea omnia sanctissimè præstiturum ad quæ præstanda vobis, rataque habenda serenissimæ memoriæ pater meus fœdere tenebatur: perficiamque ut illum, utpote vobis amicissimum omnique laude florentem, cùm amissum meritò doletis, quàm minimè tamen quod ad servandam societatis fidem attinet, desideretis: cui etiam ad utriusque gentis commune bonum vestra quoque ex parte servandæ Deus eminentiam vestram quàm diutissimè conservet.

Westmonasterio, Septemb. 1658.

Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi* Carolo Gustavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Serenissime potentissimeque rex, amice ac fœderate,

Cum videar mihi paternam virtutem vix satis posse imitari, nisi easdem quoque amicitias colam et retinere cupiam, quas ipse et virtute sibi quæsivit, et sibi esse maxime colendas ac retinendas judicio singulari duxit, non est quod dubitet majestas vestra, quin eodem se prosequi studio ac benevolentia debeam, qua pater meus memoriæ serenissimæ est prosecutus. Tametsi igitur in hoc magistratus ac dignitatis initio non eo loco res nostras reperiam, ut in præsentia possim ad quædam capita respondere, quæ oratores vestri in medium protulerunt, tamen et institutum à patre fœdus cum majestate vestra continuare, et arctius etiam conjungere, mihi quidem magnopere placet; rerumque utrinque statum simul ac plenius intellixero, ad ea transigenda quæ cum utriusque reip. commodis potissimum conjuncta esse videbuntur, ero equidem semper, ad me quod attinet, promptissimus. Deus interim majestatem vestram, ad gloriam suam et orthodoxæ ecclesiæ tutelam atque præsidium, quam diutissimè conservet.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Octob. 1658.

Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi* Carolo Gustavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Scaniæ, Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ, et Vandaliæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ et Wismariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Juliaci, Cliviæ, et Montium Duci.*

Serenissime, potentissime rex, amice ac fœderate,

Binas accepi à majestate vestra literas; alteras per nuncium suum, alteras legato nostro D. Philippo Mea-

dows, ad me transmissas. Ex quibus non solum dolorem suum de obitu patris mei serenissimi veris animi sensibus expressum, deque ipso majestas vestra quàm preclarè senserit, verum etiam de me quoque ejus in locum suspecto quantam spem ceperit cognovi. Et ad paternæ quidem laudis cumulum nihil posthac amplius aut illustrius tanto authore accedere potest, meis certe in capessenda repub. auspiciis nihil felicius tanto gratulatore, ad virtutes denique patrias tanquam hæreditatem optimam adeundas nihil quod accendat vehementius tanto hortatore potuit accidere. Ad rationes majestatis vestræ de communi Protestantium causa nobiscum initas quod spectat, sic velim existimet, me quidem ex quo ad hæc gubernacula accessi, quanquàm eo loco res nostræ sunt, ut summam diligentiam, curam, vigilantiam domi potissimum requirant, nihil tamen antiquius aut deliberatius habuisse aut habere, quam paterno fœderi cum majestate vestra percusso quantum in me erit non deesse. Classem itaque in mare Balticum mittendam cum iis mandatis curavi, quæ internuncius noster, quem ad hoc totum negotium amplissimè instruximus, majestati vestræ communicabit. Quam Deus opt. max. incolumem, prosperisque rerum successibus fortunatissimam, ad orthodoxam fidem tutandam diutissime conservet.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
die 13 *Octob.* 1658.

RICHARDUS *Protector Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Serenissime, potentissimeque rex, amice ac fœderate,

MITTO ad majestatem vestram, quo nihil dignius aut præstantius possum mittere, virum verè egregium, vereque nobilem Georgium Aiscoum, equitem auratum, non solùm belli, et navalis præsertim scientia multis ex rebus fortiter gestis cognitum jam sæpe atque spectatum, verum etiam probitate, modestia, ingenio, doctrina præditum, moribus suavissimis nemini non charum, et, quod nunc caput rei est, sub signis majestatis vestræ virtute bellica toto orbe terrarum florentissimæ jam diu mereri cupientem. Velimque sic habeat majestas vestra, quicquid huic viro muneris commiserit, in quo fides, fortitudo, experientia constare vel etiam prælucere possit, neque fideliori neque fortiori, nec facile peritiori posse se quicquam committere. Quæ autem ego illi negotia dedero communicanda vestræ majestati, in iis expeditum aditum, aurem benignam velit rogo præbere, eamque fidem, quam nobismetipsis coràm fuisset habitura; eum denique honorem, quem tali viro et suis meritis et nostra commendatione ornatissimo convenire judicaverit. Deus res vestras ad gloriam suam et orthodoxæ ecclesiæ præsidium felici exitu fortunet.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra,
die Octob. 1658.

RICHARDUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi* CAROLO GUSTAVO, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Serenissime potentissimeque rex, amice ac fœderate charissime,

DETULIT ad nos per libellum supplicem Samuel Piggottus, Londinensis mercator, se nuper naves duas (quarum alteri nomen Postæ, magister Tiddeus Jacobus; alteri The Water-Dog, magister Garbrand Peters) Londino in Galliam negotiandi causa misisse; eas inde sale onustas Amsterodamum petisse; Amsterodamo alteram saburra tantùm, alteram halece impositas cujus cum Petro quodam Heinsbergo societas erat in mare Balticum Stetinum usque Pomeraniæ, quæ in vestra ditione est, ad exponendam illic halecem navigasse; verùm utrasque hasce naves accepisse se alicubi maris Baltici à copiis quibusdam vestris detineri; tametsi ut huic malo occurreret cum utraque nave syngrapham sigillo curiæ maritimæ obsignatam unà curaverit mittendam, qua et navium harum et mercium, excepta halecis parte supradicta, unum se esse ac legitimum dominum demonstraret. Cujus rei cùm fidem apud nos plenam fecerit, peto magnopere à majestate vestra (quandoquidem duarum navium jactura sine summo hominis detrimento fortunarumque forte omnium naufragio vix posse accidere videtur) uti mandet suis atque imperet illarum navium liberam primo quoque tempore dimissionem. Deus majestatem vestram, ad gloriam suam ecclesiæque orthodoxæ præsidium, quàm diutissimè servet incolumem.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Jan. 27. *an.* 1658.

RICHARDUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Celsis et Potentibus Dominis Occidentalis Frisiæ Potestatibus, S. D.*

Celsi et potentes domini, amici ac fœderati charissimi,

GRAVEM ad me detulit querelam per libellum supplicem Maria Grinderia vidua, cùm sibi à Thoma Kilegræo vestro milite pecunia bene magna ante annos octodecim debeatur, se eum ne nullo modo adducere per procuratorem posse, neque ut debitum solvat, neque ut de jure suo, si quid sit, velit lege experiri; id ne à procuratore viduæ cogi possit, petisse eum à celsitudinibus vestris per libellum supplicem, ne cui liceat eum lege persequi ullius pecuniæ ab se in Angliæ debitæ. Ego verò si celsitudinibus vestris hoc tantum significavero, viduam esse, egenam esse, multorum matrem parvulorum, cujus iste omnes prope fortunas avertere conatur, non committam ut apud vos, quibus divina præcepta atque adeo de viduis pupillisque non opprimendis notissima esse confido, graviore ulla utendum cohortatione putem, ne hoc fraudandi privilegium petitioni istius concedere velitis: id quod nunquam concessuros vos esse mihi persuadeo.

Westmonast. ex Aula nostra, Jan. 27. 1658.

RICHARDUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi* LUDOVICO *Galliæ Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque rex, amice ac fœderate augustissime,

ACCEPIMUS, idque non sine dolore, quasdam in provincia protestantes ecclesias ab homine quodam male

feriato ita indignè fuisse in sacris concionibus interpellatas, ut ea res magistratibus, ad quos hujus causæ cognitio Gratianopoli ex lege pertinebat, gravi animadversione digna censeretur: sed conventum Cleri, qui iis in locis proximè habebatur, à majestate vestra impetrasse, ut res integra Parisios ad concilium regium revocaretur: à quo dum nihil hactenus decernitur, ecclesias illas et præsertim Aquariensem, convenire ad colendum Deum prohiberi. Vehementer itaque à majestate vestra etiam atque etiam peto, primùm, ut quorum preces ad Deum pro salute sua rebusque regni prosperis non interdicit, eorum coitus publicos ad precandum interdicere ne velit: deinde ut in illum hominem rei divinæ interpellatorem ex sententia illorum judicum, quibus hujusmodi causarum legitima atque consueta cognitio Gratianopoli data est, animadvertatur. Deus majestatem vestram quàm diuturnam atque incolumem conservet; ut si hæc nostra vota vobis accepta sunt, Deoque grata esse existimatis, eadem ab illis etiam protestantibus ecclesiis quibus nunc interdicitur, pro vobis publice fieri, sublato illo interdicto, quàm primum velitis.

Westmonasterio, 18 *Feb. an.* 1658.

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali MAZARINO.

Eminentissime domine cardinalis,

PROFICISCITUR in Galliam, ibique ad tempus commorari cogitat illustrissima domina defuncti nuper ducis Richmondiæ uxor cum duce filio adolescentulo. Eminentiam itaque vestram magnopere rogo, ut siquid acciderit in quo iis vestra authoritate, favore, patrocinio, utpote peregrinis, usus esse possit, ita eorum dignitatem tueri, vobisque haud vulgariter commendatam rebus omnibus habere velitis, ut ad vestram humanitatem erga omnes, præsertim tam illustri genere oriundos, eximiam, sentiant nostris literis quod accedere potuit cumuli accessisse: simul et hoc sibi persuadeat eminentia vestra commendationem suam, si quid à me hujusmodi postulabit, apud me non minus valituram.

Westmonasterio, 29 *Feb.* 1658.

RICHARDUS *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi* JOANNI *Portugalliæ Regi.*

Serenissime potentissimeque rex, amice ac fœderate,

TAMETSI multa sunt quæ ad regem amicum et reip. nostræ conjunctissimum necessariò scribam, nihil est tamen quod faciam libentius quàm quod nunc facio, ut majestati vestræ, regnoque Portugalliæ insignem hanc proximam de communi hoste Hispano victoriam gratulér: qua non ad vestram tantummodo, verum etiam ad Europæ totius pacem ac respirationem, permagnum, atque in multos fortasse annos, allatum esse momentum nemo est quin intelligat. Alterum est in quo victoriarum certissimum pignus justitiam majestatis vestræ agnoscam, qua ex articulo fœderis 24, per arbitros Londini datos, mercatoribus nostris est satisfactum, quorum naves onerarias Brasiliensis societas conduxit. Unus est Alexander Bencius, mercator Londinensis, cui, cùm navis ejus, quæ Tres Fratres vulgo nominatur, magistro Joanne Wilkio, duas navigationes conducta onerataque navaverit, pactum stipendium persolvere societas recusat: cùm cæteris qui semel tantùm navigarunt, jampridem persolutum sit. Quod cur sit factum non intelligo, nisi si eorum judicio mercede dignior est, qui semel quàm qui bis meruerit. Vehementer itaque peto à majestate vestra, ut huic uni Alexandro, cui duplum debetur, debita navatæ operæ sàtisfactio ne desiat; velitque pro authoritate sua quàm brevissimum solutionis diem damnique simul sarciendi sociis Brasiliensibus constituere: quorum dilationibus effectum est, ut datum inde mercatori damnum mercedem ipsam jam pene superat. Deus majestatem vestram lætis rerum successibus contra hostem augere indies et fortunare pergat.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, 23 *Feb. an.* 1658.

RICHARDUS *Protect. Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali* MAZARINO.

Eminentissime domine,

PER literas ad eminentiam vestram octo circiter abhinc mensibus Jun. 13 datas, causam Petri Petti, viri et singulari probitate præditi et egregiis artibus in re navali nobis reique publicæ utilissimi, commendavimus. Ejus nave Edwardo anno 1646 à quodam Gallo, cui nomen Basconi, Thamesis in ostio, ut scripsimus, capta, et in portu Bononiensi vendita, quanquam rex in concilio regio 4 Novemb. anno 1647 decreverat, ut quam censuisset consilium pecuniæ summam damni accepti loco dandam, satisfactioni daretur, is tamen ex eo decreto nihildum se fructus percepisse ostendit. Cùm autem dubium mihi non sit, quin eminentia vestra meo rogatu id omne mandaverit quod ad decretum illud primo quoque tempore exequendum pertineret, denuo nunc majoremque in modum peto, ut videre velit quid impedimento sit, cujusve negligentia aut contumacia factum, ut decreto regio post annos jam decem non obtemperetur; velitque pro sua authoritate instare, ut decreta illa pecunia, quam irrogatam jamdiu existimamus, et exigatur quamprimum, et petitori nostro solvatur. Ita rem justitiæ imprimis gratam eminentia vestra fecerit, et à me singularem præterea gratiam inierit.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, 22 *Feb.* 1658.

Duæ sequentes Literæ, RICHARDO abdicato, Restituti Parlamenti nomine scripti sunt.

Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ serenissimo potentissimoque Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

Serenissime potentissimeque rex, amice charissime,

CUM visum sit Deo optimo atque omnipotenti, penes quem solum conversiones omnes regnorum, rerumque publicarum sunt, nos pristinæ auctoritati summæque rerum Anglicarum administrandæ restituere, et majestatem vestram ea de re certiorem esse faciendam imprimis duximus, et vobis porro significandum, nos cùm

majestatis vestræ utpote Protestantium principis potentissimi tum pacis inter vos Danisæque regem, et ipsum quoque Protestantium principem præpotentem, non sine nostra opera atque officio benevolentissimo reconciliandæ, quantum in nobis situm est, esse studiosissimos. Volumus itaque ut internuntio nostro extraordinario, Philippo Meadowes, quo munere ab hac repub. apud majestatem vestram hactenus fungitur, idem omnino munus nostro nunc nomine prorogetur: eique adeo his nostris literis potestatem proponendi, agendi, transigendi cum majestate vestra facimus planè eandem quæ ei proximis literis commendatitiis facta est: quicquid ab eo transactum nostro nomine atque conclusum erit, id omne ratum nos esse habituros, Deo bene juvante, nostra fide spondemus. Deus ille majestatem vestram quam diutissime conservet, rebus Protestantium columen atque præsidium.

Guil. Lenthall, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Westmonasterio, Maii 15, *an.* 1659.

Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ Serenissimo Principi FREDERICO *Daniæ Regi.*

Serenissime rex, amice charissime,

CUM voluntate ac nutu summi rerum omnium moderatoris Dei opt. max. factum sit ut nos demùm restituti, pristinum locum atque munus in republica gerenda obtineamus, placuit imprimis ea de re nec majestatem vestram, utpote vicinum nobis et amicum regem, esse celandam, et quem ex adversis rebus vestris capiamus dolorem simul esse significandum: id quod ex eo studio eaque diligentia nostra facile perspicietis quam ad pacem inter majestatem vestram regemque Sueciæ reconciliandam et adhibemus nunc, et, quoad opus erit, adhibebimus. Quapropter internuntio nostro ad serenissimum Suecorum regem extraordinario Philippo Meadowes negotium dedimus, ut majestatem vestram his de rebus nostro deinceps nomine adeat, ea communicet, proponat, agat atque transigat, quæ commissa sibi à nobis et mandata esse ostendet. Quam ei fidem majestas vestra hoc in munere habuerit, eam nobismetipsis habere se credat, rogamus. Deus majestati vestræ ex istis omnibus rerum suarum difficultatibus, in quibus tamen forti et magno animo versatur, felicem lætumque exitum primo quoque tempore concedat.

Guil. Lenthall, prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Westmonasterio, Maii 15, *an.* 1659.

SCRIPTUM

DOM. PROTECTORIS REIPUBLICÆ ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, HIBERNIÆ, &c.

EX CONSENSU ATQUE SENTENTIA CONCILII SUI EDITUM

IN QUO HUJUS REIPUBLICÆ CAUSA CONTRA HISPANOS JUSTA ESSE DEMONSTRATUR

1655.

Quibus causis adducti, quasdam insulas in Occidentali India, ab Hispanis jam antea occupatos, adorti nuper simus, eas et justas esse et rationi quam maximè consentaneas nemo est quin facile intelligat, qui modò secum reputaverit, quemadmodum rex ille, ejusque subditi erga gentem Anglicanam in illo tractu Americano semper se gesserint; non alium nempe ad modum nisi perpetuò planè hostilem; qui modus sese gerendi ab ipsis et initium habuit injustissimum, et ab eo tempore contra gentium commune jus, contra fœderum peculiares inter Anglos atque Hispanos leges eadem est prorsùs ratione continuatus.

Fatendum quidem est Anglos, his annis proximis, vel iniqua æquo animo ferè pertulisse, vel se duntaxàt defendisse; unde forsitan potest fieri, ut nonnulli de illa nuper in Occidentalem Indiam nostræ classis profectione ita sentiant, quasi de bello à nobis ultrò incœpto atque illato, non quasi de eo, quod re quidem vera ab Hispanis ipsis et primò ortum atque conflatum, et (quanquam hæc respublica, quod in se erat, confirmandæ pacis, et commercii iis in locis habendi causa nihil prætermisit) ab iisdem hactenus continuatum summoque studio gestum reperietur: qui quoties oblata sibi occasio est, nullam omnino justam ob causam, nulla injuria lacessiti, occidere, trucidare, imo sedatis nonnunquam animis obtruncare nostros illic homines, quos visum est, bonis etiam atque fortunis direptis, coloniis habitationibusque deletis, navibus, si quas per illa maria offendunt, captis, hostium imò prædonum in numero habere non desinunt. Illius enim nominis opprobrio omnes cujuscunque gentis, præter se solos, afficiunt, qui illa maria navigare audeant. Neque hoc alio jure aut meliore se facere intelligunt, quam Papæ nescio qua donatione nixi, et quod partes quasdam illius occidentalis plagæ ipsi primi omnium scrutati sunt: quo nomine ac titulo novi illius orbis jus omne, ac ditionem universam ad se solos pertinere contendunt: de quo titulo sane quàm absurdo copiosiùs dicendi locus erit, cùm ad expendendas eas causas veniemus, cur Hispani exercere omne genus hostilitatis in nostros illic homines usque eo licere sibi arbitrentur, ut qui illas in oras aut tempestate appulsi, aut naufragio ejecti, aliove simili casu delati sunt, eos non ut captivos ad vincula solùm, sed in servitutem etiam redigunt, ipsi tamen ruptam sibi pacem etiam in Europa, et gravissimè violatam existiment, si Angli vicissim, paria reddendi, resque suas repetendi causa, quicquam iis in locis contra eos moliuntur.

Verum, etiamsi Hispaniæ regis apud nos legati, Hispanica factione, quæ semper in consilio regis proximi, patrisque ejus plurimum potuit, confisi, siquid Angli hoc in genere fecissent, levissimis de causis querimonias et postulationes iniquas et ridiculas afferre non dubitarint; illi tamen reges, Hispanis licet nimium addicti, suorum subditorum constringi noluerunt manus, ubi Hispani suas esse solvendas existimarunt: imò vim vi propulsare, et Hispanos, qui ad pacem iis in locis servandam perduci nullo modo potuerunt, in hostium numero habere suis permiserunt. Adeò ut anno circiter millesimo sexcentesimo et quadragesimo cum hæc res in concilio regis proximi agitata esset, postularetque Hispanorum legatus ut naves quædam in Americam profecturæ, et in ostio fluminis vela jam facere paratæ prohiberentur, propterea quòd hostilitatis in Hispanos illic exercendæ potestate essent instructæ, simulque ipse jus commercii in Occidentali India habendi postulantibus per consiliarios quosdam regis, ad eam rem constitutos, Anglis denegaret, placuit ut illæ naves institutum iter suum persequerentur, quod et factum est.

Hactenus prædicti reges subditis suis, bellum iis in locis ob rationes suas privatim suscipientibus, non defuerunt: tametsi, propter potentiam Hispanicæ factionis supradictæ, publicè, pro eo ac debuerant, et existimatione gentis pristina dignum erat, causam eorum suscipere noluerunt. Et nobis certè contumeliosum æquè et indignum fuisset, quibus largiente Deo, tot naves ad omnem maritimi belli usum ornatæ atque in-

structæ in promptu erant, si eas carie potius corrumpi otiosas domi voluissemus, quam ad ulciscendum Anglorum, quidni etiam dicam, Indorum sanguinem, ab Hispanis tam injustè tam inhumanè totiesque fusum, illis in locis usui esse: quandoquidem "Deus fecit ex uno sanguine totam gentem hominum ut habitaret super universa superficie terræ, definitis præstitutis temporibus, et positis terminis habitationis eorum." Et certè Deus, quocunque id tempore, cujuscunque id manu administrandum sit, tanti sanguinis innocentissimi, tantarum cædium, quibus tot millia Indorum ab Hispanis tam barbarè occisa sunt, tantarum denique injuriarum, quibus illæ gentes miserè sunt ab iisdem vexatæ atque oppressæ, certissimas aliquando pœnas repetiturus est.

Verum ad communem hominum inter se necessitudinem, quæ fraterna sanè est, quæque facit ut gravissimæ et atrocissimæ quorumvis mortalium injuriæ ad reliquos omnes pertinere quodammodò videantur, necesse non est ut recurramus: cum ipsorum hominum nostrorum factæ cædes ac spoliationes satis causæ quamobrem à nobis illa nuper expeditio suscepta sit, satisque justam vindicandi materiam dederint: ut nequid præterea nostrarum in præsentia rationum, ut ne in futurum etiam nostram ipsam sociorumque incolumitatem, eorum præsertim qui orthodoxam religionem colunt, consideremus; ut alias denique causas, quæ illam nobis expeditionem suaserunt, quasque nunc sigillatim enumerare consilium non est, omittamus: cum non causæ singulæ, sed ipsius rei jus atque æquitas declaranda nobis proponatur. Quod ut clarius faciamus, et generatim dicta particulatim explicemus, ad præterita referre oculos paulisper oportebit: quæque inter Anglos atque Hispanos transacta sint, quo statu res eorum utrinque, ad se mutuò quod attinet, fuerint, ex quo et perlustrata primò Occidentalis Indiæ ora, et reformata religio est, strictim percurrere. Quæ duæ res maximæ, cùm eodem ferè tempore accidissent, permagnas ubique conversiones orbis terrarum rebus attulere; ad Anglos præsertim et Hispanos quod spectat, qui diversam ab eo tempore et penè contrariam res suas agendi rationem secuti sunt. Tametsi enim rex proximus, ejusque pater, adversis fermè totius populi Anglicani studiis atque sententiis, duo fœdera cum Hispanis quoquo modo sarserunt, diversi tamen illi utrorumque sensus ac studia ex diversa religione nata, perpetuæque in Occidentali India controversiæ, et Hispanorum simul, dum suis illic thesauris metuunt, suspiciones de Anglis ab initio conceptæ, cum hujus reipublicæ conatus in assequenda æquis atque honestis conditionibus pace inutiles nuper reddidere, tum præcipuas re vera causas Philippo secundo præbuere, ut, regnante Elizabetha, antiquum illud diuque inviolatum fœdus, quod huic genti cum majoribus ejus, tam Burgundici quam Castellani generis intercesserat, rumperet, et illato illi reginæ bello, nationem hanc totam subigendam sibi proponeret, idque ipsum anno supra millesimum quingentesimo octuagesimoque octavo (dum interea de pace stabilienda agebatur) omni impetu aggrederetur: quod quidem in Anglorum animis necesse est adhuc altè residere, neque inde posse facilè evelli. Et quanquam postea pax quædam et commercium in Europa fuit (quamvis ejusmodi nunquam ut Anglorum quisquam suam profiteri religionem in Hispanica ditione, aut sacra Biblia habere domi, ne in navi quidem ausus fuerit) in Occidentali tamen India Hispanus nunquam ex eo tempore, aut pacem esse aut commercium est passus; etiamsi in illo fœdere Henrici octavi regis Angliæ, cum Carolo quinto imperatore anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo de utraque illa re disertis verbis convenisset; in quo fœdere nominatim pax atque liberum commercium inter utrosque et utrorumque populos per omnem alterutrius ditionem, portus, et territoria quæcunque sancitum est, sine ulla Occidentalis Indiæ exceptione, quamvis illam tunc temporis imperator ille obtineret.

Quod autem ad articulum pacis per universum terrarum orbem colendæ, is quidem articulus in omnibus pacis fœderibus, quæ inter utramque gentem unquam extitere, dilucidè continetur, neque ulla de commercio ullo in fœdere exceptio habetur ante illud anni millesimi sexcentesimi quarti, cum quo fœdus illud postremum anni millesimi sexcentesimi trigesimi hac de re per omnia consentit. In quibus duobus proximis fœderibus, per omnes atque singulos utriusque imperii fines commercium convenit, "Quibus in locis ante bellum" inter Philippum secundum Hispaniæ regem, et Elizabetham Angliæ reginam "fuit commercium juxta et secundum usum et observantiam antiquorum fœderum et tractatuum ante" id tempus initorum.

Hæc ipsa fœderum verba sunt; quæ rem dubiam relinquunt, atque ita rex Jacobus pacem cum Hispanis quoquo modo conficere satis habuit, cùm eandem de pace tractationem resumeret, quæ paulò antè mortem Elizabethæ inchoata fuerat, in qua etiam tractatione suis illa deputatis inter cætera mandaverat, ut de commercio libero in Occidentali India habendo instantèr agerent.

Verum rex Jacobus (qui pacis cum Hispanis faciendæ admodùm erat cupidus) ita istam clausulam relinquere contentus erat, ut utrique parti eam suo modo interpretandi facultas esset; quanquam si illa verba, "usus et observantia antiquorum fœderum et tractatuum," sic intelligenda sunt (ut par est) juxta et secundum id quod jure fieri debuit, non juxta et secundum quod ex parte Hispanorum ad manifestissimam eorum violationem factum est, quæ Anglis querimoniarum, utrisque dissidiorum materia perpetua erat, ex ipsis antiquorum fœderum disertis verbis clarissimum est, per omnem Hispanorum ditionem, quæcunque illa esset, tam commercii quam pacis jus Anglis fuisse.

Cæterùm si antiqua fœdera et pactiones servandi ratio ab eorum manifesta violatione petenda est, habent Hispani obtentum aliquem sic interpretandi illam in postremis fœderibus clausulam, quasi commercium illis in locis exciperet. Et tamen ad dimidiam usque illius temporis partem quod inter supradictum fœdus 1542, et initium belli à Philippo secundo contra Elizabetham suscepti intercessit, quantum ipsis ex rebus gestis intelligi potest, haud minus permitti illis in locis quam prohiberi commercium apparet. At

posteaquam Hispani commercium omnino recusarunt, à permutandis mercibus ad alternandos ictus ac vulnera deventum est, tam ante bellum inter Philippum et Elizabetham ortum, quam post pacem ab Jacobo rege anno 1604 factam; alteramque ab ejus filio anno 1630, ita tamen ut hinc commercium per Europam non interpellaretur; tametsi nunc primum Hispaniæ rex, post hanc nuper nostrarum rerum retentionem, eorum locorum controversias ad hæc etiam Europæ loca propagandas interpretatus est.

Verùm neque in fœderum interpretatione, neque in jure commercii ex illis fœderibus, aliave ratione habendi insistimus; quasi in iis fundamenta hujus dissidii jacienda necessariò sint, cum id clarissimis atque evidentissimis rationibus nitatur, quod statim planum faciemus. Sunt tamen ejusmodi nonnulla, quæ, etsi bellum iis fundari non ita necesse est, possunt, neque injuria, impedimenta esse sanciendæ pacis, aut instaurandi saltem fœderis, in quo ea non conceduntur, vel quæ in prioribus pactis concessa sunt, vel non immeritò expectari queunt. Quod etiam pro responso esse potest ad id quod quæritur, quare, quandoquidem antiqua fœdera cum aliis omnibus populis redintegravimus, idem cum Hispaniæ rege non fecimus; neque continuò nos in conditionibus fœderis dextrum ejus oculum, multoque minùs ambos (quod objicitur) ejus oculos postulasse, si crudelissimæ inquisitioni obnoxii esse, ubi commercium permissum est, noluimus, dandum que nobis commercium institimus, unde, neque per antiqua fœdera, neque communi jure, excludendi sumus. Tametsi enim rex Hispaniæ id sumpsit sibi ut nobis commercii leges finesque præscriberet, Romani pontificis lege quadam fretus, qua is omne commercium cum Turcis, Judæis, aliisque infidelibus vetat,* eoque nomine etiam pacis tempore naves ejus bellicæ aliis etiam in locis præterquam in India Occidentali nostras naves ceperunt et expilarunt, et quanquam simili papæ authoritate ejusque donationis titulo jus in Indos sibi vendicat, perinde quasi sibi jure essent subjecti, etiam illi, qui neque in potestate neque in fide ejus sunt, nos tamen authoritatem ejusmodi nullam neque in papa, neque in Hispaniæ rege agnoscimus, ut possit vel Indis jus libertatis suæ, vel nobis concessum naturæ gentiumque legibus jus versandi cum illis, et commercium habendi adimere, cum iis præsertim, ut supra diximus, qui in potestate ac ditione regis Hispaniæ non sunt.

Alterum impedimentum renovandi fœderis cum Hispanis manifestum est atque insigne, nec non ejusmodi, ut legatis ac ministris publicis in Hispanicam ditionem vel de amicitia vel de alio quovis inter utramque rempublicam negotio missis, fiduciam omnem incolumitatis præcidat, ubi rex opinionibus ejusmodi obstrictus est, ut per eas, legatis et ministris publicis, ne in summo vitæ periculo versentur, incolumitatem à sicariis præstare non possit: quorum jus, ut principum rerumque publicarum usus inter se, et amicitia conservetur, gentium jure semper inviolabile est existimatum, iisque asylis multo sanctius, quorum privilegia (authoritate pontificis et Romanæ ecclesiæ fundata) adhibita hactenus fuere ad eludendam vim legum atque justitiæ, quam exequendam subinde poposcimus in interfectores Dom. Antonii Aschami, qui idcircò missus ab hac republica in Hispaniam fuit, ut usum et amicitiam inter utramque gentem procuraret ac stabiliret. Cujus barbaræ cædis nulla satisfactio, nullum supplicium neque sumptum est, neque impetrari unquam potuit, quamvis à † parlamento postularetur, ejusque nomine a concilio status vehementer ac sæpius esset flagitatum. Quod quidem fœderis inter utramque gentem renovandi continuatum hactenus impedimentum atque justissimum fuit, immò verò (pro eo quod ab aliis nationibus factitatum est) justa belli causa censeri potuit.

Quod autem ad controversias in Occidentali India exortas, cum tam in ipsa continente quam in insulis coloniæ nobis quoque sint Americanæ, easque jure non deteriore, immo meliore possideamus quam Hispani suarum ullas obtineant, parique jure ea maria navigare nobis liberum sit, sine ulla tamen causa, nulla prorsus injuria læsi (idque ubi de commercio controversia nulla versata est) tamen perpetuò colonias nostras hostiliter invaserant, nostros homines interfecerunt, naves ceperunt, bona diripuerunt, ædificia stationesque vastarunt, nostros populares captivos in servitutem abduxerunt; atque hæc facere non destiterunt ad illud usque tempus in quo hanc nuper expeditionem contra eos suscepimus.

Ob quam causam, contra quàm antehac in hujusmodi occasione fieri consuevit, ubique ferè ditionis Hispanicæ naves nostras negotiatoresque omnes retinuerunt, eorumque bona proscripserunt; adeo ut, sive ad Americam, sive ad Europam oculos convertamus, belli authores ipsi soli existimandi sunt, quæque ex eo cædes atque incommoda sequi poterunt iis omnibus causam ipsi præbuisse.

Exempla perpetuæ crudelissimæque hostilitatis in Occidentali India, etiam pacis tempore ab Hispanis in Anglos edita, et ab anno 1604, cum ab Jacobo rege coagmentata pax est, usque dum rursus bellum erupit, et ab ea pace quæ anno 1630, proximè facta est, ad hanc usque diem permulta sunt perque inhumana et cruenta:‡ pauca attulisse satis habebimus.

* Gulielmus Stephanus Bristolensis, aliique mercatores aliquot Londinenses anno 1606 et 1607, cùm per oram Mauritaniæ tribus cum navibus commercium cum illis populis haberent, Hispaniæ regis naves, quæ per illa litora prædabantur, eas nactæ in Saphio et Sanctæ Crucis statione, dum in anchoris ibi stabant, diripuerunt; hac sola ratione reddita, "Nolle regem dominum suum cum infidelibus commercium permittere:" quorum damna amplius duobus millibus librarum æstimata sunt.

† Hoc constat ex literis parlamenti, prolocutoris manu obsignatis, ad Hispaniæ regem mense Januario 1650, his verbis; "Majestatem tamen vestram rogatam volumus insistimusque, uti justitiæ publicæ tandem satisfiat super cæde Antonii Ascham residentis nostri flagitiosa, eo magis quod post istius modi facinoris auctores merito supplicio affectos, in aulam vestram regiam oratorem nostrum non dubitabimus delegare, ea exposituram quæ non minus majestati vestræ poterunt inservire, quam rei nostræ publicæ. Ex adverso, si nos sanguinem illum tot circumstantiis insignitum inultum pateremur, coram Deo unico liberatore perennique misericordiarum nostrarum fonte, et coram natione Anglicanæ participes nos fore criminis necesse est; Præcipue si alium adhuc Anglum in illud velimus regnum mittere, ubi fas est impune trucidari. Nos vero tanti æstimamus majestatem vestram, ut non facile simus credituri potentiam vestram regiam in ditionibus ipsi subjectis alienæ cuipiam potentiæ subjectam esse.

‡ Navis quædam Ulyssis nomine insignita, cum per oram Guianæ mercaturam faceret, et mercatores ac nautæ adducti fide ac jurejurando Berrei illius loci præfecti, in terram exissent, eorum tamen triginta capti et in custodiam traditi sunt: scribit deinde ad mercatorem præfectus se quidem triginta ex suis nautis cepisse, ideo quod nonnulli exteri, qui mercandi causa illuc appulerant, viginti millibus ducatis ipsum fraudaverant; quos nummos si sibi misisset, remissurum se ei omnes suos juravit, et commercii potestatem facturum. Mercator partim numeratò, partim mercium æstimatione optatam ei summam mittit: quam cum præfectus Berreus accepisset, alligatos ad arbores illos homines triginta strangulari jussit, excepto solo chirurgo qui ad sanandum præfecti morbum asservatus est. Hæc redemptio aliis cum damnis ibi datis septem millibus librarum æstimata est.

Post factam pacem anno 1604, navis Maria dicta, Ambrosio Birch magistro, ad septentrionalem Hispaniolæ oram in Occidentali India mercaturam faciebat; magister, cum à sacerdote quodam patre Joanne, sic enim nominabatur, cum sex sociis, tutis et liberi commercii promissis allectus esset ut in terram videndarum mercium quarundam causa egrederetur, et Hispani duodecim ad Anglicanas merces inspiciendas in navem ascenderent, dum Angli suas merces ostendunt nihil doli metuentes, dante signum ab littore sacerdote, Hispani, educta quisque sica, omnes in navi Anglos jugularunt, præter duos duntaxat qui in mare desiluerunt; cæteri in terra exquisitis cruciatibus necati sunt; magister ipse exutus vestibus et ad arborem alligatus, nudus muscarum morsibus expositus est; ubi post horas viginti Nigrita quidam, audito hominis ejulatu, accedens, jam antè moribundum lancea transfixit: navis hæc cum mercibus quinque milibus et quadringentis libris æstimata est.

Alia navis, cui nomen Arcuariæ, eodem anno ad Sanctum Dominicum capta est, nautæque omnes interfecti: hæc navis mille trecentis libris æstimata est.

Alia navis dicta Amicitia Londinensis, cum navigio suo, à Lodovico Fajardo, classis regiæ Hispaniensis navarcho, capta est, navis cum bonis omnibus publicata, mercatores ac nautici in mare demersi, præter unum puerum, qui ad serviendum est servatus: hæc navis cum navigio quinquies mille et quingentis libris æstimata est.

Ex alia navi, cui nomen The Scorn, cum omnes nautæ, Hispanorum dejerationibus confisi, in terram egressi essent, omnes tamen alligati ad arbores et strangulati sunt. Ubi mercatores et navem et bona omnia amiserunt, mille quingentis libris æstimata.

* Anno 1606 navis, cui nomen Neptunus, ad Tortugam ab Hispanorum navibus prædatoriis capta est, quatuor millibus et trecentis libris æstimata.

Eodem anno navis alia, quæ Alauda nominata est, a Lodovico Fajardo capta, et cum toto onere publicata est; quæ quatuor millibus quingentis et septuaginta libris est æstimata.

† Navis alia, cui nomen Castor et Pollux, ab Hispanis ad Floridam capta est, qui et eam publicarunt, nautasque omnes vel necaverunt, vel in servitute retinuerunt, nihil enim de iis postea est auditum: hæc navis cum suo onere quindecim mille libris æstimata est.

Anno 1608, navis Plimouthensis Richarda nominata, cujus præfectus erat Henricus Challins, domini Popbami, summi Angliæ justiciarii, Ferdinandi Gorges, ordinis equestris, aliorumque sumptibus instructa, ut Virginiam peteret, ad australem Canariarum insularum partem vi tempestatum delata, cum indè cursum ad destinatam oram tenuisset, sub latitudine 27 graduum in undecim naves Hispanicas ab Sancto Dominico redeuntes fortè incidit; quæ ipsam ceperunt, et quanquam præfectus navis diploma regium protulit, quo se expediret, tamen navis cum bonis publica facta est, ipse crudeliter habitus, et ad triremes missus. Unde amplius duo mille et quingentæ libræ sunt amissæ.

* Simile quiddam navi alteri, cui nomen The Ayde, factum est a Lodovico Fajardo captæ, obtentu amicitiæ; hæc item cum bonis publicata est, omnesque nautæ ad triremes abducti; ubi nonnulli fustibus ad necem pulsati sunt, quòd remigium recusassent. Quæ navis et bona, Hispanis ipsis æstimantibus, septem millibus librarum æstimata sunt.

Eodem anno navis alia, Anna Gallant appellata, magistro Gulielmo Curry, cum ad Hispaniolam mercaturas faceret, similiter et navis et bona publica facta sunt, omnesque nautæ suspendio necati, assutis unicuique ad ludibrium chartulis, in quibus erat scriptum, "Cur huc venistis?" Hæc navis cum onere octo millibus librarum æstimata est.

Hæc exempla satis ostendunt, cujusmodi nobis pacem Hispani in Occidentali India temporibus Jacobi servarunt; qui rex diligentissimè curavit vel potius pertimuit ne pax cum iis dirimeretur. Ejusmodi hostilia plenè et cruenta vestigia, ab illa etiam proxima pace, quæ anno 1630 confecta est, ad hanc usque diem, persequi licet.

De iis coloniis, quæ, ab hujus nationis nobilibus quibusdam viris, in insulam Catelinam (ab his Providentiæ dictam) et in insulam Tortugam (ab iisdem Associationis dictam) deductæ sunt, primum dicemus. Hæ autem anno circiter 1629, cum essent incolarum et pecorum omnino vacuæ, indicto inter Anglos et Hispanos tunc temporis bello, ab Anglis occupatæ sunt atque possessæ. Sequente anno pace inter utramque gentem facta, cum de iis insulis haudquaquam ab Hispanis in fœdere exciperetur, Carolus rex, non impediri se hac pace arbitratus, suo diplomate, quod et magno sigillo Angliæ signatum erat, supradictam insulam Providentiæ, simul et alias vicinas ditionis esse suæ declaravit; easque nobilibus quibusdam viris eorumque hæredibus possidendas concessit; et sequente anno ad Tortugam usque insulam concessionem illam extendit.

Et quanquam supradicti coloni, ejusdem regis concessione in earum insularum possessionem venerant, eaque concessio jure optimo fundata erat, primum naturæ, eò quòd neque Hispani, neque alii quicunque in eorum locorum possessione essent, deinde belli, quandoquidem belli tempore occupatæ sunt, et in pacis articulis nequaquam exceptæ, unde extingui jus Hispanorum (si quod illic juris habuissent) ipsorum assensu, ex secundo proximi fœderis articulo, sequitur; quanquam etiam neque supradicta colonorum societas, nec suorum quisquam ullo suo facto justam offensionis causam vel Hispaniæ regi, vel Hispanorum cuiquam præbuerat, donec priores ipsi naves nostras atque colonias vi invasissent, et Anglorum haud paucos, incensis etiam eorum ædificiis ac sedibus, interfecissent; Hispani tamen, cum nullam iis in locis pacem servare statuissent, circa 22 Januarii 1632, nulla injuria lacessiti, navem quandam societatis, cui nomen Flos Marinus, ab insula Providentiæ redeuntem, inter Tortugam et

* Joannes Davis duo navigia cum omnibus bonis amisit, interfectis eorum omnibus nautis, ad illius navigationis interitum, unde trium millium et quingentarum librarum jacturam fecit.

† Alia navis mercatorum quorundam, Londinensium, (cujus magister erat Joannes Lock,) a classe Hispanorum ad insulam Tortugam capta est, propterea quod mercaturam fecisset, et arbores cecidisset; ob id navis est publicata, et nauticorum plerique morte multati, reliqui ad triremes damnati: hic quinque millium et trecentarum librarum jactura facta est.

Floridæ caput hostilitèr aggressi sunt, in qua pugna nonnullos in ea navi occiderunt, alios vulnerarunt.

Post hæc anno circiter 1634, Tortuga insulà ab Hispanis cum quatuor navibus oppugnata est, cum ab Anglis nulla injuria exorta esset: in qua oppugnatione sexaginta vel amplius occisi sunt, multi sauciati ac capti, sedes deletæ, domus incensæ, bona haud parvi pretii ab Hispanis asportata, Angli penitus ex ea insula dejecti, quorum alii suspendio sublati, alii Havanam abducti in servitute miserrima retenti sunt; unus præ cæteris, cui nomen Grymes, qui in Tortuga bombardarius fuerat, crudeliter est trucidatus; pars ad desertam quandam insulam confugiens, cui Sanctæ Crucis nomen est, ab Hispanis, qui eo etiam cum tribus navibus longis fugientes persequebantur, oppugnata mense Martio 1636, quadraginta occisi, reliqui capti et crudelissimè accepti.

Anno 1635 Julii 24, Hispani duabus navibus magnis unaque longa advecti in Providentiæ quoque insulam impetum fecerunt, compluriumque horarum spatio prælium ibi commiserunt; et tum quidem rejecti sunt, et ab incœpto desistere coacti; donec idem rursus tentantes circa annum 1640, cum duodecim navibus magnis et minoribus, quarum prætoriæ Armadillo Carthaginensi nomen erat, ex majoribus regiæ classis argentariæ triremibus, cum magnum militum numerum in terram exposuissent, totius insulæ expugnationem polliciti sibi sunt, verum, haud parvo accepto incommodo, repulsi denuò recesserunt. Altera tamen classe instructa paulò post cum revertissent, coloni dissidiis laborantes, non tam qua se ratione defenderent, quam quibus conditionibus commodissime se dederent, cogitarunt, quas, tradita demum insula, facile impetraverunt. Sed insula hoc modo et colonis erepta est, et reipublicæ, illis octoginta amplius millium librarum damno dato, huic detrimento et ignominia publica simul accepta. Ita in Hispanorum potestatem cum esset redacta, navis quædam, quæ vectores aliquot ab Nova Anglia in eam insulam transmigrantes advexerat, intra ictum bombardarum callidè perducta est (ignorabat enim eam insulam in Hispanorum potestate jam esse) nec sine permagno discrimine ac difficultate se extricavit, amisso etiam navis magistro, viro probissimo, quem ictus tormenti ab insula displosi transverberavit.

Nec contenti intra fines Americanos hostilitati suæ in illius coloniæ socios modum statuere Hispani, in his etiam partibus Europæ eandem in eos exercuerunt: anno enim 1638 Decembris 25, navis quædam ejusdem societatis, Providentiæ nomine insignita, cui Thomas Newman præfectus erat à promontorio Dengioleucis duabus in ipsa Angliæ ora à Sprengfeldio Dunkirkanæ navis prædatoriæ præfecto oppugnata atque capta est; Dunkirkam deinde adducta; ubi navis onera retenta sunt; (quæ multorum etiam illic æstimatione triginta millium librarum summam conficere existimabantur;) Anglorum autem partìm occisi, partim vulnerati, cæteri postquam in ipsa navi sua barbare atque inhumanè essent habiti, Dunkirkam abrepti haud melius accepti sunt, donec rationem aliquam profugiendi invenissent. Et quamvis supplices socii satisfactionem omnibus modis postulassent, eoque proximus per residentem suum Dom. Balthasarum Gerberium, perque literas tam sua manu, quam à Secretario Coco scriptas, eorum nominè reparationem poposcisset, nullam tamen neque bonorum restitutionem, neque ob ea ut compensatio ulla fieret, impetrare potuerunt.

Sunt et alia recentioris et acerbioris etiam memoriæ exempla, illud nempe Sanctæ Crucis ab Hispanis à Portorico provectis oppugnatæ anno circiter 1651, insulæ quidem antea non habitatæ; illo autem tempore colonia Anglorum, duce Nicolao Philips, eam tenuit; qui cum centum circiter colonis ab Hispanis crudelitèr occisus est; qui etiam naves in portu occuparunt, sedes diripuerunt, vastarunt, et funditùs exciderunt. Cumque plures quos occiderent invenire non possent (cum incolarum pars alia in silvas profugisset) Hispani Portoricum reversi iis miseris, et fame propemodum confectis reliquiis ad alias vicinas insulas recipiendi sese, illamque Sanctæ Crucis penitus deserendi, spatium dedere. Sed brevi post tempore Hispani ad pervestigandum et quasi venandum eos qui in silvas sese abdiderant, reverterunt: verum illi ex manibus eorum effugiendi, et in alias insulas dilabendi, rationem aliquam invenerunt.

Eodem anno 1651, navis quædam Joannis Turneri, cum esset in portum Cumanagotæ vehementioribus ventis appulsa, ab illius loci præfecto occupata, et cum omni onere in fiscum redacta est.

* Similiter factum est navi et bonis capitanei Craulei.

Et anno 1650 navis quædam Samuelis Wilson, quæ Barbados insulas petebat, equis onusta, in alto capta et Havanam abducta est; navis et bona publicata, nautarum plerique in custodiam traditi, et mancipiorum more in munimentis operas dare coacti.

Similia experti sunt nautæ cujusdam navis Barnstapulensis, annis abhinc circiter duobus, quæ navis cum prope Hispaniolam, dum a coloniis quibusdam nostris in insulis Caribiis reverteret, rimas agere cœpisset undamque accipere, nautæ ejus in scapha sibi consulere coacti ad littus evaserunt, ubi omnes captivi facti, mancipiorum ritu, in munimentis operas dare cogebantur.

His, aliisque permultis hujusmodi exemplis, quæ omnia recitare nimis longum esset, manifestissimum est Hispaniæ regem eique subjectos arbitrari, se nulla pacis conditione nobis præstanda illis in regionibus obligari: cum et omne genus hostilitatis in nos exercere, immò graviora hostilitate, consueverint, eaque inhumanitas, qua illic Anglos tractare solent, usque eò à pacis legibus aliena sit, ut ne belli quidem legibus non internecini convenire videatur. In illo tamen Hispaniæ regis embargo, quo mercatorum nostrorum naves ac bona proscribi ac retineri imperat, in Anglos culpa omnis confertur; quasi "fœdifragos" nimirum "et sacrosanctæ pacis atque commercii liberi violatores, tam religiose," ut ipse ait, "ab se servati; idque tam inopinata atque professa hostilitate fecisse nos, ut urbem Sancti Dominici in Hispaniola insula oppugnare ado-

* Similitèr etiam factum fuerat eodem in portu navi cuidam Joannis Blandi, cui præfectus erat Nicolaus Philippus.

riremur." Quod solùm causæ affertur, quamobrem Anglorum bona in Hispania proscribantur, negotiatoresque retineantur: quanquam et hoc prædicata ejus humanitate exaggeratum est, "Se nostras classes in * portus suos, quoscunque ingredi aut attingere commodum nobis fuisset, amicè recepisse; neque ministros suos exegisse rigidè a nobis illos pacis articulos inter utramque coronam sancitos, qui cum amplius sex vel octo navibus bellicis intrare portus utrinque vetant."

Verùm quemadmodùm ipse, dum hæc dicit, classes nostras omni commisso ac fœderis violatione illis in portubus absolvit, cùm, siquid ejusmodi, quod objicitur, factum et condonatum sit, id ipsius et ministrorum suorum permissu ac bona venia sit factum, et quemadmodùm luce clarius est non eum gratuitò tam facilem fuisse, si, quanta à classibus nostris momenta suis rationibus accesserint, secum cogitet, ita è contrario rex ille ejusque ministri, quas ipse commemorat, pactiones minimè sanè observarunt; quarum articulo vigesimo tertio tam disertè cautum est, "Si contingat ut displicentiæ" inter utramque rempublicam "oriantur, ut subditi hinc inde ita ea de re admoneantur; ut sex menses à tempore monitionis habeant ad transportandas merces suas, nulla interea arrestatione, interruptione, aut damno personarum aut mercium suarum faciendis vel dandis." Qua in re rex ille exiguam sanè pactionum illarum, quas contra nos profert, in illa nuper nostrarum rerum proscriptione rationem habuit. Quod autem in eo edicto declarat, hostilitatem in Occidentali India exortam, his in partibus violationem pacis liberique commercii habendam esse, nova, adeòque alia plane interpretatio est, atque hactenùs ab utravis republica in medium unquam allata est: tametsi hoc declarandi occasiones utrinque non defuere.

Verùm cùm Hispaniæ rex ipse et verbis et re ipsa declaraverit pacis articulos intelligi sic debere, efficitur hinc ut tot contra Anglos iis in regionibus hostilitèr factis et ab ipso primum exortis, et ab ipso tempore proximè percussi fœderis, ut supradictum est, huc usque continuatis, ab se primo soluta sacra amicitiæ vincula ipse se coarguisse videatur. Quæ res tam clara per se et manifesta est, ut adversarios nostros certè ipsos puduerit in hac controversia factum negare, de jure potius nobiscum disceptaturos; quemadmodùm scilicet Hispaniæ rex, inter titulos suos, regis Indiarum titulum sibi sumpsit, ita universam Indiam, mareque Indicum tam Boreale quam Australe suam esse propriam ditionem, hostesque omnes et piratas esse, qui ejus injussu illuc accesserint. Quod si ita esset, et nos et omnes cæteræ nationes, quicquid iis in locis possidemus, ei relinquere ac reddere, et, reductis coloniis nostris, injuriæ sibi factæ veniam petere deberemus. Verum si rationem ac veritatem illius tituli altiùs inspiciamus, tenui admodum atque infirmo eum niti fundamento comperiemus, quo tanta contentionum ac belli moles superstruenda sit, quantam hanc verisimile est futuram.

Duplex titulus præfertur, papam videlicet ea loca donasse, eoque primos omnium perlustrasse: ad primum quod attinet, scimus papam in donandis regnis ac regionibus liberalissimum semper fuisse, illi intereà dissimillimum cujus vicarium se esse profitetur, qui ne hoc quidem tantulum sibi sumere volebat, ut in dividendis hæreditatibus constitui se judicem pateretur, nedum ut suo arbitrio cuiquam donaret, quemadmodum Angliam, Hiberniam, aliaque regna papa largitus est. Verùm nos authoritatem in eo istiusmodi nullam agnoscimus, neque gentem ullam usque adeo mentis inopem existimamus, ut in eo tantam authoritatem inesse credat; vel Hispani ipsi ut credant, aut essent assensuri, si ab iis papa tantum abjudicasset quantum largitus est. Quod si Galli atque alii, qui authoritatem papalem in ecclesiasticis rebus agnoscunt, hunc Hispanorum titulum pro nihilo habent, nos ut de eo alitèr sentiamus non est expectandum, adeoque hoc relinquimus, responso ampliore prorsus indignum.

Sed neque alter titulus majoris est ponderis; quasi verò, si Hispani paucas quasdam Americæ partes primi perscrutati sunt, insulisque aliquot, fluminibus, ac promontoriis nomina imposuere, idcircò novi illius orbis dominium jure sibi acquisivissent. Verùm imaginarius ejusmodi titulus tali præscriptione nixus sine possessione jus aliquod verum aut legitimum creare non potest. Jus optimum tenendi Americanis in locis quod quisque habet, est coloniarum deductio, et possessio vel ubi nulli omnino incolæ fuere, vel, sicubi fuere, eorum assensu, vel saltem in desertis quibusdam suarum regionum et incultis locis, quibus vel colendis vel habitandis ipsi non sufficiant; quandoquidem Deus terram hominum usibus creavit, præcepitque iis ut universam implerent.

Hoc si verum est, quemadmodum Hispani iniquissimo jure parta illic obtinere invenientur; cum omnia invitis incolis, et quasi ex ipsis eorum visceribus sibi acquisiverint, quorum sanguine suum imperium illic fundarunt, magnasque insulas et regiones totas non reperere quidem desertas sed reddidere, indigenis omnibus eradicatis, ita Angli, quæ illic habent, jure optimo possederint; easque nominatim insulas in quibus Hispani colonias eorum oppugnarunt atque delerunt; quæ aut incolas omnino non habuere, aut si ab Hispanis interfectos, desertæ etiam ab iisdem et sine cultoribus relictæ sunt: adeo ut naturæ gentiumque jure occupantibus quibusvis eas et possidentibus cedant; juxta illud in legibus notissimum, "Quæ nullius sunt et pro derelictis habentur, cedunt occupanti." Quanquam si Hispanos expulissemus iis locis in quæ nostras colonias deduximus, unde ipsi priùs incolas radicitùs exturbaverunt, nos tanquam occisionum et injuriarum illius populi ultores meliore jure regiones illas obtinuissemus, quam oppressores ejusdem et interfectores. Cum autem nostræ coloniæ iis in locis fuerint, ubi neque indigenæ neque Hispani possessionem ullam tenuerunt, neque habitationes ullas aut pecora post se reliquerant, aliamve rem, quæ possit ullo modo jus possessionis retinere, tanto evidentius jus nostrum iis in locis fuit, et Hispanorum injuriæ nobis illatæ tantè

* At vero navarchus noster Swanleius in Sicilia non ita est amicè in portu Drepani acceptus, ubi anno 1653, circa mensem Junium navis ejus, cui nomen Henricus Bonaventura, unà cum Hollandica navi magna et opulentissima, cui nomen Petro, quam ceperat, proditione Hispanici præfecti, qui ei loco præerat, a septem navibus Hollandicis junioris Trumpii ductu, in ipso portu, non longiùs a munimentis quam sclopi minoris ictus ferri potuit, oppressa est; unde mercatores, quorum illa navis fuit, plus sexaginta tribus millibus librarum amiserunt.

apertiores; iis præsertim in locis quæ indicti utrinque belli tempore occupata sunt (quo in genere Providentiæ insula atque Tortugæ fuit) quas si Hispani suas esse ullo priore titulo necdum prolato ostendere potuissent, tamen cum in pacis proximæ tractatione id non fecerint, per secundum ejus articulum talem omnem prætextum ipsi sibi in posterum amputarunt, jusque ipsi suum, si quod erat, extinxerunt.

Hoc argumentum copiosiùs tractare nihil attinet; neque est quisquam rerum peritus quin facilè perspiciat, quàm inanes atque infirmæ sint istæ rationes, quibus innixus Hispanus tam immensi tractus imperium arrogare sibi soli non dubitat. Verùm id egimus, ut obtentuum istorum debilitatem paucis aperiremus, quibus Hispani, quicquid in nos indignè atque atrociter in Occidentali India commiserunt, defendere conantur; mancipationes, suspendia, demersiones, cruciatusque nostrorum hominum ac neces, navium ac bonorum spoliationes, coloniarum summa in pace depopulationes, idque nulla prorsus injuria affecti, ut Anglicana gens, quoties hæc tam acerba atque atrocia in suum sanguinem, et ejusdem orthodoxæ fidei cultores, perpetrata meminerit, non naves bellicas sed decus suum omne obsolescere et interire cogitet, si his indignissimis modis tractari sese diutiùs æquo animo patiatur; neque solum tanta ac tam opulenta orbis terrarum parte contra jus legesque gentium communes ab omni libero commercio excludi, verùm etiam pro piratis atque prædonibus haberi, eodemque supplicio plecti, si illa maria navigare, si vel aspicere vel aspirare, si denique vel cum nostris ibi coloniis usum aliquem aut commercium habere ausa fuerit.

De inquisitione Hispanica sanguinaria nihil dicimus, inimicitiarum causa universis protestantibus communi; neque de tot seminariis sacerdotum ac jesuitarum Anglicorum sub Hispanico patrocinio nidulantium, offensionis causa et periculi gravissimi huic reipublicæ propria; cum propositum nobis potissimum sit controversiarum in Occidentali India nostrarum causas et rationes exponere. Hoc verò æquioribus cunctis et incorruptis rerum æstimatoribus planum fecisse confidimus, necessitatem, existimationem, justitiam ad hanc nuper susceptam expeditionem nos evocasse; necessitatem, bellandum enim necessariò est, si per Hispanos pacem colere non licet; existimationem atque justitiam, neutra enim harum nobis constare poterit, si injurias tam inhumanas atque intolerandas impunè civibus nostris ac popularibus inferri desides patiemur, quales in Occidentali India illatas iis esse demonstravimus.

Et certè parum vident, qui de consiliis ac rationibus Hispanicis conjecturam capiunt ex ea persona ac specie quam in præsentia suarum rerum inclinatio induere versùs nos in his orbis terræ partibus coegit; quasi non nunc mens eadem, iidem sensus animorum ac rationum suarum sint, qui tum fuere, cùm anno 1588 subjugare hanc totam insulam suumque sub imperium ac ditionem subjungere affectabant, immò quasi ex hoc immutato apud nos rerum statu formaque reipublicæ non accensa potius eorum in nos odia auctæque suspiciones sint. Quòd si hæc opportunitas, quæ, propter nunnulla quædam quæ nuper acciderunt, ineundi rationem aliquam, qua ab hoc tam vetere et implacato religionis nostræ ac patriæ hoste nobismetipsis (Deo bene juvante) consulere possimus, occasionem fortè suppeditaverit, prætermissa fuerit, fieri poterit ut eas vires facilè sit recuperaturus (animus enim certè illi neque unquam deerit neque deesse poterit) ex quibus intolerandus æquè et formidabilis reddi possit atque antea fuerit. Nos interea si injurias tam immanes in Occidentali India sine satisfactione ulla aut vindicta nostris fieri, si excludi nos omnes ab illa tam insigni orbis terrarum parte, si infestum atque inveteratum hostem nostrum (pace præsertim cum Batavis jam facta) ingentes illos ab Occidentali India thesauros, quibus præsentia incommoda sarcire possit, nostra pace domum deportare, resque suas in eum rursus locum restituere patiemur, quò eandem iterum possit deliberationem suscipere, quam anno 1588 habuit, "Utrum fuisset consultius ad recuperandas Belgii fœderatas provincias initium facere ab Anglia, an ab illis ad subigendam Angliam," proculdubiò non minus multas immò plures causas excogitabit, cur potius ab Anglia initium sit faciendum: Quem finem ut assequantur ullo tempore ea consilia, si Deus permitteret, expectare meritò possemus, ut in nos primos, in omnes deñique ubicunque protestantes, exerceatur quod restat occidionis illius immanissimæ, quam fratres nostri in Alpinis vallibus passi nuper sunt: quæ, si illorum miserorum editis querimoniis orthodoxorum credendum sit, per illos fraterculos, missionarios quos vocant, Hispanicæ aulæ consiliis informata primitùs ac designata erat.

His omnibus animadversis, speramus quidem fore, ut omnes Angli, præsertim sinceri, privatas adversùs se mutuò inimicitias deposituri sint, suisque propriis commodis potius renunciaturi quàm propter cupiditatem lucri, haud ita multi, ex mercaturis illis faciendi (quod non nisi inhonestis conditionibus et quodammodo improbis parari, et aliundè etiam suppeditari poterit) multorum adolescentiam negotiatorum animas, ex iis conditionibus quibus nunc in Hispania negotiantur et degunt, summo periculo, sicuti faciunt, objecturi, vitamque et fortunas multorum in America fratrum Christianorum, hujus denique nationis totius agi existimationem passuri; quodque gravissimum est, oblatis sibi à Deo ad gloriam ipsius, regnumque Christi amplificandum opportunitates præclarissimas ex manibus dimissuri. Quæ quidem non dubitamus quin, remotis quæ veritati penitus inspiciendæ officiunt, expeditionis nuper nostræ in Occidentalem Indiam contra Hispanos susceptæ potissimum fuisse finem appareat.

AUTORIS EPISTOLARUM FAMILIARIUM

LIBER UNUS:

QUIBUS ACCESSERUNT

EJUSDEM, JAM OLIM IN COLLEGIO ADOLESCENTIS, PROLUSIONES QUÆDAM ORATORIÆ.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1674.]

THOMÆ JUNIO *Præceptori suo.*

1. QUANQUAM statueram apud me (præceptor optime) epistolium quoddam numeris metricis elucubratum ad te dare, non satis tamen habuisse me existimavi, nisi aliud insuper soluto stylo exarassem; incredibilis enim illa et singularis animi mei gratitudo, quam tua ex debito vendicant in me merita, non constricto illo, et certis pedibus ac syllabis augustato dicendi genere exprimenda fuit, sed oratione libera, immò potius, si fieri posset, Asiatica verborum exuberantia. Quamvis quidem satis exprimere quantum tibi debeam, opus sit meis viribus longè majus, etiamsi omnes quoscunque Aristoteles, quoscunque Parisiensis ille dialecticus congessit argumentorum τόπους exinanirem, etiamsi omnes elocutionis fonticulos exhaurirem. Quereris tu vero (quòd merito potes) literas meas raras admodum et perbreves ad te delatas esse; ego vero non tam doleo me adeo jucundo, adeoque expetendo defuisse officio, quam gaudeo et pene exulto eum me in amicitia tua tenere locum, qui possit crebras à me epistolas efflagitare. Quod autem hoc plusquam triennio nunquam ad te scripserim, quæso ut ne in pejus trahas, sed pro mirifica ista tua facilitate et candore, in mitiorem partem interpretari digneris. Deum enim testor quam te instar patris colam, quam singulari etiam observantia te semper prosecutus sim, quamque veritus chartis meis tibi obstrepere. Curo nempe cum primis, cùm tabellas meas nihil aliud commendit, ut commendet raritas. Deinde, cùm ex vehementissimo, quo tui afficior desiderio, adesse te semper cogitem, teque tanquam præsentem alloquar et intuear, dolorique meo (quod in amore fere fit) vana quadam præsentiæ tuæ imaginatione adblandiar; vereor profecto, simulac literas ad te mittendas meditarer, ne in mentem mihi subito veniret, quam longinquo à me distes terrarum intervallo; atque ita recrudesceret dolor absentiæ tuæ jam prope consopitus, somniumque dulce discuteret. Biblia Hebræa, pergratum sane munus tuum, jampridem accepi. Hæc scripsi Londini inter urbana diverticula, non libris, ut soleo, circumseptus: si quid igitur in hac epistola minus arriserit, tuamque frustrabitur expectationem, pensabitur alia magis elaborata, ubi primum ad musarum spatia rediero.

Londino, Martii 26, 1625.

ALEXANDRO GILLIO.

2. ACCEPI literas tuas, et quæ me mirifice oblectavere, carmina sane grandia, et majestatem vere poeticam, Virgilianumque ubique ingenium redolentia. Sciebam equidem quam tibi tuoque genio impossibile futurum esset, à rebus poeticis avocare animum, et furores illos cœlitus instinctos, sacrumque et æthereum ignem intimo pectore eluere, cum tua (quod de seipso Claudianus) "———— totum spirent præcordia Phœbum." Itaque si tua tibi ipse promissa fefelleris, laudo hic tuam (quod ais) inconstantiam, laudo, siqua est, improbitatem; me autem tam præclari poematis arbitrum à te factum esse, non minus glorior, et honori mihi duco, quam si certantes ipsi dii musici ad meum venissent judicium; quod Tmolo Lydii montis Deo populari olim contigisse fabulantur. Nescio sane an Henrico Nassovio plus gratuler de urbe capta, an de tuis carminibus: nihil enim existimo victoriam hanc peperisse poematio hoc tuo illustrius, aut celebrius. Te vero, cum prosperos sociorum successus tam sonora triumphalique tuba canere audiamus, quantum vatem sperabimus, si forte res nostræ demum feliciores tuas musas poscant gratulatrices. Vale, vir erudite, summasque à me tibi gratias carminum tuorum nomine haberi scias.

Londino, Maii 20, 1628.

Eidem.

3. PRIORI illa epistola mea non tam rescripsi tibi, quam rescribendi vices deprecatus sum, alteram itaque

brevi secuturam tacite promisi, in qua tibi me amicissime provocanti latius aliquanto responderem; verum ut id non essem pollicitus, hanc utcunque summo jure deberi tibi fatendum est, quandoquidem singulas ego literas tuas non nisi meis binis pensari posse existimem, aut si exactius agatur, ne centenis quidem meis. Negotium illud de quo scripsi subobscurius, ecce tabellis hisce involutum, in quo ego, cum tua ad me pervenit epistola, districtus temporis angustia magno tum primum opere desudabam: quidem enim ædium nostrarum socius, qui comitiis his academicis in disputatione philosophica responsurus erat, carmina super quæstionibus pro more annuo componenda, prætervectus ipse jamdiu leviculas illiusmodi nugas, et rebus seriis intentior, forte meæ puerilitati commisit. Hæc quidem typis donata ad te misi, utpote quem norim rerum poeticarum judicem acerrimum, et mearum candidissimum. Quod si tua mihi vicissim communicare dignaberis, certè non erit qui magis iis delectetur, erit, fateor, qui rectius pro eorum dignitate judicet. Equidem quoties recolo apud me tua mecum assidua pene colloquia (quæ vel ipsis Athenis, ipsa in academia, quæro, desideroque) cogito statim nec sine dolore, quanto fructu me mea fraudarit absentia, qui nunquam à te discessi sine manifesta literarum accessione, et ἐπιδόσει, planè quasi ad emporium quoddam eruditionis profectus. Sane apud nos, quod sciam, vix unus atque alter est, qui non philologiæ, pariter et philosophiæ, prope rudis et profanus, ad theologiam devolet implumis; eam quoque leviter admodum attingere contentus, quantum forte sufficiat conciunculæ quoquo modo conglutinandæ, et tanquam tritis aliunde pannis consuendæ: adeo ut verendum sit ne sensim ingruat in clerum nostrum sacerdotalis illa superioris sæculi ignorantia. Atque ego profecto cum nullos fere studiorum consortes hic reperiam, Londinum recta respicerem, nisi per justitium hoc æstivum in otium alte literarium recedere cogitarem, et quasi claustris musarum delitescere. Quod cum jam tu indies facias, nefas esse propemodum existimo diutius in præsentia tibi interstrepere. Vale.

Cantabrigia, *Julii* 2, 1628.

THOMÆ JUNIO.

4. INSPECTIS literis tuis (preceptor optime) unicum hoc mihi supervacaneum occurrebat, quòd tardæ scriptionis excusationem attuleris; tametsi enim literis tuis nihil mihi queat optabilius accedere, qui possim tamen, aut debeam sperare, otii tibi tantum à rebus seriis, et sanctioribus esse, ut mihi semper respondere vacet; præsertim cum illud humanitatis omnino sit, officii minime. Te vero oblitum esse mei ut suspicer, tam multa tua de me recens merita nequaquam sinunt. Neque enim video quorsum tantis onustum beneficiis ad oblivionem dimitteres. Rus tuum accersitus, simul ac ver adoleverit, libenter adveniam, ad capessendas anni, tuique non minus colloquii, delicias; et ab urbano strepitu subducam me paulisper. Stoam tuam Icenorum, tanquam ad celeberrimam illam Zenonis porticum, aut Ciceronis Tusculanum, ubi tu in re modica regio sane animo veluti Serranus aliquis aut Curius in agello tuo placide regnas, deque ipsis divitiis, ambitione, pompa, luxuria, et quicquid vulgus hominum miratur et stupet, quasi triumphum agis fortunæ contemptor. Cæterum qui tarditatis culpam deprecatus es, hanc mihi vicissim, ut spero, præcipitantiam indulgebis; cum enim epistolam hanc in extremum distulissem, malui pauca, eaque rudiuscule scribere, quam nihil. Vale vir observande.

Cantabrigia, *Julii* 21, 1628.

ALEXANDRO GILLIO.

5. SI mihi aurum, aut cælata pretiose vasa, aut quicquid istiusmodi mirantur mortales, dono dedisses, puderet certe non vicissim, quantum ex meis facultatibus suppeteret, te aliquando remunerasse. Cum vero tam lepidum nobis, et venustum Hendecasyllabon nudiustertius donaveris, quanto charius quidem auro illud est merito, tanto nos reddidisti magis solicitos, qua re conquisita tam jucundi beneficii gratiam rependeremus; erant quidem ad manum nostra hoc in genere nonnulla, sed quæ tuis in certamen muneris æquale nullo modo mittenda censerem. Mitto itaque quod non plane meum est, sed et vatis etiam illius vere divini, cujus hanc oden altera ætatis septimana, nullo certe animi proposito, sed subito nescio quo impetu ante lucis exortum, ad Græci carminis heroici legem in lectulo fere concinnaram: ut hoc scilicet innixus adjutore qui te non minus argumento superat, quam tu me artificio vincis, haberem aliquid, quod ad æquilibrium compensationis accedere videatur; si quid occurrit, quòd tuæ de nostris, ut soles, opinioni minus satisfecerit, scias, ex quo ludum vestrum reliquerim hoc me unicum atque primum græce composuisse, in Latinis, ut nosti, Anglicisque libentius versatum. Quandoquidem qui Græcis componendis hoc sæculo studium atque operam impendit, periculum est, ne plerumque surdo canat. Vale, meque die lunæ Londini (si Deus voluerit) inter bibliopolas expecta. Interim si quid apud illum doctorem, annuum collegii præsidem, qua vales amicitia, nostrum poteris negotium promovere; cura quæso, ut mea causa quam cito adeas; iterum vale.

E nostro Suburbano, *Decemb*. 4. 1634.

CAROLO DIODATO.

6. JAM isthuc demum plane video te agere, ut obstinato silentio nos aliquando pervincas; quod si ita est, euge habe tibi istam gloriolam, en scribimus priores: quanquam certe si unquam hæc res in contentionem veniret, cur neuter alteri οὕτω δία χρόνυ scripserit, cave putes quin sim ego multis partibus excusatior futurus: δηλον ὅτι ὡς βραδὺς καὶ ὀκνηρός τις ὢν φύσει πρὸς τό γράφειν, ut probe nosti, cum tu contra sive natura, sive consuetudine, ad hujusmodi literarias προσφωνήσεις haud ægre perduci soleas. Simul et illud pro me facit, quod tuam studendi rationem ita institutam cognovi, ut crebro interspires, ad amicos visas, multa scribas, nonnunquam iter facias; meum sic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla ferme illius

rei cura, aut cogitatio distineat, quoad pervadam quo feror, et grandem aliquam studiorum meorum quasi periodum conficiam. Atque hinc omnino, nec aliunde, sodes, est factum, uti ad officia quidem ultro deferenda spissius accedam, ad respondendum tamen, O noster Theodote, non sum adeo cessator; neque enim commisi ut tuam epistolam unquam ullam debita vice nostra alia ne clauserit. Quid! quod tu, ut audio, literas ad bibliopolam, ad fratrem etiam sæpiuscule; quorum utervis propter vicinitatem satis commode præstitisset, mihi, si quæ essent, reddendas. Illud vero queror, te, cum esses pollicitus ad nos fore ut diverteres cum ex urbe discederes, promissis non stetisse: quæ promissa abs te præterita si vel semel cogitasses, non defuisset prope necessarium scribendi argumentum. Atque hæc habui quæ in te merito, ut mihi videor, declamitarem. Tu quæ ad hæc contra parabis ipse videris. Verum interim quid est quæso? recteue vales? ecquinam iis in locis eruditulі sunt quibuscum libenter esse, et garrire possis, ut nos consuevimus? quando redis? quamdiu tibi in animo est apud istos ὑπερβορέιὡς commorari? tu velim ad hæc mihi singula respondeas: sed enim ne nescias non nunc demum res tuæ cordi mihi sunt, nam sic habeto me incunte autumno ex itinere ad fratrem tuum eo consilio deflexisse, ut quid ageres, scirem. Nuper etiam cum mihi temere Londini perlatum esset à nescio quo te in urbe esse, confestim et quasi αὐτοβοει proripui me ad cellam tuam, [illegible]ud σκίας ὄναρ, nusquam enim compares. Quare quod sine tuo incommodo fiat, advola ocyus et aliquo in loco te siste, qui locus mitiorem spem præbeat, posse quoquo modo fieri ut aliquoties inter nos saltem visamus, quod utinam nobis non aliter esses vicinus, rusticanus atque es urbicus, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ὥσπερ Θεῶ φίλον. Plura vellem et de nobis, et de studiis nostris, sed mallem coram; et jam cras sumus rus illud nostrum redituri, urgetque iter, ut vix hæc propere in chartam conjecerim. Vale.

Londino, Septemb. 2. 1637.

Eidem.

7. Quod cæteri in literis suis plerunque faciunt amici, ut unicam tantum salutem dicere sat habeant, tu illud jam video quid sit quod toties impertias; ad ea enim quæ tute prius, et alii adhuc sola afferre possunt vota, jam nunc artem insuper tuam, vimque omnem medicam quasi cumulum accedere vis me scilicet intelligere. Jubes enim salvere sexcenties, quantum volo, quantum possum, vel etiam amplius. Næ ipsum te nuper salutis condum promum esse factum oportet, ita totum salubritatis penum dilapidas, aut ipsa proculdubio, sanitas jam tua parasita esse debet, sic pro rege te geris atque imperas ut dicto sit audiens; itaque gratulor tibi, et duplici proinde nomine gratias tibi agam necesse est, cum amicitiæ tum artis eximiæ. Literas quidem tuas, quoniam ita convenerat, diu expectabam; verum acceptis neque dum ullis, si quid mihi credis, non idcirco veterem meam ergo te benevolentiam tantillum refrigescere sum passus; immo vero qua tarditatis excusatione usus literarum initio es, ipsam illam te allaturum esse jam animo præsenseram, idque recte, nostræque necessitudini convenienter. Non enim in epistolarum ac [illegible]lutationum momentis veram verti amicitiam volo, quæ omnia ficta esse possunt; sed altis animi radicibus niti utrinque et sustinere se; cœptamque sinceris, et sanctis rationibus, etiamsi mutua cessarent officia, per omnem tamen vitam suspicione et culpa vacare: ad quam fovendam non tam scripto sit opus, quam viva invicem virtutum recordatione. Nec continuò, ut tu non scripseris, non erit quo illud suppleri officium possit, scribit vicem tuam apud me tua probitas, veraque literas intimis sensibus meis exarat, scribit morum simplicitas, et recti amor; scribit ingenium etiam tuum, haudquaquam quotidianum, et majorem in modum te mihi commendat. Quare noli mihi, arcem illam medicinæ tyrannicam nactus, terrores istos ostentare, ac si salutes tuas sexcentas velles, subducta minutim ratiuncula, ad unum omnes a me reposcere, si forte ego, quod ne siverit unquam Deus, amicitiæ desertor fierem; atque amove terribile illud ἐπιτειχισμα quod cervicibus nostris videris imposuisse, ut sine tua bona venia ne liceat ægrotare. Ego enim ne nimis minitere, tui similes impossibile est quin amem, nam de cætero quidem quid de me statuerit Deus nescio, illud certe; δεινόν μοι ἔρωτα, εἰπέρ τω αλλω, τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνέσταξε. Nec tanto Ceres labore, ut in fabulis est, Liberam fertur quæsivisse filiam, quanto ego hanc τοῦ καλοῦ ἰδέαν, veluti pulcherrimam quandam imaginem, per omnes rerum formas et facies: (πολλαι γὰρ μορφαὶ των Δαιμονίων :) dies noctesque indagare soleo, et quasi certis quibusdam vestigiis ducentem sector. Unde fit, ut qui, spretis quæ vulgus prava rerum æstimatione opinatur, id sentire et loqui et esse audet; quod summa per omne ævum sapientia optimum esse docuit, illi me protinus, sicubi reperiam, necessitate quadam adjungam. Quod si ego sive natura, sive meo fato ita sum comparatus, ut nulla contentione, et laboribus meis ad tale decus et fastigium laudis ipse valeam emergere; tamen quo minus qui eam gloriam assecuti sunt, aut eo feliciter aspirant, illos semper colam, et suspiciam, nec dii puto, nec homines prohibuerint. Cæterum jam curiositati tuæ vis esse satisfactum scio. Multa solicite quæris, etiam quid cogitem. Audi, Theodote, verum in aurem ut ne rubeam, et sinito paulisper apud te grandia loquar; quid cogitem quæris? ita me bonus Deus, immortalitatem. Quid agam vero? πτεροφυῶ, et volare meditor: sed tenellis admodum adhuc pennis evehit se noster Pegasus, humile sapiamus. Dicam jam nunc serio quid cogitem, in hospitium juridicorum aliquod immigrare, sicubi amœna et umbrosa ambulatio est, quod et inter aliquot sodales, commodior illic habitatio, si domi manere, et ὁρμητήριον ευπρεπέστερον quocunque libitum erit excurrere; ubi nunc sum, ut nosti, obscure, et anguste sum; de studiis etiam nostris fies certior. Græcorum res continuata lectione deduximus usquequo illi Græci esse sunt desiti: Italorum in obscura re diu versati sumus sub Longobardis, et Francis, et Germanis, ad illud tempus quo illis ab Rodolpho Germaniæ rege concessa libertas est; exinde quid quæque civitas suo marte gesserit, separatim legere præstabit. Tu vero quid? quousque rebus domesticis filius familias imminebis urbanarum sodalitatum

oblitus? quod, nisi bellum hoc novercale, vel Dacico, vel Sarmatico infestius sit, debebis profecto maturare, ut ad nos saltem in hyberna concedas. Interim, quod sine tua molestia fiat, Justinianum mihi Venetorum historicum rogo mittas; ego mea fide aut in adventum tuum probe asservatum curabo; aut, si mavis, haud ita multo post ad te remissum. Vale.

Londino, Septemb. 23. 1637.

BENEDICTO BONMATTHÆO *Florentino.*

8. QUOD novas patriæ linguæ institutiones adornas (Benedicte Bonmatthæe) jam operi fastigium impositurus, et commune tu quidem cum summis quibusdam ingeniis iter ad laudem ingrederis, et eam spem, quod video, eamque de te opinionem apud cives tuos concitasti, ut qui ab aliis quæ tradita jam sunt, iis aut lucem, aut copiam, aut certe limam, atque ordinem tuo marte facile sis allaturus. Quo nomine profecto populares tuos quam non vulgarem in modum tibi devinxeris, ingrati nempe sint ipsi, si non perspexerint. Nam qui in civitate mores hominum sapienter norit formare, domique et belli præclaris institutis regere, illum ego præ cæteris omni honore apprime dignum esse existimem. Proximum huic tamen, qui loquendi scribendique rationem et normam probo gentis sæculo receptam, præceptis regulisque sancire adnititur, et veluti quodam vallo circummunire; quod quidem ne quis transire ausit, tantum non Romulea lege sit cautum. Utriusque enim horum utilitatem conferre si libet, justum utrique et sanctum civium convictum alter ille solus efficere potest; hic vero solus liberalum, et splendidum, et luculentum, quod proxime in votis est. Ille in hostem fines invadentem, ardorem credo excelsum, et intrepida consilia suppeditat; hic barbariem animos hominum late incursantem, fœdam et intestinam ingeniorum perduellem, docta aurium censura, authorumque bonorum expedita manu, explodendam sibi, et debellandam suscipit. Neque enim qui sermo, purusne an corruptus, quæve loquendi proprietas quotidiana populo sit, parvi interesse arbitrandum est, quæ res Athenis non semel saluti fuit: immo vero, quod Platonis sententia est, immutato vestiendi more habituque graves in republica motus, mutationesque portendi, equidem potius collabente in vitium atque errorem loquendi usu, occasum ejus urbis, remque humilem et obscuram subsequi crediderim: verba enim partim inscita et pudita, partim mendosa, perperam prolata; quid nisi ignavos et oscitantes, et ad servile quidvis jam olim paratos incolarum animos haud levi indicio declarant? Contra, nullum unquam audivimus imperium, nullam civitatem non mediocriter saltem floruisse, quamdiu linguæ sua gratia, suusque cultus constitit. Tu itaque, Benedicte, hanc operam reipublicæ tuæ navare modo, ut pergas, quam pulchram, quamque solidam à civibus tuis necessario gratiam initurus sis, vel hinc liquido specta. Quæ à me eo dicta sunt, non quod ego te quidquam horum ignorare censeam, sed quod mihi persuadeam, in hoc te magis multo intentum esse, quid tute patriæ tuæ possis persolvere, quam quid illa tibi jure optimo sit debitura. De exteris jam nunc dicam, quorum demerendi, si tibi id cordi est, persane ampla in præsens oblata est occasio; ut enim est apud eos ingenio quis forte floridior, aut moribus amœnis et elegantibus, linguam Hetruscam in deliciis habet præcipuis, quin et in solida etiam parte eruditionis esse sibi ponendam ducit, præsertim si Græca aut Latina, vel nullo, vel modico tinctu imbiberit. Ego certe istis utrisque linguis non extremis tantummodo labris madidus; sed siquis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad illum Dantem, et Petrarcham, aliosque vestros complusculos, libenter et cupide commessatum ire: nec me tam ipsæ Athenæ Atticæ cum illo suo pellucido Ilisso, nec illa vetus Roma sua Tiberis ripa retinere valuerunt; quin sæpe Arnum vestrum, et Fæsulanos illos colles invisere amem. Jam vide, obsecro, numquid satis causæ fuerit, quæ me vobis ultimum ab oceano hospitem per hosce aliquot dies dederit, vestræque nationis ita amantem, ut non ullius, opinor, magis. Quo magis merito potes meminisse, quid ego tanto opere abs te contendere soleam; uti jam inchoatis, majori etiam ex parte absolutis, velles, quanta maxima facilitate res ipsa tulerit, in nostram exterorum gratiam, de recta linguæ pronuntiatione adhuc paululum quiddam adjicere. Cæteris enim sermonis vestri consultis in hanc usque diem id animi videtur fuisse, suis tantum ut satisfacerent, de nobis nihil soliciti. Quanquam ille meo quidem judicio, et [illegible] suæ, et Italici sermonis gloriæ, haud paulo certius consuluissent, si præcepta ita tradidissent, ac si omnium mortalium referret ejus linguæ scientiam appetere: verum per illos non stetit quo minus nobis videremini vos Itali, intra Alpium duntaxat pomœria sapere voluisse. Hæc igitur laus prælibata nemini, tota erit tua, tibi intactam et integram hucusque se servat; nec illa minus, si in tanta scriptorum turba commonstrare separatim non gravabere, quis post illos decantatos Florentinæ linguæ auctores poterit secundas haud injuria sibi asserere: quis tragœdia insignis, quis in comœdia festivus et lepidus; quis scriptis epistolis aut dialogis, argutus aut gravis; quis in historia nobilis: ita et studioso potiorem quemque eligere volenti non erit difficile, et erit, quoties vagari latius libebit, ubi pedem intrepide possit figere. Qua quidem in re, inter antiquos Ciceronem et Fabium habebis, quos imiteris; vestrorum autem hominum haud scio an ullum. Atque hæc ego tametsi videor mihi abs te (nisi me animus fallit) jam primo impetrasse, quoties in istius rei mentionem incidimus, quæ tua comitas est, et benignum ingenium; nolo tamen id tibi fraudi sit, quo minus exquisite, ut ita dicam, atque elaborate exorandum te mihi esse putem. Nam quod tua virtus, tuusque candor, minimum rebus tuis pretium, minimamque æstimationem addicit; iis ego, justam volo, et exactam, cum rei dignitas, tum adeo mea observantia imponat; et certe hoc æquum est ubique, quanto quis petenti faciliorem se præbet, tanto minus concedentis honori deesse oportebit. De cætero, si forte cur in hoc argumento, Latina potius quam vestra lingua utar, miraris; id factum ea gratia est ut intelligas quam ego linguam abs te mihi præceptis exornandam cupio, ejus me plane meam imperitiam, et

inopiam Latine confiteri; et hac ipsa ratione plus me valiturum apud te speravi simul et illud, si canam; et venerandam è Latio matrem, in filiæ causa suæ mecum adjutricem adduxissem, credidi fore ejus authoritati, et reverentiæ, augustæque per tot sæcula majestati, nihil ut denegares. Vale.

Florentiæ, Septemb. 10. 1638.

LUCÆ HOLSTENIO *Romæ in Vaticano.*

9. TAMETSI multâ in hoc meo Italiæ transcursu multorum in me humaniter et peramice facta, et possum, et sæpe soleo recordari; tamen pro tam brevi notitia, haud scio an jure dicam ullius majora extitisse in me benevolentiæ indicia quam ea quæ mihi abs te profecta sunt. Cum enim tui conveniendi causa in Vaticanum ascenderem, ignotum prorsus, nisi si quid forte ab Alexandro Cherubino dictum de me prius fuerat, summa cum humanitate recepisti; mox in musæum comiter admisso, et conquisitissimam librorum supellectilem, et permultos insuper manuscriptos authores Græcos, tuis lucubrationibus exornatos, adspicere licuit: quorum partim nostro sæculo nondum visi, quasi in procinctu, velut illæ apud Maronem,

——— penitus convalle virenti
Inclusæ animæ superumque ad limen ituræ.

expeditas modo typographi manus, et μαιευτικὴν poscere videbantur; partim tua opera etiamnum editi, passim ab eruditis avide accipiuntur; quorum et unius etiam duplici dono abs te auctus dimittor. Tum nec aliter crediderim, quam quæ tu de me verba feceris ad præstantissimum Cardin. Franc. Barberinum, iis factum esse, ut cum ille paucis post diebus ἀκρόαμα illud musicum magnificentia vere Romana publice exhiberet, ipse me tanta in turba quæsitum ad fores expectans, et pene manu prehensum persane honorifice intro admiserit. Qua ego gratia cum illum postridie salutatum accessissem, tute idem rursus is eras, qui et aditum mihi fecisti, et colloquendi copiam; quæ quidem cum tanto viro, quo etiam in summo dignitatis fastigio nihil benignius, nihil humanius, pro loci et temporis ratione largiuscula profecto potius erat, quam nimis parca. Atque ego (doctissime Holsteni) utrum ipse sim solus tam me amicum, et hospitem expertus, an omnes Anglos, id spectans scilicet quod triennium Oxoniæ literis operam dederis, istiusmodi officiis etiam quoscunque prosequi studium sit, certe nescio. Si hoc est, pulchre tu quidem Angliæ nostræ, ex parte etiam tuæ, διδασκάλια persolvis; privatoque nostrum cujusque nomine, et patriæ publico, parem utrobique gratiam promereris. Sin est illud, eximium me tibi præ cæteris habitum, dignumque adeo visum quicum velis ξενίαν ποιεῖσθαι, et mihi gratulor de tuo judicio, et tuum simul candorem præ meo merito pono. Jam illud vero quod mihi negotium dedisse videbare, de inspiciendo codice Mediceo, sedulo ad amicos retuli, qui quidem ejus rei efficiendæ spem perexiguam in presens ostendunt. In illa bibliotheca, nisi impetrata prius venia, nihil posse exscribi, ne stylum quidem scriptorium admovisse tabulis permissum; esse tamen aiunt Romæ Joannem Baptistam Donium, is ad legendas publice Græcas literas Florentiam vocatus indies expectatur, per eum ut consequi possis quæ velis facile esse; quamquam id sane mihi pergratum accidisset, si res tam præsertim optanda quæ sit, mea potius opella saltem aliquando plus promovisset, cum sit indignum tam tibi honesta et preclara suscipienti, non omnes undecunque homines, et rationes, et res favere. De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, si eminentissimum cardinalem quanta potest observantia meo nomine salutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique studium, ad provehendas item omnes artes liberales egregie comparatum, semper mihi ob oculos versantur; tum illa mitis, et, ut ita dicam, summissa animi celsitudo, quæ sola se deprimendo attollere didicit; de qua vere dici potest, quod de Cerere apud Callimachum est, diversa tamen sententia, ἴθματα μεν χέρσω κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἄπτετ' ὀλύμπω. Quod cæteris fere principibus documento esse potest, triste illud supercilium, et aulici fastus, quam longe à vera magnanimitate discrepantes et alieni sint. Nec puto fore, dum ille vivit, Estenses, Farnesios, aut Mediceos, olim doctorum hominum fautores, ut quis amplius desideret. Vale, doctissime Holsteni, et si quis tui, tuorumque studiorum amantior est, illi me quoque, si id esse tanti existimas, ubicunque sim gentium futurus, velim annumeres.

Florentiæ, Martii 30. 1639.

CAROLO DATO *Patricio Florentino.*

10. PERLATIS inopinatò literis ad me tuis, mi Carole, quanta, et quam nova sim voluptate perfusus, quandoquidem non est ut pro re satis queam dicere, volo ex dolore saltem, sine quo vix ulla magna hominibus delectatio concessa est, id aliquantum intelligas. Dum enim illa tua prima percurro, in quibus elegantia cum amicitia pulchre sane contendit, merum illud quidem gaudium esse dixerim, præsertim cum uti vincat amicitia, operam te dare videam. Statim vero cum incido in illud quod scribis, ternas te jam olim ad me dedisse, quas ego periisse scio, tum primum sincera illa infici, tristique desiderio conturbari, cœpta est lætitia; mox etiam gravius quiddam subit, in quo vicem meam dolere persæpe soleo, quos forte viciniæ, aut aliqua nullius usus necessitudo mecum, sive casu, sive lege conglutinavit, illos nulla re alia commendabiles assidere quotidie, obtundere, etiam enecare mehercule quoties collibitum erit; quos, mores, ingenium, studia, tam belle conciliaverant, illos jam pane omnes, aut morte, aut iniquissima locorum distantia invideri mihi, et ita confestim è conspectu plerumque abripi, ut in perpetua fere solitudine versari mihi necesse sit. Te, quod ais, ex quo Florentia discessi, mea de salute solicitum, semperque mei memorem fuisse, gratulor mihi sane, par illud utrique et mutuum accidisse, quod ego me solum sensisse meo fortasse merito arbitrabar. Gravis admodum, ne te celem, discessus ille et mihi quoque fuit, eosque meo animo aculeos infixit, qui etiam nunc altius inhærent, quoties mecum cogito tot simul sodales atque amicos tam bonos, tamque commodos una in urbe, longinqua illa quidem, sed tamen charissima, in-

vitum me, et plane divulsum reliquisse. Testor illum mihi semper sacrum et solenne futurum Damonis tumulum; in cujus funere ornando cum luctu et mœrore oppressus, ad ea quæ potui solatia confugere, et respirare paulisper cupiebam, non aliud mihi quicquam jucundius occurrit, quam vestrum omnium gratissimam mihi memoriam, tuique nominatim in mentem revocasse. Id quod ipse jamdiu legisse debes, siquidem ad vos carmen illud pervenit, quod ex te nunc primum audio. Mittendum ego sane sedulo curaveram, ut esset ingenii quantulumcumque, amoris autem adversum vos mei, vel illis paucis versiculis, emblematis ad morem inclusis, testimonium haudquaquam obscurum. Existimabam etiam fore hoc modo, ut vel te vel alium ad scribendum allicerem; mihi enim si prior scriberem, necesse erat, ut vel ad omnes, vel si quem aliis prætulissem, verebar ne in cæterorum, qui id rescissent, offensionem incurrerem; cum permultos adhuc superesse istic sperem, qui hoc à me officium vendicare certe potuerint. Nunc tu omnium primus, et hac amicissima literarum provocatione, et scribendi officio ter jam repetito dubitas tibi à me jampridem respondendi vices reliquorum expostulatione liberasti. Quanquam fateor accessisse ad illam silentii causam, turbulentissimus iste, ex quo domum reversus sum, Britanniæ nostræ status, qui animum meum paulo post ab studiis excolendis, ad vitam et fortunas quoquo modo tuendas necessario convertit. Ecquem tu inter tot civium commissa prælia, cædes, fugas, bonorum direptiones, recessum otio literario tutum dari putes posse? Nos tamen etiam inter hæc mala, quoniam de studiis meis certior fieri postulas, sermone patrio haud pauca in lucem dedimus; quæ nisi essent Anglice scripta, libens ad vos mitterem, quorum judiciis plurimum tribuo. Poematum quidem quæ pars Latina est, quoniam expetis, brevi mittam; atque id sponte jamdudum fecissem, nisi quod, propter ea quæ in pontificem Romanum aliquot paginis asperius dicta sunt, suspicabar vestris auribus fore minus grata. Nunc abs te peto, ut quam veniam, non dico Aligerio, et Petrarchæ vestro eadem in causa, sed meæ, ut scis, olim apud vos loquendi libertati, singulari cum humanitate, dare consuevistis, eandem impetres (nam de te mihi persuasum est) ab cæteris amicis, quoties de vestris ritibus nostro more loquendum erit. Exequias Ludovici regis à te descriptas libenter lego, in quibus Mercurium tuum, non compitalem illum et mercimoniis addictum, quem te nuper colere jocaris, sed facundum illum, Musis acceptum, et Mercurialium virorum præsidem, agnosco. Restat ut de ratione aliqua et modo inter nos constet, quo literæ deinceps nostræ certo itinere utrinque commeare possint. Quod non admodum difficile videtur, cum tot nostri mercatores negotia apud vos, et multa, et ampla habeant, quorum tabellarii singulis hebdomadis ultro citroque cursitant; quorum et navigia haud multo rarius hinc illinc solvunt. Hanc ego curam Jacobo Bibliopolæ, vel ejus hero mihi familiarissimo, recte, ut spero, committam. Tu interim, mi Carole, valebis, et Cultellino, Francino, Frescobaldo, Malatestæ, Clementillo minori, et si quem alium nostri amantiorem novisti; toti denique Gaddianæ academiæ, salutem meo nomine plurimam dices. Interim vale.

Londino, Aprilis 21. 1647.

HERMANNO MILLIO, *Comitis Oldenburgici Oratori.*

11. AD literas tuas, nobilissime Hermanne, 17 Decemb. ad me datas, antequam respondeam; ne me silentii tam diutini reum fortassis apud te peragas, primum omnium oportet exponam, cur non responderem prius. Primum igitur ne nescias, moram attulit, quæ perpetua jam fere adversatrix mihi est, adversa valetudo; deinde valetudinis causa, necessaria quædam et subita in ædes alias migratio, quam eo die forte inceperam, quo tuæ ad me literæ perferebantur; postremo certe pudor, non habuisse me quicquam de tuo negotio quod gratum fore tibi judicabam. Nam cum postridie in dominum Frostium casu incidissem, exque eo diligenter quærerem, ecquod tibi responsum etiamnum decerneretur? (ipse enim à concilio valetudinarius sæpe aberam) respondit, et commotior quidem, nihil dum decerni, seque in expedienda re ista nihil proficere. Satius itaque duxi ad tempus silere, quam id quod molestum tibi sciebam fore, extemplo scribere, donec, quod ipse vellem, tuque tantopere expetebas, libentissime possem scribere; quod et hodie, uti spero, perfeci; nam cum in concilio præsidem de tuo negotio semel atque iterum commonefecissem, statim ille retulit, adeoque in crastinum diem de responso quamprimum tibi dando constituta deliberatio est. Hac de re si primus ipse, quod conabar, certiorem te facerem, et tibi jucundissimum, et mei in te studii indicium aliquod fore existimabam.

Westmonasterio.

Clarissimo Viro LEONARDO PHILARÆ *Atheniensi, Ducis Parmensis ad Regem Galliæ Legato.*

12. BENEVOLENTIAM erga me tuam, ornatissime Leonarde Philara, nec non etiam præclarum de nostra pro P. A. Defensione* judicium, ex literis tuis ad dominum Augerium, virum apud nos, in obeundis ab hac republica legationibus, fide eximia illustrem, partim ea de re scriptis cognovi: missam deinde salutem cum effigie, atque elogio tuis sane virtutibus dignissimo: literas denique abs te humanissimas per eundem accepi. Atque ego quidem cum nec Germanorum ingenia, ne Cymbrorum quidem, aut Suecorum aspernari soleo, tum certe tuum, qui et Athenis Atticis natus, et, literarum studiis apud Italos fœliciter peractis, magno rerum usu honores amplissimos es consecutus, judicium de me non possum quin plurimi faciam. Cum enim Alexander ille magnus in terris ultimis bellum gerens, tantos se militiæ labores pertulisse testatus sit, της παρ' Αθηναίων ἐνδοξίας ἕνεκα; quidni ego mihi gratuler, meque ornari quam maxime putem, ejus viri laudibus, in quo jam uno priscorum Atheniensium artes, atque virtutes illæ celebratissimæ, renasci tam longo intervallo, et reflorescere videntur. Qua ex urbe cum tot viri disertissimi

* Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.

prodierint, eorum potissimùm scriptis ab adolescentia pervolvendis, didicisse me libens fateor quicquid ego in literis profeci. Quod si mihi tanta vis dicendi accepta ab illis et quasi transfusa inesset, ut exercitus nostros et classes ad liberandam ab Ottomannico tyranno Greciam, eloquentiæ patriam, excitare possem, ad quod facinus egregium nostras opes pene implorare videris, facerem profecto id quo nihil mihi antiquius aut in votis prius esset. Quid enim vel fortissimi olim viri, vel eloquentissimi gloriosius aut se dignius esse duxerunt, quam vel suadendo vel fortiter faciendo ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀυτονόμους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας? Verùm et aliud quiddam præterea tentandum est, mea quidem sententia longe maximum, ut quis antiquam in animis Græcorum virtutem, industriam, laborum tolerantiam, antiqua illa studia dicendo, suscitare atque accendere possit. Hoc si quis effecerit, quod à nemine potius quam abs te, pro tua illa insigni erga patriam pietate, cum summa prudentia, reique militaris peritia, summo denique recuperandæ libertatis pristinæ studio conjuncta, expectare debemus; neque ipsos sibi Græcos neque ullam gentem Græcis defuturam esse confido. Vale.

Londino, Jun. 1652.

Richardo Hetho.

13. Si quam ego operam, amice spectatissime, vel in studiis tuis promovendis, vel in eorum subsidio comparando, unquam potui conferre, quæ sane aut nulla plane, aut perexigua fuit; tamen eam in bona indole, quamvis serius cognita, tam bene tamque fœliciter collocatam, haud uno profecto nomine gaudeo; eam etiam adeo frugiferam fuisse, ut et ecclesiæ pastorem probum, patriæ bonum civem, mihi denique amicum gratissimum pepererit. Quod equidem, cum ex cætera vita tua atque ex eo, quod de religione et simul de republica præclare sentis, tum præcipue ex singulari animi tui gratitudine, quæ nulla absentia, nullo ætatis decursu, extingui aut minui potest, facile intelligo. Neque enim potest fieri, nisi in virtute ac pietate, rerumque optimarum studiis, progressus plusquam mediocres fecisses, ut in eos, qui tibi ad ea acquirenda vel minimum adjumentum attulere, tam grato animo esses. Quapropter, mi alumne, hoc enim nomine in te utor libenter, si sinis; sic velim existimes, te cum primis à me diligi, nec mihi quicquam optatius fore, quam, si tua commoda rationesque ferrent, quod et tibi etiam in votis esse video, ut possis prope me alicubi degere, quo frequentior inter nos atque jucundior, et vitæ usus et studiorum esset. Verum de eo, prout numini visum erit, tibique expediverit. Quod scripseris deinceps, poteris, si placet, nostro sermone scribere (quanquam tu quidem Latinis haud parum profecisti) nequando scriptionis labor alterutrum nostrum segniorem forte ad scribendum reddiderit, utque sensus animi noster inter nos, nullis exteri sermonis vinculis constrictus, eo liberius exprimere se possit. Literas autem tuas cuivis, credo, ex ejus famulitio, cujus mentionem fecisti, rectissime committes. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Decemb. 13, 1652.

Henrico Oldenburgo *Bremensium ad Sen. A. Oratori.*

14. Priores literæ tuæ, vir ornatissime, tum mihi sunt datæ, cum tabellarius vester diceretur jamjam rediturus: quo factum est, ut rescribendi eo tempore facultas nulla esset: id vero quamprimum facere cogitantem inopinatæ quædam occupationes excepere; quæ nisi accidissent, librum profecto, defensionis licet titulo munitum, non ita nudum ad te sine excusatione misissem; cum ecce tuæ ad me alteræ, in quibus pro muneris tenuitate satis superque gratiarum sunt actæ. Et erat quidem haud semel in animo, Latinis tuis nostra reponere; ut qui sermonem nostrum exteris omnibus, quos ego quidem novi accuratius ac fœlicius addidiceris, ne quam occasionem eundem quoque scribendi, quod æque te arbitror accurate posse, amitteres. Verum id prout dehinc impetus tulerit, tua perinde optio sit. De argumento quod scribis, plane mecum sentis, clamorem istiusmodi ad cœlum sensus omnes humanos fugere: quo impudentior sit is, necesse est, qui audisse se eum tam audacter affirmaverit. Is autem quis sit, scrupulum injecisti: atqui dudum, cum aliquoties hac de re essemus inter nos locuti, tuque recens ex Hollandia huc venisses, nulla tibi de authore dubitatio subesse videbatur; quin is Morus fuisset: eam nimirum iis in locis famam obtinuisse, neminem præterea nominari. Si quid igitur hac de re certius nunc demum habes, me rogo certiorem facias. De argumenti tractatione vellem equidem (quid enim dissimulem) abs te non dissentire; id pene ut audeam quid est quod persuadere facilius possit, quam virorum, qualis tu es, cordatorum sincerum judicium, omnisque expers adulationis laudatio? Ad alia ut me parem, nescio sane an nobiliora aut utiliora (quid enim in rebus humanis asserenda libertate nobilius aut utilius esse possit?) siquidem per valetudinem et hanc luminum orbitatem, omni senectute graviorem, si denique per hujusmodi rabularum clamores licuerit, facile induci potero: neque enim iners otium unquam mihi placuit, et hoc cum libertatis adversariis inopinatum certamen, diversis longe, et amœnioribus omnino me studiis intentum, ad se rapuit invitum; ita tamen ut rei gestæ, quando id necesse erat, nequaquam pœniteat: nam in vanis operam consumpsisse me, quod innuere videris, longe abest, ut putem. Verum de his alias; tu tandem, vir doctissime, ne te prolixius detineam, vale; meque in tuis numera.

Westmonasterio, Julii 6, 1654.

Leonardo Philaræ *Atheniensi.*

15. Cum sim à pueritia totius Græci nominis, tuarumque in primis Athenarum cultor, si quis alius, tum una hoc semper mihi persuasissimum habebam, fore ut illa urbs præclaram aliquando redditura vicem esset benevolentiæ erga se meæ. Neque defuit sane tuæ patriæ nobilissimæ antiquus ille genius augurio meo; deditque te nobis et germanum Atticum et nostri amantissimum: qui me, scriptis duntaxat notum, et locis

ipse disjunctus, humanissime per literas compellaveris, et Londinum postea inopinatus adveniens, visensque non videntem, etiam in ea calamitate, propter quam conspectior nemini, despectior multis fortasse sim, eadem benevolentia prosequaris. Cum itaque author mihi sis, ut visus recuperandi spem omnem ne abjiciam, habere te amicum ac necessarium tuum Parisiis Tevenotum medicum, in curandis præsertim oculis præstantissimum, quem sis de meis luminibus consulturus, si modo acceperis à me unde is causas morbi et symptomata possit intelligere; faciam equidem quod hortaris, ne oblatam undecunque divinitus fortassis opem repudiare videar. Decennium, opinor, plus minus est, ex quo debilitari atque hebescere visum sensi, eodemque tempore lienem, visceraque omnia gravari, flatibusque vexari: et mane quidem, siquid pro more legere cœpissem, oculi statem penitus dolere, lectionemque refugere, post mediocrem deinde corporis exercitationem recreari; quam aspexissem lucernam, iris quædam visa est redimere: haud ita multò post sinistra in parte oculi sinistri (is enim oculus aliquot annis prius altera nubilavit) caligo oborta, quæ ad latus illud sita erant, omnia eripiebat. Anteriora quoque, si dexterum forte oculum clausissem, minora visa sunt. Deficiente per hoc fere triennium sensim atque paulatim altero quoque lumine, aliquot ante mensibus quam visus omnis aboleretur, quæ immotus ipse cernerem, visa sunt omnia nunc dextrorsum, nunc sinistrorsum natare; frontem totam atque tempora inveterati quidem vapores videntur insedisse; qui somnolenta quadam gravitate oculos, à cibo præsertim usque ad vesperam, plerunque urgent atque deprimunt; ut mihi haud raro veniat in mentem Salmydessii vatis Phinei in Argonauticis,

> ————κάρος δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψεν
> πορφύρεος· γαίαν δε πέριξ ἐδόκησε φερισθαι
> νειόθεν, ἀβληχρῷ δ' ἐπι κώματι κέκλιτ' ἄναυδος.

Sed neque illud omiserim, dum adhuc visus aliquantum supererat, ut primum in lecto decubuissem, meque in alterutrum latus reclinassem, consuevisse copiosum lumen clausis oculis emicare; deinde, imminuto indies visu, colores perinde obscuriores cum impetu et fragore quodam intimo exilire; nunc autem, quasi extincto lucido, merus nigror, aut cineraceo distinctus, et quasi intextus solet se affundere: caligo tamen quæ perpetuo obversatur, tam noctu, quam interdiu, albenti semper quam nigricanti propior videtur; et volvente se oculo aliquantillum lucis quasi per rimulam admittit. Ex quo tametsi medico tantundem quoque spei possit elucere, tamen ut in re plane insanabili, ita me paro atque compono; illudque sæpe cogito, cum destinati cuique dies tenebrarum, quod monet sapiens multi sint, meas adhuc tenebras, singulari Numinis benignitate, inter otium et studia, vocesque amicorum, et salutationes, illis lethalibus multo esse mitiores. Quod si, ut scriptum est, non solo pane vivet homo, sed omni verbo prodeunte per os Dei, quid est, cur quis in hoc itidem non acquiescat, non solis se oculis, sed Dei ductu an providentia satis oculatum esse. Sane dummodo ipse mihi prospicit, ipse mihi providet, quod facit, meque per omnem vitam quasi manu ducit atque deducit, ne ego meos oculos, quandoquidem ipsi sic visum est, libens feriari jussero. Teque, mi Philara, quocunque res ceciderit, non minus forti et confirmato animo, quam si Lynceus essem, valere jubeo.

Westmonasterio, Septemb. 28, 1654.

LEONI *ab Aizema.*

16. PERGRATUM est eandem adhuc memoriam retinere te mei, quam antea benevolentiam, dum apud nos eras, me semel atque iterum invisendo, perhumaniter significasti. Ad librum quod attinet de divortiis, quem dedisse te cuidam Hollandice vertendum scribis, mallem equidem Latine vertendum dedisses: nam vulgus opiniones fondum vulgares, quemadmodum excipere soleat, in iis libris expertus jam sum. Tres enim ea de re tractatus olim scripsi: primum duobus libris, quibus doctrina et disciplina divortii, is enim libro titulus est, diffuse continetur: alterum qui Tetrachordon inscribitur, et in quo quatuor præcipua loca scripturæ supra ea doctrina quæ sunt, explicantur: tertium, Colasterion, in quo cuidam sciolo respondetur. Quem horum tractatum vertendum dederis, quamve editionem, nescio; nam eorum primus bis editus est, et posteriori editione multo auctius. Qua de re nisi certior jam factus sis, aut si quid à me aliud velle te intellexero, ut vel editionem correctiorem, vel reliquos tractatus tibi mittam, faciam sedulo et libenter. Nam mutatum in iis quicquam aut additum non est in præsentia quod velim. Itaque si in tua sententia præstiteris, fidum ego mihi interpretem, tibi fausta omnia exopto.

Westmonasterio, Feb. 5, 1654.

EZECHIELI SPANHEMIO *Genevensi.*

17. NESCIO quo casu acciderit, ut literæ tuæ post paulo minus tres menses mihi sint redditæ, quam abs te datæ: meis profecto expeditiore prorsus ad te commeatu plane est opus; quas dum de die in diem scribere constituebam, occupationibus quibusdam continuis impeditus, in alterum fere trimestre spatium procrastinasse me sentio. Tu vero ex hac mea tarditate rescribendi velim intelligas, benevolentiæ erga me tuæ non refrixisse gratiam, sed eo altius insedisse memoriam, quo sæpius atque diutius de officio meo vicissim tibi reddendo indies cogitabam. Habet hoc saltem officii tarda solutio quo se excuset, dum clarius confitetur deberi, quod tanto post tempore, quam quod statim persolvitur. Illa te imprimis literarum initio non fefellit de me opinio; non mirari si à peregrino homine salutor: neque enim rectius de me senseris, quam si sic existimes, neminem me verum bonum in peregrini aut ignoti numero habere. Talem te esse facile mihi persuadetur, cum quòd patris doctissimi atque sanctissimi es filius, tum quod à viris bonis bonus existimaris, tum denique quod odisti malos. Cum quibus, quandoquidem mihi quoque bellum esse contigit, fecit pro humanitate sua Calandrinus, deque mea sententia, ut significaret tibi, pergratum mihi fore, si contra communem adversarium tua subsidia mecum

communicasses. Id quod his ipsis literis perhumaniter fecisti, quarum partem, tacito authoris nomine, tuo erga me studio confisus, in defensionem meam pro testimonio inserere non dubitavi. Quem ego librum, ut primum in lucem prodierit, si quis erit cui recte possim committere, mittendum ad te curabo. Tu interim quas ad me literas destinaveris, Turrettino Genevensi Londini commoranti, cujus illic fratrem nosti, haud frustra, puto, inscripseris: per quem ut ad vos hæ nostræ, ita ad nos vestræ, commodissime pervenerint. De cætero scias velim, et te plurimi tuo merito a me fieri, meque uti porro abs te diligar, imprimis velle.

Westmonasterio, Martii 24, 1654.

HENRICO OLDENBURGO *Bremensium ad Sen. A. Oratori.*

18. OCCUPATIOREM repererunt me tuæ literæ quas adolescens Ranaleius attulit, unde cogor esse brevior quam vellem: tu vero quas abiens promiseras, eas ita probe reddidisti, ut æs alienum nemo sanctius ad calendas, credo, persolvisset. Secessum istum, tibi, quamvis mihi fraudi sit, tamen quoniam tibi esse voluptati, gratulor; tum illam quoque fœlicitatem animi tui, quem ab urbano vel ambitione vel otio ad sublimium rerum contemplationem tam facile potes attollere. Quid autem secessus ille conferat, præter librorum copiam, nescio: et quos illic nactus es studiorum socios, eos suopte ingenio potius quam disciplina loci tales esse existimem; nisi forte ob desiderium tui iniquior sum isti loco quia te detinet. Ipse interim recte animadvertis, nimis illic multos esse qui suis inanissimis argutiis tam divina quam humana contaminent, ne plane nihil agere videantur dignum tot stipendiis, quibus pessimo publico aluntur. Sed tu ista melius per te sapis. Tam vetusti à diluvio usque Sinensium fasti, quos ab jesuita Martinio promissos esse scribis, propter rerum novitatem avidissime proculdubio expectantur: verum auctoritatis, aut firmamenti, ad Mosaicos libros adjungere quid possint non video. Salutem tibi reddit Cyriacus noster, quem salutatum volebas. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Junii 25, 1656.

Nobilissimo Adolescenti RICHARDO JONESIO.

19. PARANTEM me semel atque iterum ad proximas tuas literas rescribere, subita quædam negotia, cujusmodi mea sunt, ut nosti, præverterunt: postea excucurrisse te in vicina quædam loca audiveram; nunc discedens in Hyberniam mater tua præstantissima, cujus discessu uterque nostrum dolere haud mediocriter debemus, nam et mihi omnium necessitudinum loco fuit, has ad te literas ipsa perfert. Tu vero quod de meo erga te studio persuasus es, recte facis; tibique tanto plus indies persuadeas velim, quanto plus bonæ indolis, bonæque frugis in te esse, facis ut intelligam. Id quod Deo dante, non solum in te recipis, sed quasi ego te sponsione lacessissem, facturum te satisdas atque vadaris; et velut judicium pati et judicatum solvere ni facias, non recusas: delector sane hac tua de temetipso tam bona spe; cui nunc deesse non potes; quin simul non promissis modo tuis non stetisse, verum etiam vadimonium ipse tuum deseruisse videare. Quod scribis non displicere tibi Oxonium, ex eo profecisse te quicquam aut sapientiorem esse factum, non adducis ut credam: id mihi longe aliis rebus ostendere debebis. Victorias principum quas laudibus tollis, et res ejusmodi in quibus vis plurimum potest, nolim te philosophos jam audientem nimis admirari. Quid enim magnopere mirandum est, si vervecum in patria valida nascantur cornua, quæ urbes et oppida arietare valentissime possint? Tu magna exempla non ex vi et robore, sed ex justitia et temperantia ab ineunte ætate ponderare jam disce atque cognoscere: vale; meoque fac nomine, salutem ornatissimo viro Henrico Oldenburgo tuo contubernali plurimam dicas.

Westm. Sept. 21, 1656.

Ornatissimo Adolescenti PETRO HEIMBACHIO.

20. PROMISSA tua, mi Heimbachi, cæteraque omnia, quæ tua virtus præ se fert, cumulate implevisti, præterquam desiderium meum reditus tui quem intra duos ad summum menses fore pollicebaris; nunc, nisi me temporis ratio tui cupidum fallit, trimestris pene abes. De Atlante, quod abs te petebam, abunde præstitisti; non ut mihi comparares, sed tantummodo ut pretium libri minimum indagares: centum et triginta Florenos postulari scribis; montem illum opinor Mauritanum, non librum Atlantem, dicis tam immani pretio coemendum. Ea nunc etiam typographorum in excudendis libris luxuries est, ut bibliothecæ non minus quam villæ sumptuosa supellex jam facta videatur. Mihi certe cum pictæ tabulæ ob cæcitatem usui esse vix possint, dum orbem terræ frustra cæcis oculis perlustro, quanti illum librum emissem, vereor ne tanti videar lugere potius orbitatem meam. Tu hanc insuper impendas mihi operam, rogo, ut cum reversus eris, certiorem me facere queas, quot sint integri operis illius volumina, et duarum editionum, Blavianæ videlicet et Jansenianæ, utra sit auctior et accuratior: id quod ex teipso jam brevi redituro potius quam ex alteris literis, coram auditurum me esse spero. Interim vale, teque nobis quamprimum redde.

Westm. Novemb. 8, 1656.

Ornatissimo Viro EMERICO BIGOTIO.

21. QUOD in Angliam trajicienti tibi dignus sum visus, quem præter cæteros visendum duceres et salutandum, fuit sane mihi et meritò quidem gratum; quod per literas tanto etiam intervallo nunc denuo salutas, id aliquanto fuit gratius. Poteras enim primò aliorum fortassis opinione ductus ad me venisse, per literas nunc redire, nisi proprio judicio vel saltem benevolentia reductus, vix poteras. Unde est sane, ut posse videar jure mihi gratulari: multi enim scriptis editis floruere, quorum viva vox et consuetudo quotidiana nihil fere prætulit non demissum atque vulgare: ego si id assequi possum, ut si qua commode scripsi, iis par animo ac moribus esse videar; et pondus ipse scriptis addidero, et laudem vicissim, quantulacunque ea est, eo tamen

majorem ab ipsis retulero: cum rectum et laudabile quod est, id non magis ab authoribus præstantissimis accepisse, quam ab intimo sensu mentis atque animi depromisisse purum atque sincerum videbor. De mea igitur animi tranquillitate in hoc tanto luminis detrimento, deque mea in excipiendis exteris hominibus comitate ac studio, persuasum tibi esse gaudeo. Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amissum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, sperem. Quo fit, ut neque literis irascar, nec earum studio penitus intermittam, etiamsi me tam male multaverint: tam enim morosus ne sim, Mysorum regis Telephi saltem exemplum erudiit; qui eo telo, quo vulneratus est, sanari postea non recusavit. Quod ad illum librum de modo tenendi parlamenta quem apud te habes, ejus designata loca ex codice clarissimi viri Domini Bradsciavi, nec non ex codice Cottoniano, vel emendanda, vel dubia si erant, confirmanda curavi; ut ex reddita hic tibi tua chartula perspicies. Quod autem scire cupis, num etiam in arce Londinensi autographum hujus libri extet, misi qui id quæreret ex feciali, cui actorum custodia mandata est, et quo ipse utor familiariter: respondit is, nullum exemplar illius libri iis in monumentis extare. Tu vicissim quam mihi operam defers in re libraria procuranda, pergratum habeo; desunt mihi ex Bysantinis historiis, Theophanis Chronographia Græc. Lat. fol. Constant. Manassis Breviarium Historicum, et Codini Excerpta de Antiquit. C. P. Græc. Lat. fol. Anastasii Bibliothecarii Hist. et Vitæ Rom. Pontific. fol. quibus Michaelem Glycam, et Joannem Sinnamum, Annæ Comnenæ Continuatorem, ex eadem typographia, si modo prodierunt, rogo adjicias: quàm queas minimo non addo; cum quòd, id ut te moneam hominem frugalissimum, non est opus, tum quòd pretium eorum librorum certum esse aiunt, et omnibus notum: nummos D. Stuppius numeratò se tibi curaturum recepit, nec non etiam de vectura, quæ sit commodissima, provisurum. Ego vero quæ tu vis, quæque optas, cupio tibi omnia. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Martii 24. 1656.

Nobili Adolescenti Richardo Jonesio.

22. Tardius multo accepi literas tuas quam abs te datæ sunt, post quindecim puto dies quam sepositæ alicubi apud matrem delituissent. Ex quibus tandem studium erga me tuum gratique animi sensum libentissime cognovi: mea certe erga te benevolentia monitaque fidissima, neque optimæ matris tuæ de me opinioni atque fiduciæ, neque indoli tuæ unquam defuere. Est quidem, ut scribis, amœnitatis atque salubritatis eo in loco, quo nunc recessisti, est et librorum quod academiæ satis esse possit; si ad ingenium incolarum tantum conferret ista soli amœnitas quantum ad delicias confert, ad fœlicitatem illius loci nihil deesse videretur. Et bibliotheca etiam illic instructissima est; verum nisi studiosorum mentes disciplinis optimis instructiores inde reddantur, apothecam librorum illam quam bibliothecam rectius dixeris. Oportere itaque ad hæc omnia discendi animum atque industriam accedere percommode sane agnoscis. Tu ex ista sententia, nequando tecum agere necesse habeam, etiam atque etiam vide; id facillimo negotio evitabis, si ornatissimi viri Henrici Oldenburgi qui tibi præsto est, gravissimis atque amicissimis præceptis diligenter parueris. Vale mi Richarde dilectissime, et ad virtutem ac pietatem, matris præstantissimæ fœminæ exemplo, veluti Timotheum alterum, sinito te adhortei atque accendam.

Westmonasterio.

Illustrissimo Domino Henrico de Brass.

23. Video te, domine, id quod perpauci ex hodierna juventute faciunt, qui oras exteras perlustrant, non juvenilium studiorum sed amplioris undique comparandæ eruditionis causa, veterum exemplo philosophorum, recte et sapienter peregrinari. Quanquam ea quæ scribis quoties intueor, ad eruditionem non tam aliunde capiendam, quam aliis impertiendam, ad commutandas potius, quam ad coemendas bonas merces, accessisse ad exteros videris. Atque utinam mihi tam facile esset, ista tua præclara studia rebus omnibus adjuvare ac promovere, quam est jucundum sane et pergratum tuam egregiam indolem id à me petere. Quod scribis tamen statuisse te ut ad me scriberes, meaque responsa peteres ad eas difficultates enucleandas, circa quas à multis sæculis historiarum scriptores videntur caligasse, nihil equidem hujusmodi neque unquam mihi sumpsi, neque ausim sumere. De Sallustio quod scribis, dicam libere, quoniam ita vis plane ut dicam quod sentio, Sallustium cuivis Latino historico me quidem anteferre; quæ etiam constans fere antiquorum sententia fuit. Habet suas laudes tuus Tacitus; sed eas meo quidem judicio maximas, quod Sallustium nervis omnibus sit imitatus. Cum hæc tecum coram dissererem, perfecisse videor, quantum ex eo quod scribis conjicio, ut de illo cordatissimo scriptore ipse jam idem prope sentias: adeoque ex me quæris, cum is in exordio belli Catilinarii perdifficile esse dixerit historiam scribere, propterea quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt, qua potissimum ratione id assequi historiarum scriptorem posse existimem. Ego vero sic existimo; qui gestas res dignas digne scripserit, eum animo non minus magno rerumque usu præditum scribere oportere, quam is qui eas gesserit: ut vel maximas pari animo comprehendere atque metiri possit, et comprehensas sermone puro atque casto distincte graviterque narrare: nam ut ornate, non admodum laboro; historicum enim, non oratorem requiro. Crebras etiam sententias, et judicia de rebus gestis interjecta prolixe nollem, ne, interrupta rerum serie, quod politici scriptoris munus est historicus invadat; qui si in consiliis explicandis, factisque enarrandis, non suum ingenium aut conjecturam, sed veritatem potissimum sequitur, suarum profecto partium satagit. Addiderim et illud Sallustianum, qua in re ipse Catonem maxime laudavit, posse multa paucis absolvere; id quod sine acerrimo judicio, atque etiam temperantia quadam neminem posse arbitror. Sunt multi in quibus vel sermonis elegantiam, vel congestarum

rerum copiam non desideres; qui brevitatem cum copia conjunxerit, id est, qui multa paucis absolverit, princeps meo judicio Latinorum est Sallustius. Has ego virtutes historico inesse putem oportere, qui facta dictis exæquaturum se speret. Verum quid ego tibi ista? ad quæ tu ipse, quo es ingenio, per te sufficis; quique eam ingressus es viam, in qua si pergis, neminem te ipso doctiorem poteris brevi consulere: et uti pergas, quanquam tibi hortatu non opus est cujusquam, ne omnino tamen nihil pro expectatione tua respondisse videar, quantum valere me auctoritate apud te sinis, hortor magnopere atque auctor sum. Vale, tuaque virtute et sapientiæ acquirendæ studio macte esto.

Westmonasterio, Idibus Quintil. 1657.

HENRICO OLDENBURGO.

24. QUOD Salmurium peregrinationis vestræ, ut puto, sedem incolumes pervenistis, gaudeo: hoc enim te non fefellit, id mihi imprimis gratissimum fore; utqui et te merito tuo diligam, et suscepti itineris causam tam esse honestam atque laudabilem sciam. Quod autem audisti accersitum ecclesiæ tam illustri erudiendæ Antistitem tam infamem, id mallem quivis alius in Charontis, quam tu in Charentonis cymba audisses: verendum enim est valde, ne toto cœlo devius frustretur, quisquis tam fœdo auspice perventurum se unquam ad superos putat. Væ illi ecclesiæ (Deus modo avertat omen) ubi tales ministri aurium causa potissimum placent, quos ecclesia, si reformata vere vult dici, ejiceret rectius quam cooptaret. Quod scripta nostra nemini nisi poscenti impertisti, recte tu quidem et eleganter, neque ex mea solum, sed etiam ex Horatiana sententia fecisti;

> Ne studio nostri pecces, odiumque libellis
> Sedulus importes opera vehemente.——

Commorabatur vir doctus quidam, familiaris meus, superiore æstate Salmurii; is ad me scripsit, librum illum iis in locis expeti: unum exemplar duntaxat misi; rescripsit, placitum esse aliquod doctis, quibuscum communicaverat, ut nihil supra. Nisi iis rem gratam facturum me fuisse existimassem, parsissem utique et tuo oneri et sumptui meo. Verum,

> Si te forte meæ gravis uret sarcina chartæ,
> Abjicito potius, quam, quo perferre juberis,
> Clitellas ferus impingas,——

Laurentio nostro, ut jussisti, salutem nomine tuo dixi: de cætero, nihil est quod abs te prius agi, priusve curare velim, quam ut tu atque alumnus tuus recte valeatis, votorumque compotes ad nos quamprimum redeatis.

Westmonasterio, Calend. Sextil. 1657.

Nobili Adolescenti RICHARDO JONESIO.

25. CONFECISSE te sine incommodo tam longum iter, et spretis Lutetiarum illecebris, tanta celeritate eò contendisse, ubi literato otio, doctorumq. consuetudine frui possis, et magnopere lætor, et te tuæ indolis laudo. Illic quoad te continebis in portu eris; Syrtes et Scopulos, et Sirenum cantus alias tibi cavendum. Quin et vindemiam, qua oblectare te cogitas, Salmuriensem nimium satire te nolim, nisi in animo quoque sit, mustum illud Liberi liberiore Musarum latice quinta plus parte diluere. Verum ad hæc, me etiam tacente, hortatorem habes eximium, quem si audis, tibimet profecto optime consulueris, et præstantissimam parentem tuam summo gaudio, et crescente indies amore tui affeceris. Quod uti facere possis, à Deo Opt. Max. petere quotidie debes. Vale, et ad nos quam optimus, bonisque artibus quam cultissimus, fac redeas: id mihi præter cæteros jucundissimum erit.

Westm. Calend. Sextil. 1657.

Illustrissimo Domino HENRICO DE BRASS.

26. IMPEDITUS per hosce dies occupationibus quibusdam, illustrissime Domine, serius rescribo quam volebam. Volebam enim eo citius, quod literas tuas multa jam nunc eruditione plenas, non tam præcipiendi tibi quicquam (id quod à me honoris credo mei, non usus tui causa postulas) quam gratulandi duntaxat, reliquisse mihi locum videbam. Gratulor auemt et mihi imprimis fœlicitatem meam, qui Sallustii sententiam ita commode explicasse videar, et tibi tam assiduam illius auctoris sapientissimi tanto cum fructu lectionem. De quo idem tibi ausim confirmare quod de Cicerone Quintilianus, sciat se haud parum in re historica profecisse cui placeat Sallustius. Illud autem Aristotelis præceptum ex rhetoricorum tertio quod explicatum cupis, sententiis utendum est in narratione et in fide, moratum enim est; non video quid habeat magnopere explicandum, modo ut narratio et fides, quæ et probatio dici solet, ea hic intelligatur, qua rhetor, non qua historicus utitur: diversæ enim sunt partes rhetoris et historici, sive narrant, sive probant; quemadmodum et artes ipsæ inter se diversæ sunt. Quid autem conveniat historico, ex auctoribus antiquis Polybio, Halicarnassæo, Diodoro, Cicerone, Luciano, aliisque multis, qui ea de re præcepta quædam sparsim tradidere, rectius didiceris. Ego vero et studiis tuis et itineribus secunda omnia atque tuta exopto, dignosque successus eo animo ac diligentia, quam rebus quibusque optimis adhibere te video. Vale.

Westm. Decemb. 16, 1657.

Ornatissimo Viro PETRO HEIMBACHIO.

27. LITERAS tuas Haga comitis dat. 18 Dec. accepi: ad quas, quoniam id tuis rationibus expedire video, eodem die, quo mihi sunt redditæ, rescribendum putavi. In iis post gratias actas ob beneficia nescio quæ mea, quæ vellem sane non essent nulla, ut qui tua causa quidvis cupiam, petis ut te per D. Laurentium oratori nostro in Hollandiam designato commendarem: quod quidem doleo in me situm non esse; cum propter paucissimas familiaritates meas cum gratiosis, qui domi fere, idque libenter me contineo; tum quod is credo, è portu jam solvit, jamque adventat, secumque habet in comitatu quem sibi ab epistolis vult esse, quod tu

munus apud eum petis. Verum in ipso discessu jam tabellarius est. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Decemb. 18, 1657.

JOANNI BADIÆO *Pastori* ARAUSIONENSI.

28. QUOD tardius ad te rescribo, vir clarissime et reverende, non recusabit, credo, noster Duræus, quo minus tardioris culpam rescriptionis à me in ipsum transferam. Postea enim quam schedulæ illius, quam mihi recitatam volebas, de iis quæ Evangelij causa egisses atque perpessus esses, copiam mihi fecit, non distuli parare has ad te literas ut ei darem tabellario, qui primus discessisset, sollicitus quam in partem silentium meum tam diuturnum interpretarere. Maximam interim habeo gratiam Molinæo vestro Nemausensi, qui suis de me sermonibus et amicissima prædicatione, tot per ea loca bonorum virorum me in gratiam immisit. Et sane quanquam non sum nescius, me vel eo quod cum adversario tanti nominis publice jussus certamen non detrectaverim, vel propter argumenti celebritatem, vel denique scribendi genus longe lateque satis innotuisse; sic tamen existimo, me tantundem duntaxat habere famæ, quantum habeo bonæ existimationis apud bonos. Atque in eadem te quoque esse sententia, plane video; qui veritatis Christianæ studio atque amore accensus, tot labores pertuleris, tot hostes sustinueris; eaque quotidie fortiter facias, quibus tantum abest, ut ullam ab improbis famam tibi quæras, ut eorum certissima odia et maledicta in te concitare non verearis. O te beatum! quem Deus unum ex tot millibus virorum, alioqui sapientum atque doctorum, ex ipsis inferorum portis ac faucibus ereptum, ad tam insignem atque intrepidam Evangelii sui professionem evocavit. Et habeo nunc quidem cur putem Dei voluntate singulari factum, ut ad te citius non rescriberim: cum enim intelligerem ex literis tuis, te ab infestis undique hostibus petitum atque obsessum, circumspicere, et meritò quidem, quo te posses in extremo discrimine, si ita res tulisset, recipere, et Angliam tibi in primis placuisse, gaudebam equidem non uno nomine, te id consilii cepisse; cum tui potiundi spe, tum te de mea patria tam præclare sentire: illud dolebam, non tum vidisse me unde tibi hic apud nos præsertim Anglice nescienti, pro eo ac deceret prospectum esset posset. Nunc vero peropportune accidit ut minister quidam Gallicus ætate confectus, ante paucos dies è vita migraverit. In ista ecclesia qui plurimum pòssunt, teque illis in locis non satis tutò versari intelligunt (non hoc incertis rumoribus collectum, sed ex ipsis auditum refero) cooptatum te illius ministri in locum summopere cupiunt, immo invitant; sumptusque itineris suppeditandos tibi decreverunt; atque ita tibi de re familiari provisum iri pollicentur, ut ministrorum apud nos Gallicorum nemini melius; nec tibi quicquam defore, quod ad munus evangelicum apud se libenter obeundum possit conducere. Quare advola quamprimum, si me audis, vir reverende, ad cupidissimos tui, messem hic messurus, etsi commodorum hujus mundi fortasse non ita uberem, tamen, quam tui similis potissimum exoptant, animarum, ut spero, numerosam: tibique persuadeas, te viris bonis omnibus expectatissimum esse venturum; et quanto citius, tanto gratiorem. Vale.

Westmonasterio, April. 21, 1659.

HENRICO OLDENBURGO.

29. SILENTII, quam petis veniam tui, dabis potius mei; cujus erant, si memini, respondendi vices. Me certe non imminuta erga te voluntas, hoc enim persuasissimum tibi esse velim, sed vel studia, vel curæ domesticæ impediverant, vel ipsa fortasse ad scribendum pigritia, intermissi officii reum facit. Quod scire cupis, valeo equidem, Deo juvante, ut soleo: ab historia nostrorum motuum concinnanda, quod hortari videris, longe absum; sunt enim silentio digniores quam præconio: nec nobis qui motuum historiam concinnare, sed qui motus ipsos componere feliciter possit, est opus: tecum enim vereor ne libertatis ac religionis hostibus nunc nuper sociatis, nimis opportuni inter has nostras civiles discordias vel potius insanias, videamur; verum non illi gravius, quam nosmetipsi jamdiu flagitiis nostris, religioni vulnus intulerint. Sed Deus, uti spero, propter se gloriamque suam, quæ nunc agitur, consilia impetusque hostium ex ipsorum sententia succedere non sinet, quicquid reges et cardinales turbarum meditentur aut struant. Synodo interea protestantium Laodunensi, propediem, ut scribis, convocandæ, precor id, quod nulli adhuc synodo contigit, fœlicem exitum, non Nazianzenicum; fœlicem autem huic nunc satis futurum, si nihil aliud decreverit, quam ejiciendum esse Morum. De adversario posthumo simul ac prodierit, fac me, rogo, primo quoque tempore certiorem. Vale.

Westmon. Decemb. 20, 1659.

Nobili Adolescenti RICHARDO JONESIO.

30. QUOD longo intervallo ad me scribis, modestissime tu quidem te excusas, qui possis ejusdem delicti me rectius accusare: ut haud sciam profecto utrum non deliquisse te, an sic excusasse, maluèrim. Illud tibi in mentem cave veniat; me gratitudinem tuam, si qua mihi abs te debetur, literarum assiduitate metiri: tum te gratissimum adversus me esse sensero, cum mea erga te quæ prædicas merita, non tam in literis crebris, quam in optimis perpetuo studiis tuis ac laudibus apparebunt. Viam virtutis quidem, in illo orbis terrarum gymnasio quod es ingressus, recte fecisti; sed viam scito illam virtutis ac vitii communem; illuc progrediendum, ubi via in bivium se scindit. Teque sic comparare jam nunc mature debes, ut relicta hac communi, amœna ac florida, illam arduam ac difficilem, qui solius virtutis clivus est, tua sponte libentius, etiam cum labore ac periculo, possis ascendere. Id tu præ aliis multo facilius, mihi crede, poteris, qui tam fidum ac peritum nactus es itineris ducem. Vale.

West. Decemb. 20, 1659.

Ornatissimo Viro Petro Heimbachio, *Electoris Brandenburgici Consiliario.*

31. Si inter tot funera popularium meorum, anno tam gravi ac pestilenti, abreptum me quoque, ut scribis, ex rumore præsertim aliquo credidisti, mirum non est; atque ille rumor apud vestros, ut videtur, homines, si ex eo quod de salute mea soliciti essent, increbuit, non displicet; indicium enim suæ erga me benevolentiæ fuisse existimo. Sed Dei benignitate, qui tutum mihi receptum in agris paraverat, et vivo adhuc et valeo; utinam ne inutilis, quicquid muneris in hac vita restat mihi peragendum. Tibi vero tam longo intervallo venisse in mentem mei, pergratum est; quanquam, prout rem verbis exornas, præbere aliquem suspicionem videris, oblitum mei te potius esse, qui tot virtutum diversarum conjugium in me, ut scribis, admirere. Ego certe ex tot conjugiis numerosam nimis prolem expavescerem, nisi constaret in re arcta, rebusque duris, virtutes ali maxime et vigere: tametsi earum una non ita belle charitatem hospitii mihi reddidit: quam enim politicam tu vocas, ego pietatem in patriam dictam abs te mallem, ea me pulchro nomine delinitum prope, ut ita dicam, expatriavit. Reliquarum tamen chorus clare concinit. Patria est, ubicunque est bene. Finem faciam, si hoc prius abs te impetravero, ut, si quid mendose descriptum aut non interpunctum repereris, id puero, qui hæc excepit, Latine prorsus nescienti velis imputare; cui singulas plane literulas annumerare non sine miseria dictans cogebar. Tua interim viri merita, quem ego adolescentem spei eximiæ cognovi, ad tam honestum in principis gratia provexisse te locum, gaudeo, cæteraque fausta omnia et cupio tibi, et spero. Vale.

Londini, Aug. 15. 1666.

JOANNIS MILTONII

PROLUSIONES QUÆDAM ORATORIÆ.

IN COLLEGIO, &c.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1674.]

Utrum Dies an Nox præstantior sit?

Scriptum post se reliquere passim nobilissimi quique rhetoricæ magistri, quod nec vos præteriit, Academici, in unoquoque dicendi genere, sive demonstrativo, sive deliberativo, sive judiciali, ab aucupanda auditorum gratia exordium duci oportere; alioqui nec permoveri posse auditorum animos, nec causam ex sententia succedere. Quod si res ita est, quam sane, ne vera dissimulem, eruditorum omnium consensu fixum ratumque novi, miserum me! ad quantas ego hodie redactus sum angustias! qui in ipso orationis limine vereor ne aliquid prolaturus sim minime oratorium, et ab officio oratoris primo et præcipuo necesse habeam abscedere. Etenim quî possim ego vestram sperare benevolentiam, cum in hoc tanto concursu, quot oculis intueor tot ferme aspiciam infesta in me capita; adeo ut orator venisse videar ad non exorabiles. Tantum potest ad simultates etiam in scholis æmulatio, vel diversa studia, vel in eisdem studiis diversa judicia sequentium; ego vero solicitus non sum,

Ne mihi Polydamas et Troïades Labeonem prætulerint; nugæ.

Veruntamen ne penitus despondeam animum, sparsim video, ni fallor, qui mihi ipso aspectu tacito, quam bene velint, haud obscure significant; à quibus etiam quantumvis paucis, equidem probari malo quam ab innumeris imperitorum centuriis, in quibus nihil mentis, nihil rectæ rationis, nihil sani judicii inest, ebullienti quadam et plane ridenda verborum spuma sese venditantibus; à quibus si emendicatos ab novitiis authoribus centones dempseris, Deum immortalem! quanto nudiores Leberide conspexeris, et exhausta inani vocabulorum et sententiuncularum supellectile, μηδὲ γρὺ φθέγγεσθαι, perinde mutos ac ranuncula Seriphia. At ô quam ægre temperaret à risu vel ipse, si in vivis esset, Heraclitus, si forte hosce cerneret, si Diis placet, oratorculos, quos paulo ante audiverit cothurnato Euripidis Oreste, aut furibundo sub mortem Hercule grandiora eructantes, exhausto tandem vocularum quarundam tenuissimo penu, posito incedere supercilio, aut retractis introrsum cornibus, velut animalcula quædam abrepere. Sed recipio me paululum digressus. Si quis igitur est qui, spreta pacis conditione, ἄσπονδον πολέμον mihi indixerit, eum ego quidem in præsentia non dedignabor orare et rogare, ut semota paulisper simultate, æquabilis adsit certaminis hujus arbiter; neve oratoris culpa, si qua est, causam quam optimam et præclarissimam in invidiam vocet. Quod si mordaciora paulo hæc et aceto perfusa nimio putaveritis, id ipsum de industria fecisse me profiteor: volo enim ut initium orationis meæ primulum imitetur diluculum; ex quo subnubilo serenissima fere nascitur dies. Quæ an nocte præstantior sit, haud vulgaris utique agitatur controversia, quam quidem mearum nunc est partium, auditores, pensique hujus matutini, accurate et radicitus excutere; quamvis et hæc prolusioni poeticæ, quam decertationi oratoriæ, magis videatur idonea: at at noctemne dixi cum die struxisse lites? Quid hoc rei est? quænam hæc molitio? numnam antiquum Titanes redintegrant bellum, Phlegræi prælii instaurantes reliquias? an terra novam in superos deos enixa est portentosæ magnitudinis prolem? an vero Typhœus injectam Ætnæ montis electatus est molem? an denique, decepto Cerbero, catenis adamantinis subduxit se Briareus? quid est aliquando tandem, quod deos manes ad cœlestis imperii spem jam tertiò erexerit? adeone contemnendum Jovis fulmen? adeon' pro nihilo putanda Palladis invicta virtus, qua tantam olim inter terrigenas fratres edidit stragem? excidit ne animo insignis ille per cœli templa Liberi patris ex profligatis gigantibus triumphus? neutiquam sanè: meminit illa probe, nec sine lachrymis, consternatos plerosque à Jove fratres superstitesque cæteros usque ad penitissimos inferorum recessus in fugam actos; et certe jam nihil minus quam bellum adornat trepida, querelam potius et lites instruit, atque pro more mulierum post

rem unguibus et pugnis fortiter gestam ad colloquium seu versus ad rixam venit, periclitura, opinor, linguane plus an armis valeat. At vero quam inconsultò, quam arroganter, quamque debili causæ titulo præ die summam rerum ambiat, expedire festino. Video siquidem et ipsam diem galli cantu expergefactam, cursu solito citatiori adproperasse ad suas laudes exaudiendas. Et quoniam unusquisque hoc imprimis ad honores et decus conferre arbitratur, si ab generosis natalibus et prisco regum vel deorum sanguine oriundum se comperit. Videndum primo utra genere sit clarior, mox quænam antiquitate honoratior; dein hæc an illa humanis usibus accommodatius inserviat. Apud vetustissimos itaque mythologiæ scriptores memoriæ datum reperio, Demogorgonem deorum omnium atavum (quem eundem et Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum hariolor) inter alios liberos, quos sustulerat plurimos, Terram genuisse; hac, incerto patre, noctem fuisse prognatam; quamvis paulo aliter Hesiodus eam chaogenitam velit hoc monasticho,

Ἐξ χάεος δ' Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινά τε νὺξ ἐγένοντο.

Hanc, quocunque natam, cum adoleverat ad ætatem nuptiis maturam, poscit sibi uxorem Phanes pastor; annuente matre, refragatur illa, negatque se ignoti viri et nusquam visi, moribusque insuper tam longe diversis, concubitum inituram. Repulsam Phanes ægre ferens, verso in odium amore, nigellam hanc Telluris filiam per omnes orbis terrarum tractus ad necem sequitur indignabundus. Illa vero quem amantem sprevit, eum hostem non minus tremit; propterea ne apud ultimas quidem nationes, et disjuncta quam maxime loca, immo ne in ipso sinu parentis satis se tutam rata, ad incestos Erebi fratris amplexus furtim et clanculum se corripit; timore simul gravi soluta, maritumque nacta proculdubio sui similem. Hoc itaque tam venusto conjugum pari Æther et Dies perhibentur editi, ut author est idem, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, Hesiodus.

Νυκτὸς δ' ἀντ' αἰθήρτε και ἡμέρα ἐξεγένοντο,
Οὓς τε κεκυσσα μένη Ἐρέβει φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.

At enim vetant humaniores musæ, ipsa etiam prohibet philosophia diis proxima, ne minus poetis deorum figulis, præsertim Græcanicis, omni ex parte habeamus fidem; nec quisquam iis hoc probro datum putet, quod in re tanti momenti authores videantur vix satis locupletes. Si quis enim eorum aliquantillum deflexerit à vero, id non tam ingeniis eorum assignandum, quibus nihil divinius, quam pravæ et cæcutienti ejus ætatis ignorantiæ, quæ tunc tempestatis pervadebat omnia. Abunde sane laudis hinc sibi adepti sunt, affatim gloriæ, quod homines in sylvis atque montibus dispalatos belluarum ad instar, in unum compulerint locum, et civitates constituerint, quodque omnes disciplinas quotquot hodie traduntur, lepidis fabellarum involucris obvestitas pleni Deo primi docuerint; eritque hoc solum iisdem ad assequendam nominis immortalitatem non ignobile sane subsidium, quod artium scientiam feliciter incboatam posteris absolvendam reliquerint.

Noli igitur, quisquis es, arrogantiæ me temere damnare, quasi ego jam veterum omnium poetarum decreta, nulla nixus authoritate, perfregerim aut immutaverim; neque enim id mihi sumo, sed ea tantummodo ad normam rationis revocare conor, exploraturus hoc pacto num rigidæ possint veritatis examen pati. Quocirca primò noctem Tellure ortam erudite quidem et eleganter fabulata est antiquitas; quid enim aliud mundo noctem obducit quam densa et impervia terra, solis lumini nostroque horizonti interposita? quòd eam deinde nunc patrimam, fuisse negant mythologi, nunc matrimam, id quoque festiviter fictum; inde siquidem recte colligitur spuriam fuisse aut subdititiam, aut demum parentes prolem tam famosam et illiberalem præ pudore non agnovisse. At vero cur existimarent Phanetem illum mirifica supra modum humanum facie, noctem Æthiopissam et monogrammam etiam in matrimonium adamasse, arduum impense negotium videtur è vestigio divinare, nisi quod fœminarum insignis admodum id temporis paucitas delectum suppeditaret nullum. Atqui presse agamus et cominus. Phanetem interpretantur veteres solem sive diem; quem dum commemorant noctis conjugium primo petiisse, deinde in ultionem spreti connubii insecutum, nihil aliud quam dierum et noctium vices ostendere volunt. Ad hoc autem quid opus erat introduxisse Phanetem noctis nuptias ambientem, cum perpetua illa eorum successio et mutuus quasi impulsus innato et æterno odio melius adsignificetur; quippe constat sudum et tenebras ab ipso rerum principio acerrimis inter se dissedisse inimicitiis. Atque ego sane noctem credo, εὐφρόνης cognomen hinc solum accepisse, quod Phanetis connubio permiscere se caute recusarit, nec non cogitate; etenim si illum semel in suos admisisset thalamos, extra dubium radiis ejus et impatibili fulgore absumpta vel in nihilum interiisset, vel penitus conflagrasset, sicuti olim invito Jove Amasio arsisse ferunt Semelem. Quapropter huic, non improvida salutis suæ, Erebum prætulit. Unde scitum illud Martialis et perurbanum.

Uxor pessima, pessimus maritus,
Non miror bene convenire vobis.

Nec tacendum existimo, quam formosa et se digna virum auxerit prole, nimirum ærumna, invidia, timore, dolo, fraude, pertinacia, paupertate, miseria, fame, querela, morbo, senectute, pallore, caligine, somno, morte, Charonte, qui ultimo natus est partu; adeo ut hic apprime quadret quod in proverbii consuetudinem venit, κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ᾠόν. Cæterum nec desunt qui etiam ætherem et diem itidem Erebo suo Noctem peperisse tradunt. At enim quotusquisque est, non impos mentis, qui sic philosophantem non explodat ac rejiciat tanquam democritica commenta aut nutricularum fabulas proferentem? Ecquam enim veri speciem præ se fert, posse obscuram et fuscam noctem tam venustulum, tam amabilem, tam omnibus gratum acceptumque reddere partum? Qui etiam ut primum conceptus esset, præmaturo impetu erumpens utro matrem enecasset, ipsumque Erebum patrem abegisset protinus, vetulumque coegisset Charontem, ut sub imo Styge nocturnos abderet oculos, et si qua sub inferis lati-

bula sunt, ut eo se remigio et velis reciperet. Nec solum apud Orcum non est natus dies, sed ne unquam quidem ibi comparuit; neque potest illuc nisi fatorum ingratiis vel per minimam intromitti rimulam; quid! quod etiam diem nocte antiquiorem audeo dicere, eamque mundum recens emersum è Chao diffuso lumine collustrasse, priusquam nox suas egisset vices; nisi crassam illam et immundam caliginem noctem vel ipsi Demogorgoni equævam velimus perperam nominare. Ideoque diem Urani filiam natu maximam arbitror, vel filii potius dixeris, quem ille in solatium humanæ gentis et terrorem infernalium deorum procreasse dicitur; ne scilicet, occupante tyrannidem nocte, nulloque inter terras et Tartara discrimine posito, manes et furiæ atque omne illud infame monstrorum genus ad terras usque, deserta Barathri sede, se proreperent, misellique homines densis obvoluti umbris, et quaquaversum occlusi, defunctarum animarum pœnas etiam vivi experirentur. Hactenus, academici, obscuram noctis propaginem atris et profundissimis eruimus tenebris; habebitis ilicet ut se dignam præbuerit natalibus suis, sed si prius diei laudibus impensam dederim opellam meam, quamvis et illa sane omnium laudatorum eloquentiam anteeat. Et certe primo quam omnium animantium stirpi grata sit et desiderabilis, quid opere est vobis exponere; cum vel ipsæ volucres nequeant suum celare gaudium, quin egressæ nidulis, ubi primum diluculavit, aut in verticibus arborum concentu suavissimo deliniant omnia, aut sursum librantes se, et quam possunt prope Solem volitent, redeunti gratulaturæ luci. At primus omnium adventantem Solem triumphat insomnis gallus, et quasi præco quivis, monere videtur homines, ut excusso somno prodeant, atque obviam effundant se novam salutatum Auroram: tripudiant in agris capellæ, totumque genus quadrupedum gestit et exultat lætitia. Quinetiam et mœsta Clysie totam fere noctem, converso in Orientem vultu, Phœbum præstolata suum, jam arridet et adblanditur appropinquanti amatori. Caltha quoque et Rosa, ne nihil addant communi gaudio, aperientes sinum, odores suos Soli tantum servatos profusè spirant, quibus noctem dedignantur impertiri, claudentes se folliculis suis simulatque vesper appetat; cæterique flores inclinata paulum, et rore languidula erigentes capita quasi præbent se Soli, et tacite rogant ut suis osculis abstergat lacrymulas, quas ejus absentiæ dederant. Ipsa quoque Tellus in adventum Solis cultiori se induit vestitu, nubesque juxta variis chlamydatæ coloribus, pompa solenni, longoque ordine videntur ancillari surgenti deo. Ad summam, nequid deesset ad ejus dilatandas laudes, huic Persæ, huic Libyes, divinos honores decrevere; Rhodienses pariter celeberrimum illum stupendæ magnitudinis colossum, Charetis Lyndii miro extructum artificio, huic sacrarunt; huic itidem hodie Occidentalis Indiæ populi thure cæteroque apparatu sacrificare accepimus. Vos testor, academici, quam jucundum, quam optatum diuque expectatum vobis illucescat mane, utpote quod vos ad mansuetiores musas revocet, à quibus insaturabiles et sitibundos dimiserat ingrata Nox. Testor ultimo Saturnum cœlo deturbatum in Tartara, quam lubens vellet, si modo per Jovem liceret, ab exosis tenebris ad auras reverti; quod demum lux vel ipsi Plutoni sua caligine longe sit potior, id quidem in confesso est, quando cœleste regnum toties affectavit, unde scite et verissime Orpheus in hymno ad Auroram:

> Ἣ χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν,
> Ὃς φεύγει τὴν σὴν ὄψιν καθυπέρτερον, οὖσαν
> Ἡνίκα, τον γλύκυν ὕπνον ἀπό βλεφάρων ἀποσείσῃς.
> Πᾶς δὲ βροτός γήθει, πᾶν ἑρπετόν, ἀλλάτε φῦλα
> Τετραπόδων, πτηνῶντε, καὶ ἐνναλίων πολυεθνῶν.

Nec mirum utique cum Dies non minus utilitatis adferat quam delectationis, et sola negotiis obeundis accommodata sit; quis enim mortalium lata et immensa maris trajiçere sustineret, si desperaret affuturum diem; immo non aliter oceanum navigarent quam Lethen et Acherontem manes, horrendis nimirum undiquaque tenebris obsiti. Unusquisque etiam in suo se contineret gurgustio, haud unquam ausus foras prorepere; adeo ut necesse esset dissui statim humanam societatem. Frustra Venerem exeuntem è mari inchoasset Apelles; frustra Zeuxis Halenam pinxisset, si Nox cæca et obnubila res tam visendas oculis nostris adimeret; tum quoque frustra tellus serpentes multiplici et erratico lapsu vites, frustra decentissimæ proceritatis arbores profunderet, incassum denique gemmis et floribus tanquam stellulis interpoliret se, cœlum exprimere conata; tum demum nobilissimus ille videndi sensus nullis animalibus usui foret; ita prorsus, extincto mundi oculo, deflorescerent omnia et penitus emorerentur; nec sane huic cladi diu superessent ipsi homines, qui tenebricosam incolerent terram, cum nihil suppeteret unde victitarent, nihil denique obstaret, quominus in antiquum chaos ruerent omnia. Hisce quidem possit quispiam inexhausto stylo plura adjicere; verum non permitteret ipsa verecunda Dies ut singula persequatur, et proclivi cursu ad occasum præcipitans, nullo modo pateretur immodice laudantem. Jam igitur declinat in vesperam dies, et nocti statim cedet, ne adulta hieme solstitialem contigisse diem facete dicatis. Tantum pace vestra liceat adjungere pauca quæ non possum commode præterire. Meritò igitur poetæ Noctem inferis exsurgere scriptitarunt; cum impossibile plane sit aliunde tot tantaque mala nisi ex eo loco mortalibus invehi. Oborta enim nocte sordescunt et obfuscantur omnia, nec quicquam tunc profecto interest inter Helenam et Canidiam, nihil inter pretiosissimos et viles lapillos, nisi quod gemmarum nonnullæ etiam noctis obscuritatem vincant: huc accedit, quod amœnissima quæque loca tunc quidem horrorem incutiant, qui etiam alto et tristi quodam augetur silentio; siquidem quicquid uspiam est in agris, aut hominum aut ferarum, vel domum, vel ad antra raptim se conferunt; ubi stratis immersi ad aspectus noctis terribiles claudunt oculos. Nullum foris conspicies præterquam fures et laverniones lucifugos, qui cædem anhelantes et rapinas, insidiantur bonis civium, et noctu solum vagantur, ne detegantur interdiu; quippe dies nullum non indagare solet nefas, haud passura lucem suam istiusmodi flagitiis inquinari; nullum habebis obvium nisi lemures et larvas, et empusas

quas secum Nox comites è locis asportat subterraneis, quæque tota nocte terras in sua ditione esse, sibique cum hominibus communes vendicant. Ideoque opinor noctem auditum nostrum reddidisse solertiorem, ut umbrarum gemitus, bubonum et stygum ululatus, ac rugitus leonum, quos fames evocat; eò citius perstringerent aures, animosque; graviori metu percellerent. Hinc liquidò constat, quam sit ille falsus animi qui noctu homines à timore otiosos esse, Noctemque curas sopire omnes autumat; namque hanc vanam esse et nugatoriam opinionem infœlici norunt experientia, quicunque sceleris cujuspiam conscii sibi fuere; quos tunc sphinges et harpyiæ, quos tunc gorgones et chimæræ intentatis facibus insequuntur; norunt miseri, qui cum nullus adsit qui subveniat iis et opituletur, nullus qui dulcibus alloquiis dolores leniat, ad bruta saxa irritas jaciunt querelas, subinde exoptantes oriturum diluculum. Idcirco Ovidius poetarum elegantissimus Noctem jure optimo curarum maximam nutricem appellavit. Quod autem eo potissimum tempore fracta et defatigata laboribus diurnis corpora recreemus somno et refocillemus, id numinis beneficium est non noctis munus; sed esto, non est tanti somnus ut ejus ergo noctem in honore habeamus, enimvero cum proficiscimur dormitum, revera tacite fatemur nos imbelles et miseros homines, qui minuta hæc corpuscula ne ad exiguum tempus sine requie sustentare valeamus. Et certe quid aliud est somnus quam mortis imago et simulachrum? hinc Homero mors et somnus gemelli sunt, uno generati conceptu, uno partu editi. Postremò, quod luna cæteraque sidera nocti suas præferant faces, id quoque soli debetur; neque enim habent illa quod transfundant lumen nisi quod ab illo accipiant mutuum. Quis igitur, si non tenebrio, si non effractor, si non aleator, si non inter scortorum greges noctem pernoctare perpetem integrosque dies ronchos efflare solitus, quis inquam nisi talis tam inhonestam, tamque invidiosam causam in se susceperit defendendam? Atque demiror ego ut aspicere audeat solem hunc, et etiam cum communi luce impune frui, quam ingratus vituperat, dignus profecto quem adversis radiorum ictibus veluti Pythonem novum interimat sol; dignus qui Cimmeriis occlusus tenebris longam et perosam vitam transigat; dignus denique cujus oratio somnum moveat auditoribus, ita ut quicquid dixerit non majorem somnio quovis fidem faciat; quique ipse etiam somnolentus, nutantes atque stertentes auditores annuere sibi et plaudere peroranti deceptus putet. Sed nigra video noctis supercilia, et sentio atras insurgere tenebras; recedendum est, ne me nox improvisum opprimat. Vos igitur, auditores, posteaquam nox nihil aliud sit quam obitus, et quasi mors diei, nolite committere ut mors vitæ præponatur; sed causam dignemini meam vestris ornare suffragiis, ita studia vestra fortunent musæ; exaudiatque Aurora musis amica, exaudiat et Phœbus qui cuncta videt auditque, quos habeat in hoc cœtu laudis ejus fautores. Dixi.

IN SCHOLIS PUBLICIS.

De Sphærarum Concentu.

Si quis meæ tenuitati locus Academici, post tot hodie, tantosque exauditos oratores, conabor etiam ego jam pro meo modulo exprimere, quam bene velim solenni hujus lucis celebritati, et tanquam procul sequar hodiernum hunc eloquentiæ triumphum. Dum itaque trita illa, et pervulgata dicendi argumenta refugio penitus, et reformido, ad novam aliquam materiem ardue tentandam accendit animum, et statim erigit hujus diei cogitatio, horumque simul quos digna die loquuturos haud injuria suspicabar; quæ duo vel tardo cuivis, et obtuso cæteroquin ingenio stimulos, aut acumen addidisse poterant. Hinc idcirco subiit pauca saltem super illo cœlesti concentu, dilatata (quod aiunt) manu, et ubertate oratoria præfari, de quo mox quasi contracto pugno disceptandum est; habita tamen ratione temporis, quod me jam urget et coarctat. Hæc tamen perinde accipiatis velim auditores, quasi per lusum dicta. Quis enim sanus existimaverit Pythagoram deum illum philosophorum, cujus ad nomen omnes ejus sæculi mortales non sine persancta veneratione assurgebant, quis, inquam, eum existimaverit tam lubricè fundatam opinionem unquam protulisse in medium. Sanè si quam ille sphærarum docuit harmoniam, et circumactos ad modulaminis dulcedinem cœlos, per id sapienter innuere voluit, amicissimos orbium complexus, æquabilesque in eternum ad fixam fati legem conversiones; in hoc certe vel poetas, vel quod idem pene est, divina imitatus oracula, à quibus nihil sacri reconditique mysterii exhibetur in vulgus, nisi aliquo involutum tegumento et vestitu. Hunc secutus est ille Naturæ Matris optimus interpres Plato, dum singulis cœlis orbibus Sirenas quasdam insidere tradidit, quæ mellitissimo cantu deos hominesque mirabundos capiant. Atque hanc deinque conspirationem rerum universam, et consensum amabilem, quem Pythagoras per harmoniam poetico ritu subinduxit, Homerus etiam per auream illam Jovis catenam de cœlo suspensam insigniter appositeque adumbravit. Hinc autem Aristoteles, Pythagoræ, et Platonis æmulus et perpetuus calumniator, ex labefactatis tantorum virorum sententiis viam sternere ad gloriam cupiens, inauditam hanc cœlorum symphoniam, sphærarumque modulos affinxit Pythagoræ. Quod si sic tulisset sive fatum, sive sors, ut tua in me, Pythagora pater, transvolasset anima, haud utique deesset qui te facile assereret, quantumvis gravi jamdiu laborantem infamia. At vero quidni corpora cœlestia, inter perennes illos circuitus, musicos efficiant sonos? Annon æquum tibi videtur Aristoteles? næ ego vix credam intelligentias tuas sedentarium illum rotandi cœli laborem potuisse tot sæculis perpeti, nisi ineffabile illud astrorum melos detinuisset abituras, et modulationes delinimento suasisset moram. Quam si tu cœlo adimas sane mentes illas pulchellas, et ministros deos plane in pistrinum dedis, et ad molas tru-

satiles damnas. Quinetiam ipse Atlas ruituro statim cœlo jampridem subduxisset humeros, nisi dulcis illa concentus anhelantem, et tanto sub onere sudabundum lætissima voluptate permulsisset. Ad hæc, pertæsus astra Delphinus jamdiu cœlo sua præoptasset maria, nisi probe calluisset, vocales cœli orbes lyram Arioniam suavitate longe superare. Quid! quod credibile est ipsam alaudam prima luce recta in nubes evolare, et Lusciniam totam noctis solitudinem cantu transigere, ut ad harmonicam cœli rationem, quam attente auscultant, suos corrigant modulos. Hinc quoque musarum circa Jovis altaria dies noctesque saltantium ab ultima rerum origine increbuit fabula; hinc Phœbo lyræ peritia ab longinqua vetustate attributa est. Hinc Harmoniam Jovis et Electræ fuisse filiam reverenda credidit antiquitas, quæ cum Cadmo nuptui data esset, totus cœli chorus concinuisse dicitur. Quid si nullus unquam in terris audiverit hanc astrorum symphoniam? Ergone omnia supra lunæ sphæram muta prorsus erunt, torpidoque silentio consopita? Quinimo aures nostras incusemus debiles, quæ cantus et tam dulces sonos excipere aut non possunt, aut non dignæ sunt. Sed nec plane inaudita est hæc cœli melodia; quis enim tuas Aristoteles in media æris plaga tripudiantes capras putaverit, nisi quod præcinentes cœlos ob vicinitatem clare cum audiant, non possint sibi temperare quo minus agant choreas. At solus inter mortales concentum hunc audisse fertur Pythagoras; nisi et ille bonus quispiam genius, et cœli indigena fuerit, qui forte superum jussu delapsus est ad animos hominum sacra eruditione imbuendos, et ad bonam frugem revocandos: ad minimum certe vir erat, qui omnes virtutum numeros in se continebat, quique dignus erat cum diis ipsis sui similibus sermones miscere, et cœlestium perfrui consortio: ideoque nihil miror, si dii ejus amantissimi abditissimis eum naturæ secretis interesse permiserint. Quod autem nos hanc minime audiamus harmoniam sane in causa videtur esse furacis Promethei audacia, quæ tot mala hominibus invexit, et simul hanc fœlicitatem nobis abstulit qua nec unquam frui licebit, dum sceleribus cooperti belluinis cupiditatibus obrutescimus; quî enim possumus cœlestis illius soni capaces fieri, quorum animæ (quod ait Persius) in terras curvæ sunt, et cœlestium prorsus inanes. At si pura, si casta, si nivea gestaremus pectora, ut olim Pythagoras, tum quidem suavissima illa stellarum circumeuntium musica personarent aures nostræ, et opplerentur; atque dein cuncta illico tanquam in aureum illud sæculum redirent; nosque tum demum miseriarum immunes, beatum et vel diis invidendum degeremus otium. Hic autem me veluti medio in itinere tempus intersecat, idque persane opportune vereor enim ne incondito minimeque numeroso stylo, huic quam prædico harmoniæ, toto hoc tempore obstrepuerim; fuerimque ipse impedimento, quo minus illam audiveritis: Itaque Dixi.

IN SCHOLIS PUBLICIS.

Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam.

Quærebam nuper obnixe, academici, nec in postremis hoc mihi curæ erat quo potissimum verborum apparatu vos auditores meos exciperem, cum subito mihi in mentem venit id quod Marcus Tullius (à quo, non sine fausto omine exorditur oratio mea) toties commisit literis; in hoc scilicet partes rhetoris sitas esse, ac positas, ut doceat, delectet, et denique permoveat. Proinde istuc mihi tantummodo proposui negotium, ut ab hoc triplici oratoris munere quam minime discedam. At quoniam docere vos consummatos undique homines non est quod ego mihi sumam, nec quod vos sustineatis, liceat saltem (quod proximum est) monere aliquid fortasse non omnino abs re futurum; delectare interim, quod sane perquam vereor, ut sit exilitatis meæ, erit tamen desiderii summa, quam si attigero, certe parum erit, quin et permoveam. Permovebo autem in præsens abunde, ex animi sententia, si vos auditores inducere potero, ut immania illa, et prope monstrosa subtilium, quod aiunt, doctorum volumina rariori manu evolvatis, utque verrucosis sophistarum controversiis paulo remissius indulgeatis. At vero ut palam fiat omnibus quam sit æquum atque honestum quod suadeo, strictim ostendam, et pro mea semihorula hisce studiis nec oblectari animum, nec erudiri, nec denique commune bonum quicquam promoveri. Et certe in primis ad vos provoco, academici, si qua fieri potest ex mea vestri ingenii conjectura, quid, quæso, voluptatis inesse potest in festivis hisce tetricorum senum altercationibus, quæ si non in Trophonii antro, certe in Monachorum specubus natæ olent, atque spirant scriptorum suorum torvam severitatem, et paternas rugas præ se ferunt, quæque inter succinctam brevitatem plus nimio prolixæ tædium creant, et nauseam; at si quando productiores leguntur, tum quidem aversationem pene naturalem, et si quid ultra est innati odii pariunt lectoribus. Sæpius ego, auditores, cum mihi forte aliquoties imponeretur necessitas investigandi paulisper has argutiolas post retusam diutina lectione et animi et oculorum aciem, sæpius inquam ad interspirandum restiti, et subinde pensum oculis emensus quæsivi miserum tædii solatium; cum vero plus semper viderem superesse, quàm quod legendo absolveram, equidem inculcatis hisce ineptis quoties præoptavi mihi repurgandum Augeæ bubile, fœlicemque prædicavi Herculem, cui facilis Juno hujusmodi ærumnam nunquam imperaverat exantlandam. Nec materiam hanc enervem, languidam, et humi serpentem erigit, aut attollit floridior stylus, sed jejunus et exsuccus rei tenuitatem adeo conjunctissime comitatur, ut ego utique facile crediderim sub tristi Saturno scriptam fuisse, nisi quod innocua tunc temporis simplicitas ignoraret prorsus offucias istas, et diverticula, quorum hi libri scatent ubique. Mihi credite, juvenes ornatissimi, dum ego inanes hasce quæstiunculas nonnunquam invitus percurro, videor mihi per

confragosa tesqua, et salebras, perque vastas solitudines, et præruptas montium angustias iter conficere; propterea nec verisimile est venustulas, et elegantes musas pannosis hisce et squalidis præesse studiis, aut deliros horum sectatores in suum vendicare patrocinium; immo existimo nullum unquam fuisse iis in Parnasso locum, nisi aliquem forte in imo colle angulum incultum, inamœnum, dumis et spinis asperum, atque horridum, carduis, et densa urtica coopertum, à choro et frequentia dearum remotissimum, qui nec emittat lauros nec fundat flores, quò denique Phœbeæ citharæ nunquam pervenerit sonus. Divina certe poesis ea, qua cœlitus impertita est, virtute obrutam terrena fæce animam in sublime exuscitans, inter cœli templa locat, et quasi nectareo halitu afflans, totamque perfundens ambrosia, cœlestem quodammodo instillat beatitudinem, et quoddam immortale gaudium insusurrat. Rhetorica sic animos capit hominum, adeoque suaviter in vincula pellectos post se trahit, ut nunc ad misericordiam permovere valeat, nunc in odium rapere, nunc ad virtutem bellicam accendere, nunc ad contemptum mortis evehere. Historia pulchre concinnata nunc inquietos animi tumultus sedat et componit, nunc delibutum gaudio reddit, mox evocat lachrymas, sed mites eas et pacatas, et quæ mœstæ nescio quid voluptatis secum afferant. At vero futiles hæ, nec non strigosæ controversiæ, verborumque velitationes, in commovendis animi affectibus, certè nullum habent imperium; stuporem duntaxat et torpedinem accersunt ingenio; proinde neminem oblectant, nisi qui agrestis, et hirsuti plane pectoris est, quique ex arcano quodam impetu ad lites et dissidia proclivis, et insuper impendio loquax à recta et sana sapientia abhorret semper atque avertitur. Amandetur itaque cum suis captiunculis sane, vel in montem Caucasum, aut sicubi terrarum cæca dominatur barbaries, ibique subtilitatum suarum et præstigiarium ponat officinam, et pro libitu de rebus nihili torqueat et augat se, usque dum nimia solicitudo, veluti Prometheus ille vultur cor exederit, penitusque absumpserit. Sed nec minus infrugifera sunt, quam injucunda hæc studia, et quæ ad rerum cognitionem nihil prorsus adjutant. Ponamus enim ob oculos omnes illos turmatim cucullatos vetulos, harum præcipue captionum figulos, quotusquisque est qui ullo beneficio locupletaverit rem literariam? Citra dubium profecto cultam et nitidam, et mansuetiorem philosophiam asperitate impexa deformem pene reddidit, et veluti malus genius, humana pectora spinis et sentibus implevit, et perpetuam in scholas intulit discordiam, quæ quidem fœlices discentium progressus mirum in modum remorata est. Quid enim? ultrò citroque argutantur versipelles philosophastri? hic suam undique sententiam graviter firmat, ille contra magna mole labefactare adnititur, et quod inexpugnabili argumento munitum existimas, id statim adversarius haud multo negotio amolitur. Hæret interea lector, tanquam in bivio, quò divertat, quò inclinet anceps, et incertus consilii, dum tot utrinque confertim vibrantur tela, ut ipsam lucem adimant, rebusque profundam afferant caliginem, adeo ut jam lectori tandem opus sit, ut diuturnos Cereris imitatus labores, per universum terrarum orbem accensa face quærat veritatem, et nusquam inveniat: eo usque demum insaniæ redactus est, ut se misere cæcutire putet, ubi nihil est, quod videat. Ad hæc non rarenter usu venit, ut, qui harum disputationum fuligini addicunt se totos et devovent, si forte aliud quidvis aggrediantur à suis deliramentis alienum, mire prodant inscitiam suam, et deridiculam infantiam. Novissime, summus hic tam serio navatæ operæ fructus erit, ut stultus evadas accuratior, et nugarum artifex, utque tibi accedat quasi peritior ignorantia, nec mirum; quandoquidem hæc omnia, de quibus adeo afflictim et anxie laboratum est, in natura rerum nullibi existunt, sed leves quædam imagines, et simulachra tenuia turbidas oberrant mentes, et rectioris sapientiæ vacuas. Cæterùm ad integritatem vitæ, et mores excolendos (quod multo maximum est) quam minime conducant hæ nugæ, etiamsi ego taceam, abunde vobis perspicuum est. Atque vel hinc liquido evincitur quod mihi postremo dicendum proposui, scilicet importunam hanc λογομαχίαν nec in publicum cedere commodum, nec ullo modo patriæ vel honori esse, vel utilitati, quod tamen in scientiis omnes antiquissimum esse ducunt. Siquidem his maxime duobus auctam atque exornatam præcipue patriam animadverti; vel præclare dicendo, vel fortiter agendo; atque litigiosa hæc discrepantium opinionum digladiatio, nec ad eloquentiam instruere, nec ad prudentiam instituere, nec ad fortia facinora incitare posse videtur. Abeant igitur cum suis formalitatibus argutatores versuti; quibus post obitum hanc par erit irrogari pœnam, ut cum Ocno illo apud inferos torqueant funiculos. At quanto satius esset, academici, quantoque dignius vestro nomine nunc descriptas chartula terras universas quasi oculis perambulare, et calcata vetustis heroibus inspectare loca, bellis, triumphis, et etiam illustrium poetarum fabulis nobilitatas regiones percurrere, nunc æstuantem transmittere Adriam, nunc ad Ætnam flammigerantem impune accedere, dein mores hominum speculari, et ordinatas pulchre gentium respublicas; hinc omnium animantium naturas persequi, et explorare, ab his in arcanas lapidum et herbarum vires animum demittere. Nec dubitetis, auditores, etiam in cœlos evolare, ibique illa multiformia nubium spectra, nivisque coacervatam vim, et unde illæ matutinæ lachrymæ contemplemini, grandinisque exinde loculos introspicite, et armamenta fulminum perscrutemini; nec vos clam sit quid sibi velit aut Jupiter aut Natura, cum dirus atque ingens cometa cœlo sæpe minitatur incendium, nec vos vel minutissimæ lateant stellulæ, quotquot inter polos utrosque sparsæ sunt, et dispalatæ; immo solem peregrinantem sequamini comites, et ipsum tempus ad calculos vocate, æternique ejus itineris exigite rationem. Sed nec iisdem, quibus orbis, limitibus contineri et circumscribi se patiatur vestra mens, sed etiam extra mundi pomœria divagetur; perdiscatque ultimò (quod adhuc altissimum est) seipsam cognoscere, simulque sanctas illas mentes, et intelligentias quibuscum post hæc sempiternum initura est sodalitium. Quid multa nimis? vobis ad hæc omnia disciplinæ sit ille, qui tantopere in deliciis est, Aristoteles, qui quidem hæc prope cuncta scienter et conquisite scripta nobis reliquit addiscenda. Cujus ego ad

nomen jam subito permoveri sentio vos, academici, atque in hanc sententiam duci pedetentim, et quasi eo invitante proclivius ferri. Quod si ita sit, sane ejus rei laudem, cujusquemodi est, illi debebitis et gratiam: quod interim ad me attinet, ego certe satis habeo, si veniam prolixitatis meæ pro vestra humanitate impetravero. Dixi.

IN COLLEGIO, &c.

THESIS.

In rei cujuslibet interitu non datur resolutio ad materiam primam.

Error an è Pandoræ pixide, an ex penitissimo eruperit Styge, an denique unus ex Terræ filiis in cœlites conjuraverit, non est hujus loci accuratius disquirere. Hoc autem vel non scrutanti facile innotescat, eum ex infimis incrementis, veluti olim Typhon, aut Neptuno genitus Ephialtes in tam portentosam crevisse magnitudinem, ut ipsi quidem veritati ab illo metuam. Video enim cum ipsa diva ἀλήθεια haud raro æquo marte pugnantem, video post damna factum ditiorem, post vulnera virescentem, victumque victoribus exultantem. Quod de Antæo Lybico fabulata est antiquitas. Adeo ut hinc sane non levi de causa carmen istud Ovidianum possit quispiam in dubium vocare, an scilicet ultima cœlestum terras reliquerit Astræa; vereor etenim ne pax et veritas multis post eam sæculis invisos etiam mortales deseruerint. Nam certe si illa adhuc in terris diversaretur, quis inducatur ut credat, luscum et cæcutientem errorem veritatem solis æmulam posse intueri, quin plane vincatur oculorum acies, quin et ipse rursus abigatur ad inferos, unde primum emersus est? At vero citra dubium aufugit in cœlum, patriam suam misellis hominibus nunquam reditura; et jam totis in scholis dominatur immundus error, et quasi rerum potitus est, non in strenuos utique et non paucos nactus assertores. Quarum accessione virium, ultra quam ferri potest inflatus, quænam est ulla physiologiæ particula vel minutula, in quam non impetiverit, quam non profanis violaverit unguibus, quemadmodum harpias Phinei regis Arcadum mensas conspurcasse accepimus? unde sane eò res deducta est, ut lautissima philosophiæ cupedia, ipsis quibus superi vescuntur dapibus non minus opipara, nunc suis conviviis nauseam faciant. Contingit enim sæpenumero ingentia philosophorum volumina evolventi, et diurnis nocturnisque manibus obterenti, ut dimittatur incertior quam fuerit pridem. Quicquid enim affirmat hic, et satis valido se putat statuminare argumento, refellit alter nullo negotio aut saltem refellere videtur, atque ita pene in infinitum semper habet hic quod opponat, semper ille quod respondeat; dum miser interim lector hinc atque inde tanquam inter duas belluas diu divulsus ac discerptus, tedioque prope enectus, tandem veluti in bivio relinquitur, huc an illuc inclinet plane anceps animi: ab utro autem stet veritas, fortasse (ne vera dissimulem) non est operæ pretium ea, qua expedit, industria explorare: quippe sæpius de re perquam minimi momenti maxima inter centurias philosophantium agitatur controversia. Cæterùm videor mihi inaudire submussitantes quosdam, quo nunc se proripit ille? dum in errorem invehitur, ipse toto errat cœlo: equidem agnosco erratum; neque hoc fecissem, nisi de vestro candore magna mihi pollicitus. Jam igitur tandem accingamur ad institutum opus: et his tantis difficultatibus dea Lua (quod ait Lipsius) me fœliciter expediat. Quæstio quæ nobis hodie proponitur enucleanda hæc est, an interitu cujuslibet rei detur resolutio usque ad materiam primam? Quod aliis verbis sic proferre solent, an ulla accidentia quæ fuere in corrupto maneant etiam in genito? hoc est, an intereunte forma omnia intereant accidentia quæ in composito præextiterant? Magna quidem est inter multos haudquaquam obscuri nominis philosophos hac de re sententiarum discrepantia; hi dari ejusmodi resolutionem contendunt acerrimè, illi neutiquam dare posse mordicus defendunt; hos ut sequar inclinat animus, ab illis ut longe lateque dissentiam tum ratione adductus, uti opinor, tum etiam tantorum virorum authoritate: hoc autem quo pacto probari queat, reliquum est ut paulisper experiamur; idque succincte quoad poterimus, atque primo hunc in modum. Si fiat resolutio ad materiam primam subinfertur inde essentiale istud effatum, nempe eam nunquam reperiri nudam, materiæ primæ perperam attribui; occurrent adversarii, hoc dicitur respectu formæ, verum sic habento scioli isti formas substantiales nullibi gentium reperiri citra formas accidentarias: sed hoc leve, nec causæ admodum jugulum petit; firmiora his adhibenda sunt. Atque imprimis videamus ecquos habeamus veterum philosophorum nostrarum partium fautores; inquirentibus ecce ultro se nobis offert Aristoteles, cumque lectissima manu suorum interpretum se nobis agglomerat; quippe velim intelligatis auditores, ipso duce et hortatore Aristotele initum hoc prælium, et bonis avibus, uti spero, auspicatum. Qui quidem id ipsum quod nos arbitramur, innuere videtur, Metaph. 7, Text. 8, ubi ait quantitatem primò inesse materiæ; huic perinde sententiæ quicunque refragabitur, possum illi dicam hæreseως ex lege omnium sapientium audacter scribere. Quinimo alibi plane vult quantitatem materiæ primæ proprietatem, quod idem asserunt plerique ejus sectatores; proprium autem à suo subjecto avellentem quis ferat ipsa vel editiții judicis sententia: verum age, cominus agamus, et quod suadeat ratio perpendamus. Assertio itaque probatur primo hinc, quod materia habet propriam entitatem actualem ex sua propria existentia, ergo potest sustentare quantitatem, eam saltem quæ dicitur interminata. Quid? quod nonnulli confidenter affirment formam non nisi mediante quantitate in materiam recipi, secundo, si accidens corrumpitur, necesse habet ut his tantum modis corrumpatur, vel per introductionem contrarii, vel per disitionem termini, vel per absentiam alterius causæ conservantis, vel denique ex defectu proprii subjecti cui inhæreat: priori modo nequit corrumpi quantitas, posteaquam con-

trariam non habeat; et quantumvis habeat qualitas hic tamen introduci non est supponendum: secundus modus huc non spectat, utpote qui sit relatorum proprius; nec per absentiam causæ conservantis, ea enim, quam assignant adversarii, est forma; accidentia autem à forma pendere concipiuntur bifariam, vel in genere causæ formalis, aut efficientis; prior dependentia non est immediata, forma enim substantialis non informat accidentia, neque intelligi potest quod aliud munus exerceat circa ea in hoc genere causa, ideoque tantummodo mediata est, nimirum in quantum materia dependet à forma, et hæc deinceps à materia; modus dependentiæ posterior est in genere causæ efficientis, à forma tamen an accidentia pendeant in hoc genere necne, in ambiguo res est: sed ut donemus ita esse, non sequitur tamen, depereunte forma juxta etiam perire accidentia, propterea quod causæ illi recedenti, succedit è vestigio alia similis omnino sufficiens ad conservandum eundem numero effectum absque interruptione: postremo, quod non ex defectu proprii subjecti in nihilum recidit quantitas aliaque id genus accidentia, probatur quia subjectum quantitatis est aut compositum, aut forma, aut materia; quod compositum non sit, ex eo liquet, quod accidens quod est in composito attingit simul sua unione et materiam et formam per modum unius, at vero quantitas non potest ullo modo attingere animam rationalem, dum hæc spiritualis sit, et effectus formalis quantitatis, hoc est extensionis quantitativæ minime capax; porro quod forma non sit subjectum ejus, ex supradictis satis est perspicuum: restat igitur ut materia sola sit subjectum quantitatis, atque ita præciditur omnis interitus illatio in quantitate. Quod pertinet ab id quod vulgo affertur de cicatrice, argumentum efficacissimum esse censeo: quis enim mihi fidem adeo extorqueat, ut credam eam in cadavere plane diversam esse ab ea quæ fuit nuperrime in vivo, cum nulla subsit ratio, nulla necessitas corrigendi sensus nostri, qui raro quidem hallucinatur circa proprium objectum; citiusque ego et facilius audirem de larvis, deque empusis miri commemorantem, quam cerebrosos hosce philosophrastos de accidentibus suis de novo procreatis stulte et insubide obgannientes. Etenim calorem, cæterasque animalis qualitates intensibiles et remissibiles easdem prorsus pernovimus in ipso mortis articulo, et post mortem itidem; quorsum enim destruerentur hæ, cum aliæ similes sunt producendæ? huc accedit, quod si de novo procrearentur, ad tempus non adeo exiguum durarent, neque etiam repente ad summum pervenirent intensionis gradum, sed paulatim et quasi pedetentim. Adde quod vetustissimum sit axioma, quantitatem sequi materiam, et qualitatem formam. Potui quidem, immo ac debui huic rei diutius immorari, ac profecto nescio an vobis, mihimet certe ipse maximopere sum tædio. Superest ut jam ad adversariorum argumenta descendamus, quæ faxint musæ, ut ego in materiam primam si fieri potest, vel potius in nihilum redigam. Quod ad primum attinet, Aristotelis testimonium, quod dixerit in generatione non manere subjectum sensibile, occurrimus illud intelligi debere de subjecto completo et integro (i. e.) de substantiali composito, quod testatur Philoponus antiquus et eruditus scriptor. 2. Quod inquit Arist. materia est nec quid, nec quantum, nec quale; hoc non dicitur quod nulla quantitate aut qualitate efficiatur, sed quia ex se, et in entitate sua nullam aut quantitatem aut qualitatem includat. Tertio, ait Arist. destructis primis substantiis destrui omnia accidentia, quod sane futurum non inficiamur si ipsi corruptæ subinde succederet alia. Postremo, formam inquit recipi in materiam nudam; hoc est, nuditate formæ substantialis. Adhuc incrudescit pugna, et nutat victoria, sic enim instaurato prælio incursant, materia quandóquidem sit pura potentia, nullam habet esse præterquam illud quod emendicata forma, unde non satis ex se valet ad sustentanda accidentia, nisi prius ad minimum natura conjungatur formæ à qua τὸ εἶναι acceptum ferat; huic errori sic mederi solent, materiam primam suum habere proprium esse, quod licet in genere substantiæ sit incompletum, cum accidente tamen si conferatur esse simpliciter haud incommode dici potest. Quinetiam objiciunt materiam respicere formam substantialem ut actum primum, at accidentia ut actus secundarios. Respondeo, materiam respicere formam prius ordine intentionis, non generationis aut executionis. Gliscit jam atque effervescit contentio, et tanquam ad internecionem dimicaturi urgent nos acrius hunc ad modum: omnis proprietas manat active ab essentia ejus cujus est proprietas; quantitas autem hoc nequit, quia hæc dimanatio est aliqua efficientia, materia autem secundum se nullam habet efficientiam, cum sit mere passiva; ergo, &c. Respondeo, duobus modis posse intelligi naturalem conjunctionem materiæ cum quantitate, ratione solum potentiæ passivæ intrinsecus natura sua postulantis talem affectionem; neque enim ulla impellit necessitas, ut omnis innata proprietas sit debita subjecto ratione principii activi; namque interdum sufficit passivum, quo modo multi opinantur motum esse naturalem cœlo. Secundo potest et intelligi per intrinsecam dimanationem activam, cum in se habeat veram et actualem essentiam. Sed nec adhuc omnis amissa spes victoriæ; iterum enim facto impetu adoriuntur, inferentes deo formam media quantitate in materiam recipi, quoniam inest materiæ prius: nos è contra aperte reclamamus huic sequelæ, et nihilominus quo omnia possimus salva reddere, hac utimur distinctione, recipi formam in materiam media quantitate ut dispositione, seu conditione necessaria, verum nullo modo tanquam potentia proxime receptiva formæ. Ultimò, sic arguunt, si quantitas insit materiæ soli sequitur esse ingenerabilem et incorruptibilem; quod videtur repugnare, quia motus per se fit ad quantitatem. At nos utique largimur consequentiam, quippe revera quantitas est incorruptibilis quoad suam entitatem, licet quoad varios terminos possit incipere et desinere esse per conjunctionem et divisionem quantitatis, neque enim est per se motus ad quantitatis productionem, sed ad accretionem; et nec eo fit quasi nova quantitas incipiat esse in rerum natura, sed eo quod una quantitas adjungatur alteri, et quæ erat aliena fit propria. Possem equidem plura argumenta ultra citroque proferre, quæ tamen tædii levandi gratia prætermitto; hic igitur satius erit receptui canere.

IN SCHOLIS PUBLICIS.

Non dantur formæ partiales in animali præter totalem.

Romani rerum olim domini altissimum imperii fastigium adepti sunt, quale nec Assyria magnitudo, nec virtus Macedonica, unquam potuit attingere, quò nec futura regum majestas efferre se olim valebit: sive ipse Jupiter annis jam gravior, cœloque contentus suo in otium se tradere voluerit, commissis populo Romano tanquam diis terrestribus rerum humanarum habenis; sive hoc Saturno patri in Italiam detruso ad amissi cœli solatium concesserit, ut Quirites, ejus nepotes, quicquid uspiam est, terræ, marisque potirentur. Utcunque certe non ultro largitus est hoc illis beneficium, sed per assidua bella, perque longos labores ægre dedit, exploraturus opinor, an Romani soli digni viderentur, qui summi vices Jovis inter mortales gererent; itaque parce duriterque vitam degere coacti sunt, quippe inchoatas pacis blanditias abrupit semper belli clamor, et circumcirca strepitus armorum. Ad hæc, devictis quibusque urbibus et provinciis præsidia imponere et sæpius renovare necesse habuere, omnemque pene juventutem nunc in longinquam militiam, nunc in colonias mittere. Cæterùm non incruentam semper victoriam domum reportarunt, immo sæpe funestis cladibus affecti sunt. Siquidem Brennus Gallorum dux virescentem modo Romanam gloriam pene delevit; et parum abfuit, quo minus divinitus creditum orbis moderamen abripuerit Romæ Carthago urbs nobilissima. Denique Gothi et Vandalici sub Arico rege, Hunnique et Panonii Attyla et Bleda ducibus totam inundantes Italiam, florentissimas imperii opes, ex tot bellorum spoliis aggestas, miserè diripuere, Romanos paulo ante reges hominum turpi fuga stravere, ipsamque urbem, ipsam inquam Romam, solo nominis terrore ceperunt; quo facto nihil dici aut fingi potuit gloriosius, plane quasi ipsam victoriam aut amore captant, aut vi et armis exterrefactum in suas traxissent partes. Satis admirati estis auditores, quorsum hæc omnia protulerim, jam accipite. Hæc ego quoties apud me recolo animoque colligo, toties cogito quantis viribus de tuenda veritate certatum sit, quantis omnium studiis, quantis vigiliis contenditur labantem ubique, et profligatam veritatem ab injuriis hostium asserere. Nec tamen prohiberi potest, quin fœdissima colluvies errorum invadat indies omnes disciplinas, quæ quidem tanta vi aut veneno pollet, ut vel niveæ veritati suam imaginem inducere valeat, aut sideream veritatis speciem nescio quo fuco sibi adsciscere, qua, ut videtur, arte et magnis philosophis frequenter imposuit, et honores, venerationemque uni veritati debitam sibi arrogavit. Quod in hodierna quæstione videre poteritis, quæ quidem non instrenuos nacta est pugiles, eosque clari nominis, si relictis hisce partibus veritatem demereri mallent: itaque nostræ nunc erit operæ, ut nudatum, plumisque emendicatis exutum errorem deformitati nativæ reddamus; quod ut expeditius fiat gravissimorum vestigiis authorum insistendum esse mihi existimo, neque enim expectandum est, ut ego quicquam de meo adjiciam, quod utique tot viros ingenio præstabiles fugit et præteriit; idcirco quod sufficit ad rem dilucidandam expromam brevi, argumentoque uno atque altero tanquam aggere vallabo; tum si quid reclamat, atque obstat nostræ sententiæ diluam, ut potero; quæ tamen omnia paucis perstringam, et quasi extremis alis radam. Contra unitatem formæ, quam in una eademque materia statuere semper emunctiores philosophi solent, varias opiniones subortas esse legimus; quidam enim plures in animali formas totales dari pertinaciter contendunt, idque pro suo quisque captu varie defendunt; alii totalem unicam, partiales vero multiplices ejusdem materiæ hospitio excipi importunius asseverant. Cum illis ad tempus more bellico paciscemur inducias, dum in hos omnem prælii vim atque impetum transferimus. Ponatur prima in acie Aristoteles, qui noster plane est, quique sub finem primi libri de anima, non occulte favet nostræ assertioni. Huic authoritati aliquot attexere argumenta non est longæ disquisitionis opus: præbet se mihi imprimis Chrysostomus Javellus, cujus è stercorario, nimirum horridulo et incompto stylo, aurum et margaritas effodere possimus, quæ si quis delicatus aspernetur, in illum sane aliquatenus belle quadrabit ille Æsopici Galli apologus. In hunc ferme modum argumentatur; distinctio illa et organizatio partium dissimilarium præcedere debet introductionem animæ, utpote quæ sit actus corporis non cujuslibet, sed physici organici; quapropter immediate ante productionem totalis formæ necesse est corrumpi partiales illas nisi corruat penitus receptissimum illud axioma, generatio unus est alterius corruptio; quarum productionem non sequitur similium præsentanea productio; id enim frustra foret, et ad naturæ matris sapientiam parum conveniens. Deinde posteaquam omnis forma, sive perfecta sit, sive imperfecta, tribuat esse specificum, necesse est, ut quamdiu manet ista forma, tamdiu res illa maneat eadem, non variata secundum substantiam suam, proindeque superveniet forma totalis tanquam accidens, non per generationem sed per alterationem. Sequitur porro animam totalem sive divisibilem, sive indivisibilem, non sufficere ad omnes partes animantis plene perfecteque informandas, quod ut largiamur nulla suadet ratio. Sequitur itidem unam formam substantialem esse quasi dispositionem proximam et permanentem ad aliam, quod veritatis absonum est, quandoquidem unaquæque forma constituit essentiam completam in genere substantiæ. Postremo, si in omnibus partibus puta hominis plurificientur formæ partiales, ex illis certe consurget una integra distincta ab anima rationali, unde illa erit, aut forma inanimati seu corporeitatis, aut mistionis (quam præter animam in homine dari sane ultra quam credibile est) vel erit anima sensitiva, aut vegetativa, hoc autem affirmantem nullo modo audiat eruditior chorus philosophantium; cujus rei ampliori probatione supersedeo, quoniam in confesso est, nec admodum accedit ad apicem causæ. Verum, quod caput est controversiæ, objiciunt adversarii, partem ab animali amputatam remanere actu post separationem, non per formam totius cum sit ex-

tra totum, nec per formam recens acquisitam, cum nullum adsit agens, nulla perceptibilis actio, nulla prævia alteratio; ergo, actu existit per formam propriam quam prius habebat, dum erat una in toto. Atque hoc argumento arietare se putant causam nostram et funditus evertere: cæterum non minus vere quam vulgariter solet responderi, formam de novo genitam, cum vilissima sit utpote cadaveris, et quasi via ad resolutionem, certe nec multum temporis, nec dispositiones multas, nec ordinatam alterationem efflagitare. Quid si etiam causa aliqua universalis concurrat cum proximo temperamento ad inducendam qualemcunque formam ne materia reperiatur vacua? Quod autem multiplices visantur in animali operationes, id non à formis distinctis partialibus petendum est, sed ab animæ totalis eminentia, quæ quidem æquipollet formis specie distinctis. Cæteras quæ occurrunt, levioris momenti objectiones ex composito prætcrire libet, neque enim jugulant; faciliusque amoveri, et luculentius redargui poterunt, si forte inter disputandum prolatæ fuerint in medium. Quocunque res redeat tametsi ego causa cadam, causa non cadet; satis enim superque suo marte valet ad se defendendam invicta semper veritas; nec ad id alienis indiget adminiculis; et licet nobis aliquando superari, et pessum premi videatur, inviolatam tamen perpetuò servat se, et intactam ab erroris unguibus; in hoc soli non absimilis, qui sæpe involutum se, et quasi inquinatum nubibus ostendit humanis oculis, cum tamen collectis in se radiis, totoque ad se revocato splendore purissimus ab omni labe colluceat.

IN FERIIS ÆSTIVIS COLLEGII, SED CONCURRENTE, UT SOLET, TOTA FERE ACADEMIÆ JUVENTUTE.

ORATIO.

Exercitationes nonnunquam ludicras Philosophiæ Studiis non obesse.

Cum ex ea urbe quæ caput urbium est, huc nuper me reciperem, academici, deliciarum omnium, quibus is locus supra modum affluit, usque ad saginam, prope dixerim, satur, sperabam mihi iterum aliquando otium illud literarium, quo ego vitæ genere etiam cœlestes animas gaudere opinor; eratque penitus in animo jam tandem abdere me in literas, et jucundissimæ philosophiæ perdius et pernox assidere; ita semper assolet laboris et voluptatis vicissitudo amovere satietatis tædium, et efficere, ut intermissa repetantur alacrius. Cum his me incalentem studiis repente avocavit, atque abstraxit pervetusti moris fere annua celebritas, jussusque ego sum eam operam quam acquirendæ sapientiæ primò destinaram, ad nugas transferre, et novas ineptias excogitandas: quasi jam nunc non essent omnia stultorum plena, quasi egregia illa, et non minus Argo decantata navis stultifera fecisset naufragium, plane denique ac si ipsi Democrito materia jam ridendi deesset. Verum date quæso veniam, auditores; hic enim hodiernus mos, utut ego liberius paulo sum locutus, sane quidem non est ineptus, sed impense potius laudabilis, quod quidem ego jam mihi proposui statim luculentius patefacere. Quod si Junius Brutus secundus ille rei Romanæ conditor, magnus ille ultor regiæ libidinis, animum prope diis immortalibus parem, et mirificam indolem simulatione vecordiæ supprimere sustinuit; certe nihil est, cur me pudeat aliquantisper μωροσοφῶς nugari, ejus præsertim jussu, cujus interest, tanquam ædilis hos quasi solennes ludos curare. Tum nec mediocriter me pellexit, et invitavit ad has partes subeundas vestra, vos qui ejusdem estis mecum collegii, in me nuperrime comperta facilitas, cum enim ante præteritos menses aliquam multos oratorio apud vos munere perfuncturus essem, putaremque lucubrationes meas qualescunque etiam ingratas propemodum futuras, et mitiores habituras judices Æacum et Minoa, quam è vobis fere quemlibet, sane præter opinionem meam, præter meam si quid erat speculæ, non vulgari secuti ego accepi, imo ipse sensi, omnium plausu exceptæ sunt, immo eorum, qui in me alias propter studiorum dissidia essent prorsus infenso et inimico animo: generosum utique simultatis exercendæ genus, et regio pectore non indignum; siquidem cum ipsa amicitia plerumque multa inculpate facta detorquere soleat, tunc profecto acris et infesta inimicitia errata forsitan multa, et haud pauca sine dubio indiserte dicta, leniter et clementius quam meum erat meritum interpretari non gravabatur. Jam semel unico hoc exemplo vel ipsa demens ira mentis compos fuisse videbatur, et hoc facto furoris infamiam abluisse. At vero summopere oblector, et mirum in modum voluptate perfundor, cum videam tanta doctissimorum hominum frequentia circumfusum me, et undique stipatum: et rursus tamen cum in me descendo, et quasi flexis introrsum oculis meam tenuitatem secretus intueor, equidem sæpius mihimet soli conscius erubesco et repentina quædam ingruens mœstitia subsilientem deprimit et jugulat lætitiam. Sed nolite, academici, sic me jacentem et consternatum, et acie oculorum vestrorum tanquam de cœlo tactum, nolite quæso sic deserere; erigat me semianimum, quod potest, et refocillet vestri favoris aura, ita fiet, ut, vobis authoribus, non admodum grave sit hoc malum; at remedium mali vobis exhibentibus, eo jucundius et acceptius; adeo ut mihi fuerit perquam gratum sic sæpius examinari, modo liceat à vobis recreari me toties et refici. At ô interim singularem in vobis vim, atque eximiam virtutem, quæ tanquam hasta illa Achillea, Vulcani munus, vulnerat et medicatur! Cæterum nec miretur quispiam, si ego tot eruditione insignes viros, totumque pene academiæ florem huc confluxisse, tanquam inter astra positus triumphem; vix etenim opinor plures olim Athenas adventasse ad audiendum duos oratores summos Demosthenem et Æschinem de principatu eloquentiæ certantes, nec eam unquam fœlicitatem contigisse peroranti Hortensio, nec tot tam egregie literatos viros condecorasse orantem Cicero-

nem; adeo ut quamvis ego hoc opus minus fœliciter absolvero, erit tamen mihi honori non aspernando in tanto concursu conventuque præstantissimorum hominum vel verba fecisse. Atque hercle non possum ego nunc, quin mihi blandiuscule plaudam, qui vel Orpheo, vel Amphione multo sim meo judicio fortunatior: hi enim chordulis suavi concentu adsonantibus digitos tantum docte et perite admovebant; eratque in ipsis fidibus, et in apto dextroque manuum motu æqualis utrinque pars dulcedinis: atqui ego si quid hodie laudis hinc reportavero, ea sane et tota erit et vere mea, tantoque nobilior, quanto ingenii opus vincit ac præstat manuum artificium. Deinde hi saxa, et feras, sylvasque ad se trahebant, et si quos homines, rudes illos et agrestes: at ego doctissimas mihi deditas aures, et ab ore meo pendentes video. Novissime agrestes illi, et feræ jam satis notam et complures exauditam sequebantur nervorum harmoniam; vos vero huc rapuit, et jam detinet sola expectatio. Sed tamen academici, hic vos imprimis commonefactos volo, me non hæc gloriosus crepuisse; utinam enim mihi vel in præsentia concederetur melleum illud, seu verius nectareum eloquentiæ flumen quicquid unquam Attica vel Romana ingenia imbuebat olim, et quasi cœlitus irrorabat, utinam mihi liceret omnem penitus Suadæ medullam exugere, et ipsius etiam Mercurii scrinia fuffurari, omnesque elegantiarum loculos funditus exinanire, quo possim aliquid tanta expectatione, tam præclaro cœtu, tam denique tersis et delicatis auribus dignum adferre. Ecce, auditores, quo me raptat et impellit vehementissimus ardor et prolubium placendi vobis, quippe de improviso me provectum sentio in ambitionem quandam, sed eam sane piam, et honestum, si hoc fieri potest, sacrilegium. Et certe existimo haudquaquam mihi opus esse Musarum auxilium implorare et exposcere, iis enim me circumseptum puto, qui Musas omnes spirant et Gratias, totumque reor Helicona, et quæcunque sunt alia Musarum delubra ad hunc diem celebrandum omnes suos effudisse alumnos; adeo ut credibile sit jam nunc propter eorum absentiam lugere et deflorescere Parnassi lauros; unde profecto frustra erit Musas, et Charites, et Libentias usquam terrarum quæritare, quam in hoc loco; quod si ita sit, necesse est protinus ipsam barbariem, errorem, ignorantiam, et omne illud musis invisum genus quam celerrimè aufugere ad aspectum vestrum, et sub diverso longe cœlo abscondere sese; atque deinde quidem quid obstat, quo minus quicquid est barbaræ, incultæ, et obsoletæ locutionis abigatur exemplò ab oratione mea, atque ego afflatu vestro, et arcano distinctu disertus et politus subito evadam. Utcunque tamen vos, auditores, obtestor, ne quem vestrum pœniteat meis paulisper vacasse nugis; ipsi enim dii omnes, cœlestis politiæ cura ad tempus deposita, depugnantium homunculorum spectaculo sæpius interfuisse perhibentur; aliquoties etiam humiles non dedignati casus, et paupere hospitio excepti, fabas et olera narrantur esitasse. Obsecro itidem ego vos, atque oro, auditores optimi, ut hoc meum quale conviviolum ad subtile vestrum et sagax palatum faciat. Verum etiamsi ego permultos noverim sciolos quibus usitatissimum est, si quid ignorarunt, id superbe et inscite apud alios contemnere, tanquam indignum cui operam impendant suam: quemadmodum hic dialecticam insulse vellicat, quam nunquam assequi potuerit; ille philosophiam nihili facit, quia scilicet formosissima dearum natura nunquam illum tali dignata est honore, ut se nudam illi præbuerit intuendam: ego tamen festivitates et sales, in quibus quoque perexiguam agnosco facultatem meam, non gravabor, ut potero, laudare; si prius hoc unum addidero, quod sane arduum videtur, et minime proclive, me jocos hodie seriò laudaturum. Atque id non immeritò quidem, quid enim est quod citius conciliet, diutiusque retineat amicitias, quam amœnum et festivum ingenium? et profecto cui desunt sales, et lepores, et politulæ facetiæ, haud temere invenietis cui sit gratus et acceptus. Nobis autem, academici, si quotidiani moris esset indormire et quasi immori philosophiæ, et inter dumos et spinas logicæ consenescere citra ullam enim relaxationem, et nunquam concesso respirandi loco, quid, quæso, aliud esset philosophari, quam in Trophonii antro vaticinari, et Catonis plus nimio rigidi sectam sectari; immo dicerent vel ipsi rusticani, sinapi nos victitare. Adde quod, quemadmodum qui luctæ et campestri ludo assuescunt se, multo cæteris valentiores redduntur, et ad omne opus paratiores; ita pariter usu venit, ut per hanc ingenii palæstram corroboretur nervus animi, et quasi melior sanguis et succus comparetur, utque ipsa indoles limatior fiat acutiorque, et ad omnia sequax et versatilis. Quod si quis urbanus et lepidus haberi nolit, ne sis hoc illi stomacho si paganus et subrusticus appelletur; et probe novimus illiberale quoddam genus hominum, qui cum ipsi prorsus insulsi sint et infestivi, suam tacite secum æstimantes vilitatem et inscitiam, quicquid forte urbanius dictitatum audiunt, id statim in se dici putant; digni sane quibus id vere eveniat, quod injuria suspicantur, ut scilicet omnium dicteriis everberantur, pene usquedum suspendium cogitent. Sed non valent istæ hominum quisquiliæ urbanitatis elegantulæ licentiam inhibere. Vultis itaque me auditores, rationis fundamento fidem exemplorum superstruere? ea utique mihi abunde suppetunt, primus omnium occurrit Homerus ille oriens, et Lucifer cultioris literaturæ, cum quo omnis eruditio tanquam gemella nata est; ille enim interdum à deorum consiliis et rebus in cœlo gestis divinum revocans animum, et ad facetias divertens, murium et ranarum pugnam lepidissime descripsit. Quinetiam Socrates, teste Pythio, sapientissimus ille mortalium, jurgiosam uxoris morositatem sæpenumero quam urbane perstrinxisse fertur. Omnia deinde veterum philosophorum diverbia sale sparsa, et lepore venusto passim legimus referta: et certe hoc unum erat quod antiquos omnes comœdiarum et epigrammatum scriptores, et Græcanicos et Latinos, æternitate nominis donavit. Quinimo accepimus, Ciceronis jocos et facetias tres libros à Tyrone conscriptos implevisse. Et cuique jam in manibus est ingeniosissimum illud Moriæ encomium non infimi scriptoris opus, multæque aliæ clarissimorum hujus memoriæ oratorum de rebus ridiculis extant haud infacetæ prolusiones. Vultis summos imperatores, et reges, et fortes viros? Ac-

cipite Periclem, Epaminondam, Agesilaum, et Philippum Macedonem, quos (ut Gelliano more loquar) festivitatum et salse dictorum scatuisse memorant historici: ad hos Caium Lælium, Pub. Cor. Scipionem, Cneium Pompeium, C. Julium et Octavium Cæsares, quos in hoc genere omnibus præstitisse coætaneis author est M. Tullius. Vultis adhuc majora nomina? ipsum etiam Jovem reliquosque Cœlites inter epulas et pocula jucunditati se dantes inducunt poetæ sagacissimi veritates adumbratores. Vestra demum, academici, utar tutela et patrocinio, quod mihi erit omnium ad instar; quippe quam non displiceant vobis sales et joculi; indicat satis tantus hodie vestrum factus concursus, et hoc sane unumquodque caput mihi annuere videtur; nec mirum est mehercle festam hanc ut mundulam urbanitatem omnes probos, simulque claros viros sic oblectare, cum et ipsa inter splendidos virtutum Aristotelicarum ordines sublimis sedeat, et velut in Panthæo quodam diva cum divis sororibus colluceat. Sed forte non desunt quidêm barbati magistri tetrici oppido et difficiles, qui se magnos Catones, nedum Catunculos putantes, vultu ad severitatem stoicam composito, obstipo nutantes capite anxie querantur omnia nunc dierum commisceri, et in deterius perverti et loco priorum Aristotelis ab initiatis recens baccalaureis exponendorum, scommata et inanes nugas inverecunde et intempestive jactari; hodiernum quoque exercitium à majoribus nostris sine dubio recte et fideliter institutum ob insignem aliquem, sive in rhetorica, sive in philosophia fructum inde percipiendum, nunc nuper in insipidos sales perperam immutari. At vero his quod respondeatur ad manum mihi est, et in procinctu; sciant enim illi, si nesciant, literas, cum leges reipub. nostræ literariæ primum essent latæ, ab exteris regionibus vix has in oras fuisse advectas: idcirco cum Græcæ et Latinæ linguæ peritia impendio rara esset et insolens, expediebat eò acriori studio, et magis assiduis exercitationibus ad eas eniti et aspirare: nos autem quandoquidem superioribus nostris pejus sumus morati, melius eruditi, oportebit relictis quæ haud multam habent difficultatem ad ea studia accedere, ad quæ et illi contulissent se, si per otium licuisset; nec vos præteriit primos quosque legumlatores duriora paulo scita, et severiora quam ut ferri possint semper edere solere, ut deflectentes et paululum relapsi homines in ipsum rectum incidant. Denique mutata nunc omnino rerum facie, necesse est multas leges, multasque consuetudines si non antiquari et obsolescere coangustari saltem nec per omnia servari. Verum si leves istiusmodi nugæ palam defensitatæ fuerint et approbatæ, publicamque demeruerint laudem, (sic enim arduis superciliis solent dicere,) nemo non averso ab sana et solida eruditione animo eum ad ludicra statim et histrionalem prope levitatem adjunget, adeo ut ipsa philosophorum spatia pro doctis et cordatis nugatores emissura sint vel mimis et scurris proterviores. At vero ego existimo eum qui jocis insubidis sic solet capi, ut præ iis seria et magis utilia plane negligat, eum inquam, nec in hac parte, nec in illa posse admodum proficere: non quidem in seriis, quia si fuisset ad res serias tractandas natura comparatus, factusque, credo non tam facile pateretur se ab iis abduci; nec in nugatoriis, quia vix queat ullus belle et lepide jocari, nisi et serio agere prius addidicerit. Sed vereor, academici, ne longius æquo deduxerim orationis filum; nolo excusare quod potui, ne inter excusandum ingravescat culpa. Jam oratoriis soluti legibus prosiliemus in comicam licentiam. In qua si forte morem meum, si rigidas verecundiæ leges transversum, quod aiunt, digitum egressus fuero, sciatis academici, me in vestram gratiam exuisse antiquum meum, et parumper deposuisse: aut si quid solute, si quid luxurianter dictum erit, id quidem non mentem et indolem meam, sed temporis rationem et loci genium mihi suggessisse putetis. Itaque, quod simile solent exeuntes implorare comœdi, id ego inceptans flagito. Plaudite, et ridete.

PROLUSIO.

Laboranti, ut videtur, et pene corruenti stultorum rei summæ, equidem nescio quo merito meo dictator sum creatus. At quorsum ego? cum dux ille, et antesignatus omnium sophistarum et sedulò ambiverit hoc munus, et fortissime potuerit administrare; ille enim induratus miles ad quinquaginta pridem sophistas sudibus breviculis armatos per agros Barwellianos strenue duxit, et obsessurus oppidum satis militariter aquæductum disjecit, ut per sitim posset oppidanos ad deditionem cogere; at vero abiisse nuper hominem valde doleo, siquidem ejus discessu nos omnes sophistas non solum ἀκεφάλως reliquit, sed et decollatos. Et jam fingite, auditores, quamvis non sint Aprilis calendæ, festa adesse hilaria, matri deum dicata, vel deo risui rem divinam fieri. Ridete itaque et petulanti plene sustollite cachinnum, exporrigite frontem, et uncis indulgete naribus, sed naso adunco ne suspendite; profusissimo risu circumsonent omnia, et solutior cachinnus hilares excutiat lachrymas, ut iis risu exhaustis ne guttulam quidem habeat dolor qua triumphum exornet suum. Ego profecto si quem nimis parce diducto rictu ridentem conspexero, dicam eum scabros et cariosos dentes rubigine obductos, aut indecoro ordine prominentes abscondere, aut inter prandendum hodie sic opplevisse abdomen, ut non audeat ilia ulterius distendere ad risum, ne præcinenti ori succinat, et ænigmata quædam nolens affutiat sua non sphinx sed sphincter anus, quæ medicis interpretanda non Oedipo relinquo; nolim enim hilari vocis sono obstrepat in hoc cœtu posticus gemitus: solvant ista medici qui alvum solvunt. Si quis strenuum et clarum non ediderit murmur, cum ego asseverabo tam gravem et mortiferum faucibus exhalare spiritum, ut vel Ætna, vel Avernus nihil spiret tetrius; aut certe allium aut porrum comedisse dudum, adeo ut non audeat aperire os, ne vicinos quosque fœtido halitu enecet. At vero absit porro ab hoc cœtu horrendus et tartareus ille sibili sonus, nam si hic audiatur hodie, credam ego Furias et Eumenides inter vos occulte latitare, et angues suos colubrosque pectoribus vestris immisisse, et proinde Athamanteos furores vobis inspiravisse. At enimvero, academici, vestram ego in me benevolentiam demiror atque exosculor, qui me audituri per flammas et ignes irrupistis in hunc

locum. Hinc enim in ipso limine scintillans ille noster Cerberus astat, et fumido latratu horribilis, flammeoque coruscans baculo favillas pleno ore egerit; illinc ardens et voracissimus fornax noster luridos eructat ignes, et tortuosos fumi globos evolvit, adeo ut non sit difficilius iter ad inferos vel invito Plutone; et certe nec ipse Jason minori cum periculo boves illos Martis πυριπνέοντας aggressus est. Jamque auditores, credite vos in cœlum receptos, posteaquam evasistis Purgatorium, et nescio quo novo miraculo ex fornace calida salvi prodiistis, neque sane mihi in mentem venit ullius herois cujus fortitudinem commode possim vestræ æquiparare, neque enim Bellerophontes ille ignivomam chimœram animosius debellavit, nec validissimi illi regis Arthuri pugiles, igniti et flammigerantis castelli incantamenta vicerunt facilius et dissiparunt; atque hinc subit, ut puros mihi auditores et lectissimos pollicear, si quid enim fæcis huc advenerit post explorationem camini, ego statim dixero ignes nostros janitores esse fatuos. At fœlices nos et incolumes perpetuo futuros! Romæ enim ad diuturnitatem imperii sempiternos ignes sollicite et religiose servabant, nos vigilibus et vivis ignibus custodimur: quid dixi vivis et vigilibus? id sane improviso lapsu prætervolavit, quippe nunc melius commemini, eos primo crepusculo extinguere sese, et non nisi claro sudo sese resuscitare. Attamen spes est, tandem iterum domum nostram posse inclarescere, cum nemo inficias iverit duo maxima academiæ luminaria nostro collegio præsidere; quamvis illi nusquam majori forent in honore quam Romæ; ibi enim vel virgines Vestales inextinctos eos, et insomnes totas noctes servarent, vel forte ordini seraphico initiarentur flammei fratres. In hos denique optime quadrat hemistichon illud Virgilianum, igneus est ollis vigor: immo pene inductus sum ut credam Horatium horum nostrorum ignium mentionem fecisse, major enim horum, dum stat inter conjugem et liberos, micat inter omnes velut inter ignes luna minores. Non possum autem prætcrire fædum Ovidii errorem, qui sic cecinit, "Nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides." Videmus enim passim oberrantes igniculos hoc nostro igne genitos, hoc si negaverit Ovidius, necessum habebit uxoris pudicitiam vocare in dubium. Ad vos redeo, auditores; ne vos pœniteat tam molesti et formidolosi itineris, ecce convivium vobis apparatum! eccas mensas ad luxum Persicum extructas, et cibis conquisitissimis onustas, qui vel Apicianam gulam oblectent et deliniant! Ferunt enim Antonio et Cleopatræ octo integros apros in epulis appositos, vobis autem primo forculo hem quinquaginta saginatos apros cervisia conditanea per triennium maceratos, et tamen adhuc adeo callosos, ut vel caninos dentes delassare valeant. Dein totidem optimos boves insigniter caudatos famulari nostro igni præ foribus recens assos; sed vereor ne omnem succum in patinam exudaverint. Ab his tot etiam en vitulina capita, sane crassa et carnosa, sed adeo pertenui cerebro, ut non sufficiat ad condimentum. Tum quidem et hœdos plus minus centum, sed puto crebriori Veneris usu nimium macros: arietes aliquot expectavimus speciosis et patulis cornubus, sed eos coqui nostri nondum secum attulerunt ex oppido. Si quis aves mavult, habemus innumeras, turundis, et offis, et scobinato caseo diu altiles: inprimis, nescio quod genus avium tam ingenio quam pluma viride, unde eas e regione psittacorum suspicor asportatas; quæ quia gregatim semper volitant, et eodem fere loco nidulantur, eodem etiam disco apponentur; iis vero parce velim vescamini, quia præterquam quod admodum crudi sint, et nihil in se habeant solidi nutrimenti, scabiem etiam comedentibus protrudunt (modo vera tradit comestor.) Jam vero libere et genialiter epulamini; hic enim præsto est missus quem vobis præ omnibus commendo, prægrandis scilicet gallinago, pertriennalem saginam adeo unguinosæ pinguedinis, ut illi vix satis largum sit unum ferculum amplissimum, rostro eosque prælongo et eduro, ut impune possit cum elephante aut rhinocerote certamen ingredi; eam autem in hunc diem commode obtruncavimus, propterea quod prægrandium simiorum more incepit puellis insidiari, et vim inferre mulieribus. Hunc subsequuntur aves quædam Hibernicæ, nescio quo nomine; sed incessu et corporis filo gruibus persimiles, quamvis utplurimum soleant in postremam mensam asservari; hic quidem est novus et rarus magis quam salutaris cibus: his itaque abstineatis moneo, sunt enim efficacissimi (modo vera tradit comestor) ad generandos pediculos inguinales; has igitur arbitror ego agasonibus utiliores futuras; nam cum sint naturæ vividæ, vegetæ, et saltaturientes, si equis strigosis per podicem ingerantur, reddent eos protinus vivaciores et velociores quam si decem vivas anguillas in ventre haberent. Anseres etiam complures aspicite, et hujus anni et superiorum argutos valde, et ranis Aristophanicis vocaliores; quos quidem facile dignoscetis; mirum enim est ni se jam prodiderint sibilando, statim fortasse audietis. Ova insuper aliquot habemus, sed ea κακοῦ κόρακος; frugum vero nihil prætcrquam mala et mespila, eaque infœlicis arboris, nec satis matura, præstabit itaque iterum ad solem suspendi. Videtis apparatus nostros, quæso vos, quibus palato sunt, commessamini. Verum hariolor dicturos vos, epulas hasce, veluti nocturnæ illæ dapes quæ à dæmone veneficis apparantur, nullo condiri sale, vereorque ne discedatis jejuniores quam venistis. Verum ad ea pergo quæ ad me propius attinent. Romani sua habuere floralia, rustici sua patilia, pistores sua fornacalia, nos quoque potissimum hoc tempore rerum et negotiorum vacui, Socratico more ludere solemus. Itaque hospitia leguleiorum suos habent, quos vocant dominos, vel hinc indicantes quam sint honoris ambitiosi. Nos autem, academici, ad paternitatem quamproxime accedere cupientes id ficto nomine usurpare gestimus, quod vero non audemus saltem nonnisi in occulto; quemadmodum puellæ nuptias lusorias et puerperia solenniter fingunt, earum rerum quas anhelant et cupiunt, umbras captantes et amplectentes. Quorsum autem eo, qui proxime se circumegit, anno intermissa fuerit hæc solennitas, ego sane haud possum divinare; nisi quod ii qui patres futuri erant, adeo strenue se gesserint in oppido, ut is cui id negotii dabatur, tantorum misertus laborum ultro jusserit eos ab hac cura otiosos esse. At vero unde est quod ego tam subito factus sum pater? Dii vestram fidem! Quid hoc est prodigii

Pliniana exuperantis portenta? numnam ego percusso angue Tyresiæ fatum expertus sum? ecqua me Thessala saga magico perfudit unguento? an denique ego à deo aliquo vitiatus, ut olim Cnœeus, virilitatem pactus sum, stupri pretium, ut sic repente ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἄῤῥενά ἀλλα χθείην ἄν? A quibusdam, audivi nuper domina. At cur videor illis parum masculus? Ecquis Prisciani pudor? itane propria quæ maribus fœmineo generi tribuunt insulsi grammaticastri! scilicet quia scyphos capacissimos nunquam valui pancratice haurire; aut quia manus tenenda stiva non occaluit, aut quia nunquam ad meridianum solem supinus jacui septennis bubulcus; fortasse demum quod nunquam me virum præstiti, eo modo quo ille ganeones; verum utinam illi possint tam facile exuere asinos, quam ego quicquid est fœminæ; at videte quam insubide, quam incogitate mihi objecerint id, quod ego jure optimo mihi vertam gloriæ. Namque et ipse Demosthenes ab æmulis adversariisque parum vir dictus est. Q. itidem Hortensius, omnium oratorum post M. Tullium clarissimus, Dionysia Psaltria appellatus est à L. Torquato. Cui ille, Dionysia, inquit, malo equidem esse, quam quod tu Torquate, ἄμουσος, ἀγροδίαιτος, ἀπρόσιτος. Ego vero quicquid hoc domini aut dominæ est à me longe amolior atque rejicio, nisi in rostris atque subselliis vestris, academici, dominari non cupio. Quis jam prohibebit me quin lætar tam auspicato et fœlici omine, exultemque gaudio me tantis viris ejusdem opprobrii societate conjunctum! Interea ut bonos omnes et præstantes supra invidiam positos arbitror, ita hos lividos adeo omnium infimos puto, ut ne digni sint qui maledicant. Ad filios itaque pater me converto, quorum cerno speciosum numerum, et video etiam lepidulos nebulones occulto nutu me patrem fateri. De nominibus quæritis? Nolo sub nominibus ferculorum filios meos epulandos vobis tradere, id enim Tantali et Lycaonis feritati nimium esset affine; nec membrorum insignibo nominibus, ne putetis me pro integris hominibus tot frusta hominum genuisse; nec ad vinorum genera eos nuncupare volupe est, ne quicquid dixero, sit ἀπροσδίονυσον, et nihil ad Bacchum; volo ad prædicamentorum numerum nominatos, ut sic et ingenuos natales et liberalem vitæ rationem exprimam; et eadem opera curabo, uti omnes ad aliquem gradum ante meum obitum provecti sint. Quod ad sales meos nolo ego edentulos, sic enim tritos, et veteres dicatis, et aniculam aliquam tussientem eos expuisse: proinde credo neminem sales meos dentatos inculpaturum, nisi qui ipse nullos habet dentes, ideoque reprehensurum, quia non sunt ipsius similes. Et certe in præsens ego exoptarem obtigisse mihi Horatii sortem, nempe ut essem salsamentarii filius, tunc enim sales mihi essent ad unguem, vos etiam sale ita pulchre defricatos dimitterem, ut nostros milites, qui nuper ab insula Reana capessere fugam, non magis pœniteret salis petiti. Non libet mihi in consilio vobis exhibendo, mei gnati, gnaviter esse operoso, ne plus operæ vobis erudiendis quam gignendis insumpsisse videar, tantum caveat quisque ne ex filio fiat nepos: liberique mei ne colant liberum, si me velint patrem. Si qua ego alia præcepta dedero, ea lingua vernacula proferenda sentio: conaborque pro viribus ut omnia intelligatis. Cæterum exorandi sunt mihi Neptunus, Apollo, Vulcanus, ut omnes dii fabri, uti latera mea vel tabulatis corroborare, vel ferreis laminis circumligare velint. Quinetiam et supplicanda mihi est dea Ceres, ut quæ humerum eburneum Pelopi dederit, mihi pariter latera pene absumpta reparare dignetur. Neque enim est cur miretur quibuslibet, si post tantum clamorem et tot filiorum genituram paulo infirmiora sint. In his itaque sensu Neroniano ultra quam satis est moratus sum: nunc leges academicas veluti Romuli muros transiliens à Latinis ad Anglicana transcurro. Vos quibus istæc arrident, aures atque animos nunc mihi attentos date.

IN SACRARIO HABITA PRO ARTE.

ORATIO.

Beatiores reddit Homines Ars quam Ignorantia.

Tametsi mihi, auditores, nihil magis jucundum sit atque optabile aspectu vestro assiduaque togatorum hominum frequentia, hoc etiam honorifico dicendi munere, quo ego vice una atque altera apud vos non ingrata opera perfunctus sum; tamen, si quod res est fateri liceat, semper ita fit, ut, cum neque meum ingenium, nec studiorum ratio ab hoc oratorio genere multum abhorreat, ego vix unquam mea voluntate, aut sponte ad dicendam accedam; mihi si fuisset integrum, vel huic vespertino labori haud illibenter equidem parsissem: nam quoniam ex libris et sententiis doctissimorum hominum sic accepi, nihil vulgare, aut mediocre in oratore, ut nec in poeta posse concedi, eumque oportere, qui orator esse meritò et haberi velit, omnium artium, omnesque scientiæ circulari quodam subsidio instructum et consummatum esse; id quando mea ætas non fert, malui jam prius ea mihi subsidia comparando, longo et acri studio illam laudem veram contendere, quam properato et præcoci stylo falsam præripere. Qua animi cogitatione et consilio dum æstuo totus indies, et accendor, nullam unquam sensi gravius impedimentum et moram, hoc frequenti interpellationis damno; nihil vero magis aluisse ingenium, et, contra quam in corpore fit, bonam ei valetudinem conservasse erudito et liberali otio. Hunc ego divinum Hesiodi somnum, hos nocturnos Endymionis cum Luna congressus esse crediderim; hunc illum duce Mercurio Promethei secessum in altissimas montis Caucasi solitudines, ubi sapientissimus deûm atque hominum evasit, utpote quem ipse Jupiter de nuptiis Thetidis consultum isse dicatur. Testor ipse lucos, et flumina, et dilectas villarum ulmos, sub quibus æstate proxime præterita (si dearum arcana eloqui liceat) summam cum musis gratiam habuisse me jucunda memoria recolo; ubi et ego inter rura et semotos saltus velut occulto ævo crescere mihi potuisse visus sum. Hic quoque eandem mihi delitescendi copiam utique sperassem, nisi intempestive prorsus interposuisset se im-

portuna hæc dicendi molestia, quæ sic ingrate arcebat sacros somnos, sic torsit animum in aliis defixum, et inter præruptas artium difficultates sic impedivit et oneri fuit, ut ego amissa omni spe persequendæ quietis mœstus cogitare cœperim, quam procul abessem ab ea tranquillitate quam mihi primò literæ pollicebantur, acerbam fore inter hos æstus et jactationes vitam, satius esse vel omnes artes didicisse. Itaque vix compos mei, temerarium cœpi consilium laudandæ ignorantiæ, quæ nihil prorsus haberat harum turbarum; proposuique in certamen utra suos cultores beatiores redderet Ars an Ignorantia? Nescio quid est, noluit me meum sive fatum, sive genius ab incepto Musarum amore discedere; imo et ipsa cæca sors tanquam derepente prudens providensque facta hoc idem noluisse visa est; citius opinione mea Ignorantia suum nacta est patronum, mihi Ars relinquitur defendenda. Gaudeo sane sic illusum me, nec me pudet vel cæcam Fortunam mihi restituisse oculos; hoc illi nomine gratias habeo. Jam saltem illam laudere licet, cujus ab amplexu divulsus eram, et quasi absentis desiderium sermone consolari: jam hæc non plane interruptio est, quis enim interpellari se dicat, id laudando et tuendo quod amat, quod approbat, quod magnopere assequi velit. Verum, auditores, sic ego existimo in re mediocriter laudabili maxime elucere vim eloquentiæ; quæ summum laudem habent, vix ullo modo, ullis limitibus orationis contineri posse, in his ipsa sibi officit copia, et rerum multitudine comprimit et coangustat expandentem se elocutionis pompam; hac ego argumenti fœcunditate nimia laboro, ipsæ me vires imbecillum, arma inermem reddunt; delectus itaque faciendus, aut certe enumeranda verius quam tractanda quæ tot nostram causam validis præsidiis firmam ac munitam statuunt; nunc illud mihi unice elaborandum video, ut ostendam quid in utraque re, et quantum habeat momentum ad illam in quam omnes ferimur, beatitudinem; in qua contentione facili certe negotio versabitur oratio nostra, nec admodum esse puto metuendum quid possit scientiæ inscitia, arti ignorantia objicere; quamvis hoc ipsum quod objiciat, quod verba faciat, quod in hac celebritate literatissimæ concionis vel hiscere audeat, id totum ab arte precariò vel potius emendicato habet. Notum hoc esse reor, auditores, et receptum omnibus, magnum mundi opificem, cætera omnia cum fluxu et caduca posuisset, homini præter id quod mortale esset, divinam quandam auram, et quasi partem sui immiscuisse, immortalem, indelebilem, lethi et interitus immunem; quæ postquam in terris aliquandiu tanquam cœlestis hospes, caste, sancteque peregrinata esset, ad nativum cœlum sursum evibraret se, debitamque ad sedem et patriam reverteretur: proinde nihil merito recenseri posse in causis nostræ beatitudinis, nisi id et illam sempiternam, et hanc civilem vitam aliqua ratione respiciat. Ea propemodum suffragiis omnium sola est contemplatio, qua sine administro corpore seducta et quasi conglobata in se mens nostra incredibili voluptate immortalium deorum ævum imitatur, quæ tamen sine arte tota infrugifera est et injucunda, imo nulla. Quis enim rerum humanarum divinarumque ἰδέας intueri digne possit aut considerare, quarum ferme nihil nosse queat, nisi animum per artem et disciplinam imbutum et excultum habuerit; ita prorsus ei cui artes desunt, interclusus esse videtur omnis aditus ad vitam beatam: ipsam hanc animam altæ sapientiæ capacem et prope inexplebilem, aut frustra nobis Deus, aut in pœnam dedisse videtur, nisi maxime voluisset nos ad excelsam earum rerum cognitionem sublimes eniti, quarum tantum ardorem natura humanæ menti injecerat. Circumspicite quaqua potestis universam hanc rerum faciem, illam sibi in gloriam tanti operis summus artifex ædificavit; quanto altius ejus rationem insignem, ingentem fabricam, varietatem admirabilem investigamus, quod sine arte non possumus, tanto plus authorem ejus admiratione nostra celebramus, et veluti quodam plausu persequimur, quod illi pergratum esse, certum ac persuasissimum habeamus. Ecquid, auditores, putabimus tanta immensi ætheris spatia æternis accensa atque distincta ignibus, tot sustinere concitatissimos motus, tanta obire conversionum itinera ob hoc unum ut lucernam præbeant ignavis et pronis hominibus? et quasi facem præferant nobis infra torpentibus et desidiosis? nihil inesse tam multiplici fructuum herbarumque proventui, præterquam fragilem viriditatis ornatum? Profecto si tam injusti rerum æstimatores erimus, ut nihil ultra crassum sensus intuitum persequamur, non modo serviliter et abjecte, sed inique et malitiose cum benigno numine egisse videbimur; cui per inertiam nostram, et quasi per invidiam titulorum magna pars, et tantæ potentiæ veneratio penitus intercidet. Si igitur dux et inchoatrix nobis ad beatitudinem sit eruditio, si potentissimo numini jussa et complacita, et ejus cum laude maxime conjuncta, certe non potest sui cultores non efficere vel summe beatos. Neque enim nescius sum, auditores, contemplationem hanc qua tendimus ad id quod summe expetendum est, nullum habere posse veræ beatitudinis gustum sine integritate vitæ, et morum innocentia; multos autem vel insigniter eruditos homines nefarios extitisse, præterea iræ, odio, et pravis cupiditatibus obedientes; multos è contra literarum rudes viros probos atque optimos se præstitisse; quid ergo? Num beatior ignorantia? minime vero. Sic itaque est, auditores, paucos fortasse doctrina præstabiles suæ civitatis corruptissimi mores et illiteratorum hominum colluvies in nequitiam pertraxere, unius perdocti et prudentis viri industria multos mortales ab arte impolitos in officio continuit: nimirum una domus, vir unus arte et sapientia præditus, velut magnum dei munus toti reipub. satis esse possit ad bonam frugem. Cæterum ubi nullæ vigent artes, ubi omnis exterminatur eruditio, ne ullum quidem ibi viri boni vestigium est, grassatur immanitas atque horrida barbaries; hujus rei testem appello non civitatem unam, aut provinciam, non gentem, sed quartam orbis terrarum partem Europam, qua tota superioribus aliquot sæculis omnes bonæ artes interierant, omnes tunc temporis academias præsides diu Musæ reliquerant; pervaserat omnia, et occuparat cæca inertia, nihil audiebatur in scholis præter insulsa stupidissimorum monachorum dogmata, togam scilicet nacta, per vacua rostra et pulpita, per squalentes cathedras jactitavit se prophanum et informe monstrum,

Ignorantia. Tum primum lugere pietas, et extingui religio et pessum ire, adeo ut ex gravi vulnere, sero atque ægre vix in hunc usque diem convaluerit. At vero, auditores, hoc in philosophia ratum, et antiquum esse satis constat, omnis artis, omnisque scientiæ perceptionem solius intellectus esse, virtutum ac probitatis domum atque delubrum esse voluntatem. Cum autem omnium judicio intellectus humanus cæteris animi facultatibus princeps et moderator præluceat, tum et ipsam voluntatem cæcam alioqui et obscuram suo splendore temperat et collustrat, illa veluti luna, luce lucet aliena. Quare demus hoc sane, et largiamur ultro, potiorem esse ad beatam vitam virtutem sine arte, quam artem sine virtute; at ubi semel fœlici nexu invicem consociatæ fuerint, ut maxime debent, et sæpissime contingit, tum vero statim vultu erecto atque arduo superior longe apparet, atque emicat scientia, cum rege et imperatore intellectu in excelso locat se, inde quasi humile et sub pedibus spectat inferius quicquid agitur apud voluntatem; et deinceps in æternum excellentiam et claritudinem, majestatemque divinæ proximam facile sibi asserit. Age descendamus ad civilem vitam, quid in privata, quid in publica proficiat utraque videamus; taceo de arte quod sit pulcherrimum juventutis honestamentum, ætatis virilis firmum præsidium, senectutis ornamentum atque solatium. Prætereo et illud multos apud suos nobiles, etiam P. R. principes post egregia facinora, et rerum gestarum gloriam ex contentione et strepitu ambitionis ad literarum studium tanquam in portum ac dulce perfugium se recepisse; intellexere nimirum senes præstantissimi jam reliquam vitæ partem optimam optime oportere collocari; erant summi inter homines, volebant his artibus non postremi esse inter deos; petierant honores, nunc immortalitatem; in debellandis imperii hostibus longe alia militia usi sunt, cum morte maximo generis humani malo conflictaturi, ecce quæ tela sumpserint, quas legiones conscripserint, quo commeatu instructi fuerint. Atqui maxima pars civilis beatitudinis in humana societate et contrahendis amicitiis fere constituta est; doctiores plerosque difficiles, inurbanos, moribus incompositis, nulla fandi gratia ad conciliandos hominum animos multi queruntur: fateor equidem, qui in studiis fere seclusus atque abditus est, multo promptius esse Deos alloqui quam homines, sive quod perpetuo fere domi est apud superos infrequens rerum humanarum et vere peregrinus, sive quod assidua rerum divinarum cogitatione mens quasi grandior facta in tantis corporis angustiis difficulter agitans se minus habilis sit ad exquisitiores salutationum gesticulationes; at si dignæ atque idoneæ contigerint amicitiæ nemo sanctius colit; quid enim jucundius, quid cogitari potest beatius illis doctorum et gravissimorum hominum colloquiis, qualia sub illa platano plurima sæpe fertur habuisse divinus Plato, digna certe quæ totius confluentis generis humani arrecto excipiantur silentio; at stolide confabulari, alios aliis ad luxum et libidines morem gerere ea demum ignorantiæ est amicitia, aut certe amicitiæ ignorantia. Quinetiam si hæc civilis beatitudo in honesta liberaque oblectatione animi consistit, ea profecto doctrinæ et arti reposita est voluptas, quæ cæteras omnes facile superet; quid omnem cœli siderumque morem tenuisse? omnis aeris motus et vicissitudines, sive augusto fulminum sonitu, aut crinitis ardoribus inertes animos perterrefaciat, sive in nivem et grandinem obrigescat, sive denique in pluvia et rore mollis et placidus descendat; tum alternantes ventos perdidicisse, omnesque halitus aut vapores quos terra aut mare eructat; stirpium deinde vires occultas, metallorumque caluisse, singulorum etiam animantium naturam, et si fieri potest, sensus intellexisse; hinc accuratissimam corporis humani fabricam et medicinam; postremo divinam animi vim et vigorem, et si qua de illis qui lares, et genii, et dæmonia vocantur ad nos pervenit cognitio? Infinita ad hæc alia, quorum bonam partem didicisse licuerit, antequam ego cuncta enumeraverim. Sic tandem, auditores, cum omnimoda semel eruditio suos orbes confecerit, non contentus iste spiritus tenebricoso hoc ergastulo eousque late aget se, donec et ipsum mundum, et ultra longe divina quadam magnitudine expatiata compleverit. Tum demum plerique casus atque eventus rerum ita subito emergent, ut ei, qui hanc arcem sapientiæ adeptus est, nihil pene incautum, nihil fortuitum in vita possit accidere; videbitur sane is esse, cujus imperio et dominationi astra obtemperent, terra et mare obsecundent, venti tempestatesque morigeræ sint; cui denique ipsa parens natura in deditionem se tradiderit, plane ac si quis deus abdicato mundi imperio, huic jus ejus, et leges, administrationemque tanquam præfectori cuidam commisisset. Huc quanta accedit animi voluptas, per omnes gentium historias et loca pervolare regnorum, nationum, urbium, populorum status mutationesque ad prudentiam, et mores animadvertere: hoc est, auditores, omni ætati quasi vivus interesse, et velut ipsius temporis nasci contemporaneus; profecto cum nominis nostri gloriæ in futurum prospeximus, hoc erit ab utero vitam retro extendere et porrigere, et nolenti fato anteactam quandam immortalitatem extorquere. Mitto illud cui quid potest æquiparari? Multarum gentium oraculum esse, domum quasi templum habere, esse quos reges et respublicæ ad se invitent, cujus visendi gratia finitimique exterique concurrant; quem alii vel semel vidisse quasi quoddam bene meritum, glorientur; hæc studiorum præmia, hos fructus eruditio suis cultoribus in privata vita præstare, et potest, et sæpe solet. At quid in publica? Sane ad majestatis fastigium paucos evexit laus doctrinæ, nec probitatis multò plures. Nimirum, illi apud se regno fruuntur, omni terrarum ditione longe gloriosiori: et quis sine ambitionis infamia geminum affectat regnum? addam hoc tamen amplius, duos tantum adhuc fuisse qui quasi cœlitus datum universum terrarum orbem habuere, et supra omnes reges et dynastas æquale diis ipsis partiti sunt imperium, Alexandrum nempe Magnum et Octavium Cæsarem, eosque ambos philosophiæ alumnos. Perinde ac si quoddam electionis exemplar divinitus exhibitum esset hominibus, quali potissimum viro clavum et habenas rerum credi oporteret. At multæ resp. sine literis, rebus gestis et opulentia claruere. Spartanorum quidem, qui

ad literarum studium contulerint se, pauci memorantur; Romani intra urbis mœnia philosophiam sero receperunt; at illi legislatore usi sunt Lycurgo, qui et philosophus fuit et poetarum adeo studiosus, ut Homeri scripta per Ioniam sparsa summa cura primus collegerit. Hi post varios in urbe motus et perturbationes ægre se sustentare valentes, ab Athenis ea tempestate artium studio florentissimis, leges decemvirales, quæ et duodecim tabulæ dictæ sunt, missis legatis emendicarunt. Quid si hodiernos Turcas per opimà Asiæ regna rerum late potitos omnis literaturæ ignaros nobis objiciant? Equidem in ea repub. (si tamen crudelissimorum hominum per vim et cædem arrepta potentia, quos unum in locum sceleris consensus convocavit, continuo respub. dicenda sit) quod in ea ad exemplum insigne sit nil audivi, parere vitæ commoda, tueri parta, id naturæ debemus, non arti; aliena libidinose invadere, sibi mutuo ad rapinam auxilio esse, in scelus conjurare, id naturæ pravitati. Jus quoddam apud eos exercetur; nec mirum: cæteræ virtutes facile fugantur, justitia vere regia, ad sui cultum impellit, sine qua vel injustissimæ societates cito dissolverentur. Nec omiserim tamen, Saracenos Turcarum propemodum conditores non armis magis quam bonarum literarum studiis imperium suum propagasse. Sed si antiquitatem repetamus, inveniemus non institutas modo ab arte, sed fundatas olim fuisse respublicas. Antiquissimi quique gentium indigenæ in sylvis et montibus errasse dicuntur, ferarum ritu pabuli commoditatem sequuti, vultu erecti, cætera proni, putasses præter formæ dignitatem nihil non commune cum bestiis habuisse; eadem antra, iidem specus cœlum et frigora defendebant; nulla tunc urbs, non ædes marmoreæ, non aræ deorum, aut fana collucebant, non illic fas sanctum, nondum jura in foro dicebantur, nulla in nuptiis tæda, non chorus, nullum in mensa geniali carmen, nullum solenne funeris, non luctus, vix tumulus defunctos honestabat; nulla convivia, nulli ludi, inauditus citharæ sonus, ipsa tunc omnia aberant, quibus jam inertia ad luxum abutitur. Cum repente artes et scientiæ agrestia hominum pectora cœlitus afflabant, et imbutos notitia sui in una mœnia pellexere. Quamobrem certe quibus authoribus urbes ipsæ primum conditæ sunt, dein stabilitæ legibus, post consiliis munitæ, poterunt iisdem etiam gubernatoribus quam diutissime fœlicissimeque consistere. Quid autem ignorantia? sentio, auditores, caligat, stupet, procul est, effugia circumspicit, vitam brevem queritur, artem longam; immo vero tollamus duo magna studiorum nostrorum impedimenta, alterum artis male traditæ, alterum nostræ ignaviæ, pace Galeni, seu quis alius ille fuit; totum contra erit, vita longa ars brevis; nihil arte præstabilius, adeoque laboriosius, nihil nobis segnius, nihil remissius; ob operariis et agricolis nocturna et antelucana industria vinci nos patimur; illi in re sordida ad vilem victum magis impigri sunt, quam nos in nobilissima ad vitam beatam; nos cum ad altissimum atque optimum in humanis rebus aspiremus, nec studium ferre possumus, nec inertiæ dedecus; immo pudet esse id, quod non haberi nos indignamur. At valetudini cavemus à vigiliis et acri studio: turpe dictu, animum incultum negligimus, dum corpori metuimus, cujus vires quis non imminuat, quo majores acquirantur animo? quanquam certe qui hæc causantur perditissimi plerique, abjecta omni temporis, ingenii, valetudinis cura, comessando, belluæ marinæ ad morem potando, inter scorta et aleam pernoctando, nihilo se infirmiores factos queruntur. Cum itaque sic se afficiant atque assuescant, ut ad omnem turpitudinem strenui atque alacres; ad omnes virtutis actiones et ingenii hebetes et languidi sint, culpam in naturam aut vitæ brevitatem falso et inique transferunt. Quod si modeste ac temperanter vitam degendo, primos ferocientis ætatis impetus ratione et pertinaci studiorum assiduitate mallemus edomare, cœlestem animi vigorem ab omni contagione et inquinamento purum et intactum servantes; incredibile esset, auditores, nobis post annos aliquot respicientibus quantum spatium confecisse, quam ingens æquor eruditionis cursu placido navigasse videremur. Cui et hoc egregium afferet compendium, si quis norit et artes utiles, et utilia in artibus recte seligere. Quot sunt imprimis grammaticorum et rhetorum nugæ aspernabiles? audias in tradenda arte sua illos barbare loquentes, hos infantissimos. Quid logica? Regina quidem illa artium si pro dignitate tractetur: at heu quanta est in ratione insania! non hic homines, sed plane acanthides carduis et spinis vescuntur. O dura messorum ilia! quid repetam illam, quam metaphysicam vocant peripatetici, non artem, locupletissimam quippe me ducit magnorum virorum authoritas, non artem inquam plerumque, sed infames scopulos, sed Lernam quandam sophismatum ad naufragium et pestem excogitatam: hæc illa quæ supra memini togatæ ignorantiæ vulnera sunt; hæc eadem cucullorum scabies etiam ad naturalem philosophiam late permanavit: vexat mathematicos demonstrationum inanis gloriola; his omnibus quæ nihil profutura sunt meritò contemptis et amputatis, admirationi erit quot annos integros lucrabimur. Quid! quod jurisprudentiam præsertim nostram turbata methodus obscurat, et quod pejus est, sermo nescio quis, Americanus credo, aut ne humanus quidem, quo cum sæpe leguleios nostros clamitantes audiverim, dubitare, subiit quibus non esset humanum os et loquela, an et his ulli affectus humani adessent; vereor certe ut possit nos sancta justitia respicere, vereor ut querelas ullo tempore nostras aut injurias intelligat, quorum lingua loqui nesciat. Quapropter, auditores, si nullum à pueritia diem sine præceptis et diligenti studio vacuum ire sinamus, si in arte, aliena supervacanea otiosa sapienter omittamus, certe intra ætatem Alexandri Magni majus quiddam et gloriosius illo terrarum orbe subegerimus: tantumque aberit quo minus brevitatem vitæ, aut artis tædium incusemus, ut flere et lachrymari promptius nobis futurum credam, ut illi olim, non plures superesse mundos de quibus triumphemus. Expirat ignorantia, jam ultimos videte conatus et morientem luctam; mortales præcipue gloria tangi, antiquos illos illustres longa annorum series atque decursus eum celebrârit, nos decrepito mundi senio, nos properante rerum omnium occasu premi, si quid prædicandum æterna laude reliquerimus, nostrum nomen in angusto versari, cujus ad

memoriam vix ulla posteritas succedat, frustra jam tot libros et preclara ingenii monumenta edi quæ vicinus mundi rogus cremarit. Non inficior illud esse posse verisimile; at vero non morari gloriam cum bene feceris, id supra omnem gloriam est. Quam nihil beavit istos inanis hominum sermo cujus ad absentes et mortuos nulla voluptas, nullus sensus pervenire potuit? nos sempiternum ævum expectemus quod nostrorum in terris saltem benefactorum memoriam nunquam delebit; in quo, si quid hic pulchre meruimus, præsentes ipsi audiemus, in quo qui prius in hac vita continentissime acta omne tempus bonis artibus dederint, iisque homines adjuverint, eos singulari et summa supra omnes scientia auctos esse futuros multi graviter philosophati sunt. Jam cavillari desinant ignavi quæcunque adhuc nobis in scientiis incerta atque perplexa sint, quæ tamen, non tam scientiæ, quam homini attribuenda sunt; hoc est, auditores, quod et illud nescire Socraticum et timidam scepticorum hæsitationem aut refellit, aut consolatur, aut compensat. Jam vero tandem aliquando quænam ignorantiæ beatitudo? sua sibi habere, à nemine lædi, omni cura et molestia supersedere, vitam secure et quiete, quoad potest, traducere; verum hæc feræ aut volucris cujuspiam vita est, quæ in altis et penitissimis sylvis in tuto nidulum cœlo quamproximum habet, pullos educit, sine aucupii metu in pastum volat, diluculo, vesperique suavès modulos emodulatur. Quid ad hæc desideratur æthereus ille animi vigor? Exuat ergo hominem, dabitur sane Circæum poculum, ad bestias prona emigret: ad bestias vero? at illæ tam turpem hospitem excipere nolunt, si quidem illæ sive inferioris cujusdam rationis participes, quod plurimi disputarunt, sive pollenti quodam instinctu sagaces, aut artes, aut artium simile quoddam apud se exercent. Namque et canes in persequenda fera dialecticæ non ignaros esse narratur apud Plutarchum, et si ad trivia forte ventum sit, plane disjuncto uti syllogismo. Lusciniam veluti præcepta quædam musices pullis suis tradere solere refert Aristoteles; unaquæque fere bestia sibi medica est, multæ etiam insignia medicinæ documenta hominibus dedere. Ibis Ægyptia alvi purgandæ utilitatem, hippopotamus detrahendi sanguinis ostendit. Quis dicat astronomiæ expertes à quibus tot ventorum, imbrium, inundationem, serenitatis præsagia petantur? Quam prudenti et severa ethica supervolantes montem Taurum anseres obturato lapillis ore periculosæ loquacitati moderantur; multa formicis res domestica, civitas apibus debet; excubias habendi, triquetram aciem ordinandi rationem ars militaris gruum esse agnoscit. Sapiunt altius bestiæ, quam ut suo cœtu et consortio ignorantiam dignentur; inferius detrudunt. Quid ergo? ad truncos et saxa. At ipsi trunci, ipsa arbusta, totumque nemus ad doctissima Orphei carmina solutis quondam radicibus festinavere. Sæpe etiam mysteriorum capaces, ut quercus olim Dodoneæ, divina oracula reddidere. Saxa etiam sacræ poetarum voci docilitate quadam respondent: an et hæc aspernantur à se ignorantiam? Num igitur infra omne brutorum genus, infra stipites et saxa, infra omnem naturæ ordinem licebit in illo Epicureorum non esse requiescere? Ne id quidem: quandoquidem necesse est, quod pejus, quod vilius, quod magis miserum, quod infimum est, esse ignorantiam? Ad vos venio, auditores intelligentissimi, nam et ipse si nihil dixissem, vos mihi tot non tam argumenta, quam tela video, quæ ego in ignorantiam usque ad perniciem contorquebo. Ego jam classicum cecini, vos ruite in prælium; summovete à vobis hostem hanc, prohibete vestris porticibus et ambulacris; hanc si aliquid esse patiamini, vos ipsi illud eritis, quod nostis omnium esse miserrimum. Vestra itaque hæc omnium causa est. Quare si ego jam multo fortasse prolixior fuerim, quam pro consuetudine hujus loci liceret, præterquam quod ipsa rei dignitas hoc postulabat, dabitis et vos mihi veniam, opinor, judices, quandoquidem, tanto magis intelligitis in vos quo sim animo, quam vestri studiosus, quos labores, quas vigilias vestra causa non recusarim. Dixi.

ARTIS LOGICÆ PLENIOR INSTITUTIO,

AD PETRI RAMI METHODUM CONCINNATA.

ADJECTA EST PRAXIS ANALYTICA, ET PETRI RAMI VITA.

LIBRIS DUOBUS.

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PRÆFATIO.

Quanquam philosophorum multi, suopte ingenio freti, contempsisse artem logicam dicuntur, eorum tamen qui vel sibi, vel aliis propter ingenium aut judicium natura minus acre ac perspicax utilissimam esse sibique diligenter excolendam judicarunt, optime est de ea meritus, ut ego quidem cum Sidneio nostro sentio, Petrus Ramus. Cæteri fere physica, ethica, theologica logicis, effrœnata quadam licentia, confundunt. Sed noster dum brevitatem sectatus est nimis religiose, non plane luci, sed ubertati tamen lucis, quæ in tradenda arte, non parca, sed plena et copiosa esse debet, videtur defuisse: id quod tot in eum scripta commentaria testantur. Satius itaque sum arbitratus, quæ ad præcepta artis plenius intelligenda, ex ipsius Rami scholiis dialecticis aliorumque commentariis necessario petenda sunt, ea in ipsum corpus artis, nisi sicubi dissentio, transferre atque intexere. Quid enim brevitate consequimur, si lux aliunde est petenda? Præstat una opera, uno simul in loco artem longiusculam cum luce conjungere, quam minore cum luce brevissimam aliunde illustrare; cum hoc non minore negotio multoque minus commode hactenus fiat, quam si ars ipsa ut nunc suapte copia se fuse explicaverit. Quam artis tradendæ rationem uberiorem ipse etiam Ramus in arithmetica et geometria aliquanto post à se editis, edoctus jam longiore usu, secutus est; suasque ipse regulas interjecto commentariolo explanavit, non aliis explanandas reliquit. Quorum cum plerique nescio an nimio commentandi studio elati, certe omnis methodi quod in iis mirum sit, obliti, omnia permisceant, postrema primis, axiomata syllogysmos eorumque regulas primis quibusque simplicium argumentorum capitibus ingerere soleant, unde caliginem potius discentibus offundi quam lucem ullam præferri necesse est, id mihi cavendum imprimis duxi, ut nequid præriperem, nequid præpostere quasi traditum jam et intellectum, nequid nisi suo loco attingerem; nihil veritus ne cui forte strictior in explicandis præceptis existimer, dum perpendenda magis quam percurrenda proponere studebam. Nec tamen iis facile assenserim, qui paucitatem regularum objiciunt Ramo, quarum permultæ etiam ex Aristotele ab aliis collectæ, nedum quæ ab ipsis cumulo sunt adjectæ, vel incertæ vel futiles, discentem impediunt atque onerant potius quam adjuvant: ac siquid habent utilitatis aut salis, id ejusmodi est, ut suopte ingenio quivis facilius percipiat, quam tot canonibus memoriæ mandatis, addiscat. Multoque minus constitui, canones quidvis potius quam logicos, à theologis infercire; quos illi, quasi subornatos in suum usum, tanquam è media logica petitos, depromant de Deo, divinisque hypostasibus et sacramentis; quorum ratione, quo modo est ab ipsis informata, nihil est à logica, adeoque ab ipsa ratione, alienius.

Prius autem quam opus ipsum aggredior, quoniam ars logica omnium prima est suisque finibus latissime patet, præmittam quædam de arte generalia, deque artium distributione; artem deinde ipsam persequar: ad extremum, analytica quædam exempla, sive usum artis, exercitationis causa, iis quibus opus est, et in eo genere exercere se libet, exhibebo: quibus opus est inquam; quibus enim ingenium per se viget atque pollet, iis ut in hoc genere analytico cum labore nimio ac miseria se torqueant, non sum author. Ad id enim ars adhibetur, ut naturam juvet, non ut impediat: adhibita nimis anxie nimisque subtiliter, et præsertim ubi opus non est, ingenium per se jam satis acutum, obtundit potius quam acuit; ita plane ut in medicina remediorum usus vel nimius vel non necessarius, valetudinem debilitat potius quam roborat. Quod autem Aristotelis aliorumque veterum auctoritatem ad singulas fere logicæ regulas adjungimus, id quidem in tradenda arte supervacuum fuisset, nisi

novitatis suspicio, quæ Petro Ramo hactenus potissimum obfuit, adductis ipsis veterum authorum testimoniis, esset amolienda.

Artium omnium quasi corpus et comprehensio ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία Græce, i. e. eruditionis circuitus quidam in se redeuntis, adeoque in se absolutæ atque perfectæ, vel philosophia dicitur. Hæc cum sapientiæ studium proprie significat, tum vulgo artium omnium vel doctrinam, vel scientiam: doctrinam, cum præcepta artium tradit; scientiam, cum ars, quæ habitus est quidam mentis, præceptis illis percipitur, quasique possidetur. Eodem modo et artis significatio distinguitur: cum doctrinam significat, de qua nobis potissimum hic est agendum, est ordinata præceptorum exemplorumque comprehensio sive methodus, qua quidvis utile docetur.

Artis materia præcepta sunt: quæ qualia esse debeant, artis logicæ, quam nunc tradimus, proprium est suo loco præscribere.

Forma sive ipsa ratio artis, non tam est præceptorum illorum methodica dispositio, quam utilis alicujus rei præceptio: per id enim quod docet potius, quam per ordinem docendi, ars est id quod est: quod ex cujusque artis definitione perspicitur, ut infra ostendetur.

Præceptorum artis tria genera sunt: duo præcipua "definitiones et distributiones;" quarum doctrinam generalem logica etiam loco idoneo sibi vendicat; tertium, minus principale, "consectarium" nominatur; estque proprietatis alicujus explicatio, ex definitione fere deducta.

Exempla sunt quibus præceptionum veritas demonstratur, ususque ostenditur: suntque, ut scite Plato, quasi obsides sermonum: quod enim præcepto in genere docetur, id exemplo in specie confirmatur.

Efficiens artis primarius neminem reor dubitare quin sit Deus, author omnis sapientiæ: id olim philosophos etiam non fugit.

Causæ ministræ fuerunt homines divinitus edocti, ingenioque præstantes; qui olim singulas artes invenerunt. Inveniendi autem ratio eadem prope fuit quæ pingendi; ut enim in picturà duo sunt, exemplum sive archetypus, et ars pingendi, sic in arte invenienda, archetypo respondet natura sive usus, et exemplum hominum peritorum, arti pictoris respondet logica; saltem naturalis, quæ facultas ipsa rationis in mente hominis est; juxta illud vulgo dictum, ars imitatur naturam.

Ratio autem sive logica, primum illa naturalis, deinde artificiosa, quatuor adhibuit sibi quasi adjutores, teste Aristot. Metaphys. 1, c. 1, sensum, observationem, inductionem, et experientiam. Cum enim præcepta artium generalià sint, ea nisi ex singularibus, singularia nisi sensu percipi non possunt: sensus sine observatione, quæ exempla singula memoriæ committat, observatio sine inductione, quæ singularia quam plurima inducendo generalem aliquam regulam constituat, inductio sine experientia, quæ singulorum omnium convenientiam in commune et quasi consensum judicet, nihil juvat. Hinc recte Polus apud Platonem in Gorgia, "experientia artem peperit, imperitia fortunam," i. e. præcepta fortuita, adeoque incerta. Et Aristot. Prior. 1, c. 30, "cujusque rei principia tradere, experientiæ est: sic astrologica experientia illius scientiæ principia suppeditavit." Et Manilius;

> "Per varios usus artem experientia fecit,
> Exemplo monstrante viam ———"

Et Cicero; "omnia quæ sunt conclusa nunc artibus, dispersa quondam et dissipata fuerunt, donec adhibita hæc ars est, quæ res dissolutas divulsasque conglutinaret et ratione quadam constringeret." Ea ars logica est, vel hæc saltem naturalis, quam ingenitam habemus, vel illa artificiosa, quam mox tradimus: hæc enim præcepta artis invenit ac docet. Hactenus de efficientibus causis artium.

Forma artis, ut supra dixi, non tam præceptorum dispositio est, quam præceptio ipsa rei alicujus utilis, eademque est finis. Quemadmodum, enim, non tam præceptorum logicorum methodica dispositio quam ipsum bene disserere, et forma logicæ et finis est, ut infra docebitur, ita in genere non solum præceptorum dispositio, sed ipsa rei utilis præceptio, forma artis et simul finis est; quod autem præcipitur, id esse utile in hominum vita debere, quod Græci βιωφελὲς vocant, omnes consentiunt; indignamque esse artis nomine, quæ non bonum aliquod sive utile ad vitam hominum, quod idem quoque honestum sit, sibi proponat, ad quod omnia præcepta artis referantur; adeoque formam artis esse rei alicujus utilis præceptionem, per quam scilicet ars est id quod est, necessario sequitur. Verum ad hunc finem perveniri non potest, nisi doctrinam natura commode percipiat, exercitatio confirmet, utræque simul doctrina et exercitatio artem quasi alteram naturam reddant. Sed ingenium sine arte, quam ars sine ingenio plus proficere censetur: proficere autem non admodum utrumque nisi accesserit exercitatio: unde illud Ovidii:

> Solus, et artificem qui facit, usus erit.

Exercitatio duplex est; analysis et genesis. Illa est, cum exempla artis in sua principia quasi resolvuntur: dum singulis partibus ad normam, i. e. ad præcepta artis examinantur: hæc, cum ex artis præscripto efficimus aliquid aut componimus.

Hactenus causæ artium: sequuntur species. Artes sunt generales vel speciales: generales, quarum materia subjecta est generalis. Materia autem illa vel artificis est, vel artis. Artificis materia generalis generalibus cunctis artibus est communis; artis autem, singularum est propria: estque artificis quidem generalis materia, omne id, quod revera est, aut esse fingitur; artis, quod in eo omni efficiunt singulæ. Id omne vel ratio complectitur, vel oratio: generalium itaque artium materia generalis, vel ratio est, vel oratio: versantur enim in exco-

lenda vel ratione ad bene ratiocinandum, ut logica; vel oratione, eaque vel ad bene loquendum, ut grammatica, vel ad dicendum bene, ut rhetorica. Omnium autem prima ac generalissima, logica est; dein grammatica, tum demum rhetorica; quatenus rationis usus sine oratione etiam magnus, hujus sine illa potest esse nullus. Grammaticæ autem secundum tribuimus locum; eo quod oratio pura esse etiam inornata; ornata esse nisi pura sit prius, facile non queat.

Artes speciales sunt, quæ materiam habent specialem; nempe naturam fere vel mores: earum enim accuratior distributio non est hujus loci.

ARTIS LOGICÆ PLENIOR INSTITUTIO, &c.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT I.

Quid sit Logica?

Logica est ars bene ratiocinandi. Eodemque sensu dialectica sæpe dicta est.

Logica autem, i. e. ars rationalis, à λόγω dicitur: quæ vox Græcè rationem significat; quam excolendam logica sibi sumit.

Ratiocinari autem est rationis uti facultate. Additur bene, i. e. rectè, scienter, expeditè; ad perfectionem artis ab imperfectione facultatis naturalis distinguendam.

Logicam potius, quàm cum P. Ramo dialecticam, dicendam duxi, quòd eo nomine tota ars rationis aptissimè significetur; cùm dialectica à verbo Græco διαλέγεσθαι, artem potius interrogandi et respondendi, i. e. disputandi significet; ut ex Platonis Cratylo, ex doctrina peripateticorum et stoicorum, Fabio, Suida, aliisque docetur. Et tamen Plato in Alcibiade primo idem vult esse τό διαλέγεσθαι, quod ratione uti. Prior significatio ad rationis usum nimis augusta est; posterior, si inter authores de ea con convenit, nimis incerta.

Ratiocinandi autem potius dico quàm disserendi, propterea quòd ratiocinari, non minus late quàm ipsa ratio, idem valet propriè quod ratione uti; cùm disserere, præterquam quod vox non planè propria, sed translata sit, non latius plerumque pateat, quam disputare.

Addunt nonnulli in definitione subjectum dialecticæ, i. e. de re qualibet: sed hoc cum grammatica et rhetorica commune dialecticæ fuit, ut in proœmio vidimus; non ergo hic repetendum.

CAP. II.

De partibus Logicæ, deque Argumenti Generibus.

Ratiocinatio autem fit omnis, rationibus vel solis et per se consideratis, vel inter se dispositis; quæ argumenta etiam sæpius dicta sunt.

Logicæ itaque partes duæ sunt; rationum sive argumentorum inventio, eorumque dispositio.

Secutus veteres Ramus, Aristotelem, Ciceronem, Fabium, dialecticam partitur in inventionem et judicium. Verùm non inventio, quæ nimis lata est quocunque modo sumatur, sed argumentorum inventio, pars prima logicæ dicenda est; dispositio autem eorum, cur sit secunda, non judicium, secundi libri initio respondebimus. Sed neque hæc partitio suis auctoribus vel iisdem vel aliis caret: Plato, in Phædo, dispositionem inventioni addidit; Aristoteles τάξιν; Top. 8. 1. quod idem est. Et Cicero, de Orat., fatetur, inventionem et dispositionem, non orationis esse, sed rationis.

Inventionem autem et dispositionem quarum tandem rerum nisi argumentorum.

Argumentorum itaque inventio topica Græcè nominatur, quia τόπους continet, i. e. locos unde argumenta sumuntur, viamque docet et rationem argumenta bene inveniendi, suo nimirum ordine collocata; unde vel ad genesin expromantur, vel in analysi explorentur, inventorumque simul vim atque usum exponit.

"Argumentum est quod ad aliquid arguendum affectum est." Id est, quod habet affectionem ad arguendum; vel ut Cic. in Top. quod affectum est ad id de quo quæritur: id interpretatur Boethius refertur, vel aliqua relatione respicit id de quo quæritur.

Ista affectione sublata, argumentum non est; mutata, non est idem; sed ipsum quoque mutatur.

Ad arguendum autem, i. e. ostendendum, explicandum, probandum aliquid. Sic juxta illud tritum, "degeneres animos timor arguit," Æneid 4: et illud Ovidii; "Apparet virtus, arguiturque malis." Explicare autem et probare etiam simplicis argumenti propria atque primaria vis est, unde aliud ex alio sequi, vel non sequi, i. e. uno posito, alterum poni vel non poni primitus judicatur: quod de inductione quidem recte monuit Baconus noster, de Augment. Scient. l. 5, c. 4, "uno eodemque mentis opere, illud quod quæritur, et inveniri et judicari;" sed hoc de singulis argumentis simplicibus non minus verum est.

Ex quo etiam sequitur, judicium non esse alteram logicæ partem, sed quasi effectum utriusque partis

communem et ex utraque oriundum; ex syllogismo in re præsertim dubia clarius quidem at secundario tamen contra ac plerique docent.

Aliquid autem, est id quodcunque arguitur: quicquid enim est, aut esse fingitur, subjectum est logicæ, ut supra demonstravimus. Argumentum autem proprié neque vox est neque res; sed affectio quædam rei ad arguendum; quæ ratio dici potest ut supra.

Tractat igitur logica neque voces, neque res. Voces quidem, quamquam et sine vocibus potest ratiocinari, tamen, quoties opus est, distinctas et tantùm non ambiguas, non improprias, ab ipso usu loquendi videtur jure sanè postulare: res ipsas artib. quasque suis relinquit; arguendi duntaxat inter se quam habeant affectionem sive rationem considerat.

Ratio autem dicitur, voce à mathematicis petita, qua terminorum proportionalium inter se certa habitudo significatur.

"Argumentum est artificiale aut inartificiale. Sic Aristot. Rhet. 1, 12," quem Fabius sequitur, l. 5, c. 1. Cicero in "insitum" et "assumptum" dividit. Artificiale autem dicitur, non quo inveniatur arte magis quam inartificiale, sed quòd ex sese arguit, i. e. vi insita ac propria.

"Artificiale est primum, vel à primo ortum. Primum, quod est suæ originis." Id est, affectionem arguendi non modò in se habet, sed etiam à se; quod infrà clàrius patebit, cùm quid sit à "primo ortum" docebitur.

"Primum est simplex aut comparatum.

"Simplex, quod simpliciter et absolutè consideratur." Id est, simplicem habet affectionem arguendi id quod arguitur, sine quantitatis aut qualitatis cum eo comparatione.

"Simplex est consentaneum aut dissentaneum."

Nam quæ sine comparatione considerantur, necesse est vel consentiant inter se, vel dissentiant.

"Consentaneum est quod consentit cum re quam arguit." Id est, ponit, sive affirmat esse rem quam arguit.

"Estque consentaneum absolutè aut modo quodam." Absolutè, i. e. perfectè; absolvere enim est perficere. Aristotelis quoque hæc distributio est. Quæ autem absolutè consentiunt, eorum alterum alterius vi existere intelligitur; et sic consentiunt causa et effectus. Atque hæ sunt argumentorum distributiones generales ex affectionum differentiis desumptæ; suoque nunc ordine singulatim tractandæ: argumentorum autem omnium primum causa est; id quòd per se quivis intelligere potest.

CAP. III.

De Efficiente, procreante, et conservante.

"Causa est, cujus vi res est." Vel, si ex capite superiore, quod intelligi memoriaque teneri potest, repetito est opus, causa est argumentum artificiale, primum, simplex, absolutè consentaneum, cujus vi, vel facultate, res, i. e. effectum, arguitur esse vel existere. Nec male definiatur causa "quæ dat esse rei."

Cujus autem vi vel facultate, i. e. à quo, ex quo, per quod, vel propter quod res est, id causa esse dicitur. "Res" etiam, idem quod "aliquid" in definitione argumenti, vox generalis adhibetur, quæ significaret causam, sicut et reliqua argumenta, esse rerum omnium quæ vel sunt, vel finguntur: nam quæ revera sunt, veras; quæ finguntur, fictas causas habent.

Hinc intelligitur "causam sine qua non," quæ vulgò dicitur, impropriè causam, et quasi fortuito, dici: ut cum amissio rei alicujus dicitur causa recuperationis; quamvis amissio recuperationem necessariò præcedat. Neque enim causa sic intelligi debet, id quod et Cicero docuit, l. de Fato, ut quod cuique antecedat, id ei causa sit, sed quod cuique efficienter antecedat; i. e. ita ut res vi ejus existat. Hinc causa propriè dicta, "principium" quoque nominatur à Cic. 1 de Nat. Deor., sed frequentiùs apud Græcos.

Causa autem est cujus vi res non solùm est, verùm etiam fuit, vel erit. Ut enim præcepta logica de omni re, sic omnium præcepta artium de omni tempore intelligenda sunt; unde et æterna esse, veritatesque æternæ dicuntur.

Ex definitione autem causæ tertium illud artis præceptum, de quo in præfatione diximus, consectarium hoc oritur: "primus hic locus inventionis, fons est omnis scientiæ; scirique demum creditur cujus causa teneatur."

Neque aliud est Aristotelis decantata illa demonstratio, quàm qua effectum arguitur, probatur, cognoscitur, ponitur, ex causa posita; quodcunque illud demum causæ genus sit: ut cùm risibile probatur ex rationali, quippe, omnis homo est risibilis, quia rationalis: eoque erit clarior demonstratio, quo causa certior, propior, præstantior.

"Causa est efficiens et materia, aut forma et finis." Cur sic causa dividatur quasi in duo genera anonyma, infrà in doctrina distributionis facilius intelligetur.

Quot autem modis alicujus vi res est, tot esse species causæ statuendum est. Modis autem quatuor alicujus vi res est; ut rectè Aristot. Phys. 2, 7, et nos suprà diximus; vel enim à quo, vel ex quo, vel per quod, vel propter quod res unaquæque est, ejus vi esse rectè dicitur. His modis nec plures inveniuntur, nec pauciores esse possunt: rectè igitur causa distribuitur in causam à qua, ex qua, per quam, et propter quam, i. e. efficientem et materiam, aut formam, et finem.

"Efficiens est causa, à qua res est, vel efficitur." Ab efficiente enim principium movendi est; ipsa tamen effecto non inest.

Ciceroni omnis causa "efficiens" nominatur: sic enim in Topicis; "primus est locus rerum efficientium, quæ causæ appellantur:" et de Fato; "causa est quæ id efficit, cujus est causa." Hinc fit ut "causatum," à causis licet omnibus ortum habens, "effectum" tantummodo vocitetur: unde hoc solum intelligitur, efficientem esse causam præcipuam atque primariam; omnem autem causam aliquo modo efficere.

" Efficientis etsi, vera genera nulla sive species nobis apparent, ubertas tamen permagna modis quibusdam distinguitur."

" Primò, quòd procreet, aut tueatur."

Sic pater et mater procreant; nutrix tuetur. Huc quoque omnium rerum inventores, auctores, conditores, conservatores referendi sunt. Procreare igitur et tueri duo sunt modi quibus idem sæpe efficiens efficere solet: procreando quidem id quod nondum est, ut sit; conservando autem id quod jam est, ut porro sit.

CAP. IV

De Efficiente sola, et cum aliis.

"SECUNDÒ, causa efficiens sola efficit, aut cum aliis. Earumque omnium sæpe alia principalis, alia minus principalis, sive adjuvans et ministra." Quam Cicero, in Partit. "causam conficientem" vocat: et cujus, inquit, generis vis varia est, et sæpe aut major aut minor; ut et illa quæ maximam vim habet, sola sæpe causa dicatur. Hinc, Æneid. 2, Nysus ab Euryalo socio transfert in se factæ cædis et culpam et pœnam: quasi solus auctor fuerit, quia fuit præcipuus. Et solitaria causa cum plerisque et principalibus et sociis, pro "Marcello," variè adhibetur. Sed hæc duo exempla vide post finem in praxi analytica.

Causa minus principalis (ut quidam volunt) vel est impulsiva, quæ principalem quoquo modo impellit ac movet, vel est instrumentalis.

Impulsiva duplex est Græcisque vocibus receptis, "proegumena" dicitur, vel "procatarctica." Illa intus, hæc extrinsecus movet principalem: et vera si est, "occasio;" si ficta, "prætextus" dicitur.

Sic causa proeg. quæ intus movebat infideles ad persequendum Christianos (exemplis enim receptis hic utemur) erat eorum ignorantia aut impietas, causa procat. erant nocturni conventus, vel potius quævis conventicula Christianorum. Olim interficiendi Christi causa proeg. erat Judæorum zelus ignarus: procat. objecta sabbathi violatio concionesque seditiosæ. Notandum autem est ubi causa proegumena, sive interna, non est, ibi causæ procatarcticæ, sive externæ, vim nullam esse.

Ad causam autem procatarcticam, ea sæpe referenda videtur, si omnino est in causis numeranda, quæ suprà dicta est "causa sine qua non;" siquidem quovis modo causam extrinsecus movere principalem dici potest.

" Instrumenta etiam in causis adjuvantibus connumerantur." Quo argumento Epicureus, apud Cic. 1, de Nat. Deor. disputat mundum nunquam esse factum: hoc etiam exemplum ad praxin retulimus. Instrumenta autem propriè non agunt, sed aguntur aut adjuvant. Et qui causam adjuvantem nullam nisi instrumenta habent, potest rectè " solitaria causa " dici: quanquam lata admodum instrumenti significatio admittitur; ut apud Aristot. Polit. 1, 3, " instrumenta sunt animata, vel inanimata." Quo sensu omnes ferè causæ adjuvantes et ministræ possunt " instrumentales" nominari.

Ad hunc locum referendus commodissimè videtur causarum ordo, quo alia dicitur " prima;" idque vel absolutè, ut Deus, vel in suo genere, ut sol, et ejusmodi quippiam; alia " secunda;" et sic deinceps, quæ à prima vel à prioribus pendet, et quasi effectum est. Alia deinde " remota" dicitur, alia " proxima:" quò spectat illud vulgo dictum, " quicquid est causa causæ, est etiam causa causati." Quæ regula in causis duntaxat necessariò inter se ordinatis valet. Sed hæ causarum divisiones in logica non magnopere sectandæ sunt; quandoquidem tota vis arguendi in causa proxima continetur; deque ea sola generalis definitio causæ intelligitur.

CAP. V.

De Efficiente per se, et per Accidens.

"TERTIÒ, causa efficiens per se efficit, aut per accidens." Tertium hoc par modorum efficiendi est, ab Aristotele etiam et veteribus notatum.

" Per se efficit causa, quæ sua facultate efficit." Id est, quæ ab interno principio effectum producit.

" Ut quæ natura vel consilio faciunt." Naturalis efficientia est elementorum, fossilium, plantarum, animalium. Consilii exemplum est illa Ciceronis de se ad Cæsarem confessio: " nulla vi coactus, judicio meo ac voluntate, ad ea arma profectus sum, quæ erant sumpta contra te."

Naturæ, appetitum; consilio, artem nonnulli adjungunt. Sed appetitus aut ad naturam, aut ad naturæ vitium; ars ad consilium sine incommodo referetur: ars n. et consilium quatenus aliud efficiunt, non illa ab intellectu, hoc à voluntate; sed ut utrumque ab utroque proficisci videtur: etenim ars ferè non invita, non proximæ saltem invita; et consilium prudens sciensque agit. Hi quatuor modi efficiendi per se, ad eundem nonnunquam effectum concurrunt: ut cùm quis loquitur, naturâ; hoc vel illud, consilio simul et appetitu; eleganter, arte.

Videtur itaque huc propriè referenda etiam causa impulsiva, sive ea proegumena, sive procatarctica sit, de quibus capite superiore diximus; quæ non tam causæ sunt principali sociæ aut ministræ quam modi efficientis, quibus vel affectu aliquo impulsus, vel ex occasione aliqua oblata, consilio abductus hoc vel illud agit, ut ex allatis ibi exemplis intelligi potest.

Quæ autem natura necessariò, quæ consilio, libere agunt; necessariò agit quæ aliter agere non potest, sed ad unum quidpiam agendum determinatur, idque solum sua propensione agit quæ necessitas naturæ dicitur; ex hypothesi nimirum. Nisi Deus aliud voluerit, aut externa vis aliorsum impulerit, ut lapidem sursum. Libere agit efficiens non hoc duntaxat ut naturale agens, sed hoc vel illud pro arbitrio, idque absolute vel ex hypothesi. Absolute solus Deus libere agit omnia; id est quicquid vult; et agere potest vel non agere;

testantur hoc passim sacræ literæ: libere ex hypothesi, illæ duntaxat causæ quæ ratione et consilio faciunt, ut angeli et homines; ex hypothesi nimirum divinæ voluntatis, quæ iis libere agendi potestatem in principio fecit. Libertas enim potestas est agendi vel non agendi hoc vel illud. Nempe nisi Deus aliud voluerit, aut vis aliunde ingruat.

"Per accidens efficit causa, quæ externa facultate efficit." Id est, non sua; cùm principium effecti est extra efficientem, externumque principium interno oppositum: sic n. efficiens non efficit per se, sed per aliud. Hinc vere dicitur, "omne effectum causæ per accidens potest reduci ad causam per se."

"Ut in his quæ fiunt coactione vel fortuna." Duo n. hæc sunt externa principia internis, naturæ nempe et voluntati sive consilio, opposita. Sic Aristot. Rhet. 2, 20, cùm dixisset, homines facere quædam non per se, quædam per se; subjungit, "eorum quæ non per se, alia per fortunam, alia ex necessitate." Sed "necessitas" vox nimis lata est, ut ex supra dictis de efficiente naturali patebit.

Coactione fit aliquid, cum efficiens vi cogitur ad effectum. Ut cum lapis sursum vel recta projicitur qui suapte natura deorsum fertur. Hæc necessitas coactionis dicitur et causis etiam liberis nonnunquam accidere potest. Sic necesse est mercatori in tempestate merces ejicere, siquidem salvus esse vult. Hæc itaque necessitas mixtas quasdam actiones produxit, quas facit quis volens nolente animo, quod aiunt.

"Fortuna sive fortuitò fit aliquid, cùm præter scopum efficientis accidit." Non enim fortuna, sed efficiens, quæ per fortunam sive fortuitò agit, est propriè causa per accidens rerum fortuitarum: eò quòd earum principium, occulta nimirum illa causa quam "fortunam" dicimus, extra illum efficientem est: fortuna autem est eventuum eorum principium, etsi occultum, non per accidens tamen, sed per se. Fortuna itaque apud veteres aut nomen sine re esse existimabatur, quo usi sunt homines, teste alicubi Hippocrate, cùm secundarias contingentium causas ignorarent, aut est ipsa latens causa: ut Cicero in Top. "cùm enim nihil sine causa fiat, hoc ipsum est fortuna, eventus obscura causa, quæ latenter efficit." Inter fortunam et casum hæc volunt interesse Aristot. Phys. 2, 6, et Plutarch. de Placit. et de Fato, ut casus quàm fortuna latius pateat: fortuna in iis duntaxat qui ratione utuntur; casus in omnibus tam animantibus quàm inanimatis dominetur: sed loquendi ferè usus fortunæ sub nomine casum etiam complectitur, quotiescunque præter scopum sive finem efficientis aliquid accidit. "Sic casu fortuito," ait Tullius, 3, De Nat. Deor. "Pheræo Jasoni profuit hostis, qui gladio vomicam ejus aperuit, quam medici sanare non poterant."

"In hoc genere causarum imprudentia connumerari solet." Sic etiam Aristot. Ethic. 3, 1, "videntur non voluntaria esse, quæ per vim aut ignorantiam fiunt." Et Ovid. 2 Trist.

> Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
> Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi est?
> Inscius Actæon vidit sine veste Dianam:
> Præda suis canibus nec minus ille fuit.
>
> Scilicet in superis etiam fortuna luenda est:
> Nec veniam, læso numine, casus habet.

Durum id esse queritur poeta: nam cæteroqui hinc sumitur plerumque deprecatio; et excusationi etiam nonnunquam locus hic est." Deprecationis exemplum est apud Cic. pro Ligario: "ignosce pater: erravit; lapsus est: non putavit: et" paulò pòst; "erravi: temerè feci: pœnitet; ad clementiam tuam confugio."

Fortunæ autem nomen, ut suprà dictum est, ignoratio causarum confixit: cùm enim aliquid præter consilium spemque contigerit, fortuna vulgò dicitur. Unde Cicero, apud Lactantium, Instit. 3, 29, "ignoratio rerum atque causarum fortunæ nomen induxit." Nec inscite Juvenalis:

> Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia: sed te
> Nos facimus, fortuna, deam: cœloque locamus.

Certè enim et cœlo locanda est; sed, mutato nomine, "divina providentia" dicenda. Unde Arist. Phys. 2, 4, "sunt nonnulli quibus fortuna quidem videtur esse causa, sed ignota humanæ intelligentiæ, tanquam divinum quiddam." Et Cic. Acad. 1, "providentiam Dei quæ ad homines pertinet, nonnunquam quidem fortunam appellant, quod efficiat multa improvisa nec opinata, nobis propter obscuritatem ignorationemque causarum." Sed providentia rerum omnium prima causa est, sive notæ sive ignotæ sint earum causæ secundariæ: et providentiæ si necessitatem adjungas, "fatum" dici solet. Verum de providentia melius theologia quàm logica disceptabit. Hoc tantùm obiter; fatum sive decretum Dei cogere neminem malefacere; et ex hypothesi divinæ præscientiæ certa quidem esse omnia, non necessaria. Non excusandus itaque Cicero pro Ligario, cùm ait, "fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse; ut nemo mirari debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata." Multo rectius alibi, "datur quidem venia necessitati;" sed necessitati, quæ instituto efficientis repugnat, et voluntati.

CAP. VI.

De Materia.

"Materia est causa ex qua res est." Efficientem ordine naturæ sequitur materia; et efficientis effectum quoddam est; præparat enim efficiens materiam, ut sit apta ad recipiendam formam. Ut autem efficiens est id quod primum movet, ita id materia quod primum movetur, hinc efficiens, agendi; materia, patiendi principium appellatur. Hæc autem definitio materiæ apud omnes eadem ferè occurrit. "Est causa:" materiæ enim vi effectum est. Illa autem vis particula "ex qua" significatur: quanquam hæc vulgò non materiæ solùm nota est, sed nunc efficientis, ut, "ex ictu vulnus:" nunc partium, ut, "homo constat ex anima et corpore;" nunc mutationis cujusvis, ut, "ex

candido fit niger. Res:" nempe quam arguit: effectum scilicet materiatum; ut intelligamus materiam etiam esse omnium entium et non-entium communem; non rerum sensibilium et corporearum propriam. Quales autem res ipsæ sunt, talis materia earum esse debet; sensibilium sensibilis, æternarum æternæ; et ita in reliquis. Sic artium materia sunt præcepta. "Est," i. e. efficitur et constat: unde Cic. 1, Acad. "materia ea causa est, quæ se efficienti præbet, ut ex sese non modò effectum fiat, sed etiam postquam effectum est, constet." Hoc argumento ficto, apud Ovid. 2 Metam. solis domus auro, pyropo, ebore, argento componitur. "Regia solis erat," &c. Sic Cæsar. 1 Bel. Civil. navium materiam describit: "carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebant," &c.

Dividitur vulgo materia in primam et secundam; secunda in proximam et remotam. Verùm hæc distributio physica potius est. Id enim solum logicus in materia spectat, ut res ex ea sit; et potissimum quidem ut proximè ex ea sit; proxima enim potissimum arguit.

CAP. VII.

De Forma.

"CAUSÆ primum genus ejusmodi est in efficiente et materia: secundum sequitur in forma et fine." Quia scilicet ordine temporis est posterius. Efficiens enim et materia sub genere priore continentur, quòd in effecto producendo præcedunt; forma et finis sub posteriore, quòd efficientem et materiam sequuntur effectumque ipsum comitantur: positis enim efficiente, et materia, non continuò sequuntur forma et finis: efficiens enim etsi materia suppetit, forma tamen et fine suo nonnunquam frustratur; forma et finis si adsit, necesse est efficientem et materiam fuisse. Qui autem in usu observatur ordo causarum, idem debet in doctrina quoque observari. Nec tamen ordo iste ad constituenda causarum genera satis valet, sed aliud quiddam quod nomine caret. Unde meritò non satis accurata videtur illa causarum distributio, quæ affertur Aristotelis, in causas vel effectum præcedentes, ut efficientem et materiam; vel cum effecto simul existentes, ut formam et finem: tametsi enim hæc distributio ordinem causarum servat, naturam tamen earum non distinguit; immo causæ neque convenit, neque propria est: non convenit, quia causa quælibet, ut causa, non præcedit, sed cum effecto simul est. Præcedunt autem utcunque efficiens et materia effectum vel naturæ ordine, vel temporis: si naturæ, id et cum reliquis causis et cum subjectis omnibus commune habent; si temporis, hoc efficiente et materiæ neque omni commune est (quædam enim cum effecto non nisi simul sunt) neque solis iis proprium; nam et subjecta pleraque adjunctis suis tempore priora sunt. Nec fœliciùs ab eodem Aristotele dividuntur causæ in externas, efficientem et finem; et internas, materiam et formam: hæc enim distributio etsi usus ejus aliquis esse potest, ad leges tamen artis minus accommodata est: esse enim externum vel internum, non est causis proprium, sed effecto etiam et adjuncto commune. Deinde materia et forma cùm intra effectum sunt, non tam causæ quàm partes effecti sunt: quid? quòd finis, quæ perfectio rei est aptitudoque ad usum, interna potius causa diceretur. Postremò, hæc distributio turbat ordinem causarum, methodi proinde legem: efficiens enim est principium motus et causarum prima; finis, ultima est: si igitur internum externo præmittitur, materia et forma, quæ efficientis quodammodo effecta sunt, efficienti præponentur; si externum interno, finis efficienti, i. e. ultima primæ, adjungetur; mediis, materiæ nempe et forma, præmittetur. Cautius itaque Ramus atque arti convenientius, causarum genera anonyma reliquit: quod ut ostenderemus, longiuscule cum venia digressi, nunc ad alterum genus causarum, formam et finem, redeamus. Formæ autem est prior locus concedendus, cum finis nihil aliud sit quàm fructus quidam formæ.

"Forma est causa per quam res est id quod est." Hæc definitio Platonicam et Aristotelicam conjunxit: ille enim definit formam esse causam per quam, hic, quod quid est esse. Ut autem materia, si etiam forma effectum quoddam efficientis quidem est. Formam enim efficiens et producit nondum existentem, et inducit in materiam: forma autem effecti et causa est, et præcipua quidem, solaque effectum arguit, quòd vi formæ potissimum existit. Efficiens enim frustrari forma, forma effecto non potest. Per quam itaque particula eam causam significat eamque vim, quæ rem sive effectum informat atque constituit. Res enim nulla est quæ suam non habeat formam, nobis licet incognitam.

Res etiam singulæ, sive individua, quæ vulgò vocant, singulas sibique proprias formas habent; differunt quippe numero inter se, quod nemo non fatetur. Quid autem est aliud numero inter se, nisi singulis formis differre? Numerus enim, ut rectè Scaliger, est affectio essentiam consequens. Quæ igitur numero, essentia quoque differunt; et nequaquam numero, nisi essentia, differrent. Evigilent hic theologi. Quòd si quæcunque numero, essentia quoque differunt, nec tamen materia, necesse est formis inter se differant; non autem communibus, ergo propriis. Sic anima rationalis, forma hominis in genere est; anima Socratis, forma Socratis propria. "Per quam res est id quod est," i. e. quæ dat proprium esse rei. Cùm enim cujusque ferè rei essentia partim sit communis, partim propria; communem materia constituit, forma propriam. Et per alias quidem causas esse res potest dici; per solam formam "esse id quod est."

"Ideoque hinc à cæteris rebus omnib. res distinguitur." Id est, distinctione, quam vocant essentiali: ex sola enim forma est differentia essentialis. Immo quæcunque inter se quovis modo, eadem etiam formis differunt; fonsque omnis differentiæ forma est; nec aliis argumentis inter se res, nisi formis primariò discreparent. Et hoc quidem consectarium ex definitione est primum, sequitur alterum.

"Forma simul cum re ipsa ingeneratur." Hinc

illud verissimum: "posita forma, res ipsa ponitur; sublata, tollitur." Ad exempla nunc veniamus. Anima rationalis est forma hominis, quia per eam homo est homo, et distinguitur à cæteris omnibus naturis: geometricarum figurarum in triangulis, quadrangulis sua forma est: physicarum, cœli, terræ, arborum, piscium sua.

"Unde præcipua rerum ut natura est, sic erit explicatio, si possit inveniri." Tertium hoc consectarium est ex definitione formæ. Unde illud quod de causa in communi supradictum est, nempe fontem esse omnis scientiæ, formæ potissimum convenire intelligitur. Quæ enim causa essentiam præcipuè constituit, eadem si nota sit, scientiam quoque potissimum facit. Sed formam internam cujusque rei nosse, à sensibus, ut ferè fit, remotissimam, difficile admodum est. In artificiosis autem rebus forma, utpote externa, sensibusque exposita, facilius occurrit; ut apud Cæsarem de Bell. Gall. l. 7, "muri autem omnes Gallici hæc ferè forma sunt," &c. Sic forma Virgiliani portus explicatur, Æneid. 1, "est in secessu longo locus," &c.

Distributio autem formæ nulla vera est. Nam quod nonnulli internam vel externam esse volunt, ea distributio neque ad res omnes, sed tantum ad corporeas pertinebit; et externa non minus essentialis cuique rei est artificiosæ, quàm interna naturali.

CAP. VIII.

De Fine.

"Finis est causa cujus gratia res est." Sic etiam "Aristoteles, Phil. 1, 3, quarta causa est cujus et bonum: hoc enim generationis omnis finis est." Cum enim efficiens assecutus est finem, in eo acquiescit, actionique suæ finem imponit. Finis itaque est causarum ultima. Verùm ut rectè "Aristot. Phys. 2, 2, non omne ultimum finalis causa est, sed quod est optimum:" Finis enim vel terminum rei significat, vel bonum rei; sicut et terminus est vel durationis, vel magnitudinis aut figuræ. Finalis autem causa non est nisi bonum quid; eodemque sensu finis et bonum dicitur; verumne an apparens, ad vim causæ nihil interest. Sic etiam Aristot. Phys. 2, 3, idemque in Eth. passim: mali etiam evitatio habet rationem boni. Nonnulli tamen inter finem et finalem causam ita distinguunt, ut finis sit usus rei, finalis autem causa de usu cogitatio. Atqui non cogitatio, sed res, *i. e* finis ipse effecti causa finalis vera est: nam de materia quoque et de forma prius cogitatur, sine hac tamen distinctione: cogitatur etiam de causa impulsiva, eaque movet efficientem, nec tamen finalis causa dici potest; cùm eam efficiens non appetat, sed sæpius aversetur, quoties affectus aut habitus aliquis pravus ad bonum aliquod apparens consequendum impellit. Idemque finis in animo efficientis primus, in opere atque effecto est postremus. Dum autem in animo tantum efficientis est, et nondum obtinetur, nondum sanè existit; cùm nondum existit, causa esse qui potest? Cum itaque vulgò dicitur, finis quatenus efficientem quasi suadendo movet ut materiam paret, eique formam inducat, non modò effecti, verùm etiam causarum causa earumque optima est, id impropriè et per anticipationem quandam dicitur. In opere autem et usu licet sæpe sit ultimus, aptitudine tamen ad usum nisi simul cum forma et tempore et natura esse intelligatur, erit posterior effecto per formam jam constituto, et adjunctum potius effecti quàm causa. Sic non habitatio, sed ad habitandum aptitudo, quæ cum inducta forma simul et tempore et natura est, proprius finis domus est statuendus, reique perfectio et formæ quasi fructus est. Hinc Græci non modò τελέω perficio, à τέλος, i. e. finis deducunt, sed etiam perfectum τέλειον, à fine, vocant, teste Aristotele, Phil. 8, 24.

Vis autem propria qua finalis causa aliis ab causis distinguitur, his verbis, "cujus gratia," exprimitur; ut et aliis etiam particulis, nempe "cujus causa, ad, ob, pro, propter, quo, quorsum," et similibus. Ne autem est nota illius finis, qui in mali alicujus vitatione versatur. Finis autem dicitur non eorum solùm qui finem sibi proponunt, i. e. efficientium rationalium, sed eorum quæcunque ad finem referuntur, i. e. quorumvis effectorum. Sic physicis rebus finis homo propositus est, homini Deus. Quod nec ignoravit Aristoteles, Phys. 2, 2, "rebus," inquit, "utimur, quasi nostra causa essent omnia: nam et nos quodammodo finis sumus." Deum esse omnium finem docet sapiens Hebræus, Proverb. 16, 4, "Deus propter se fecit omnia." Omnium artium est aliquod summum bonum et finis extremus; quæ et earum forma est: ut grammaticæ, bene loqui; rhetoricæ, bene dicere; logicæ, bene ratiocinari.

Quod autem forma finis quoque esse potest, testatur haud semel Aristoteles, Phil. 8, 24, et Phys. 2, 7, 8. Et Plato in Philebo, essentiam sive formam rei, generationis finem statuit: unde Arist. de Part. 1, 1, idem.

Ut formæ, ita et finis distributio vera nulla est; quæ vulgò efferuntur, non sunt logici finis distributiones, sed specialium finium pro varietate effectorum distinctiones. Distinguitur ab Aristotele, de Anima, l. 2, 4, "finis cujus, et finis cui:" finis cujus, est finis operæ, sive operandi; finis cui, est finis ipsius operis, e. g. in domo ædificanda; finis cujus, sive operæ, est domus; finis cui, sive ipsius operis, i. e. domus ædificatæ, est aptitudo ad habitationem.

Afferuntur et aliæ distributionis fines, quæ ad finem cui pertinent, ut ex Aristot. Mag. Mor. 1, 2, "finis alius est perfectus, alius imperfectus;" vel, quod idem est, ex aliis, "finis est summus, aut subordinatus." Summus autem est, qui propter se expetitur: estque vel universalis, omnib. scilicet rebus communis, vel specialis, cuique speciei peculiaris et proprius. Subordinatius autem non tam finis est, quàm destinatum quiddam ad finem: et esse summum vel subordinatum, esse universale vel speciale, ad alia æque argumenta pertinet, atque ad finem. Postremò, lex distributionis jubet partes distributionis esse oppositas: at inter summum et subordinatum oppositio nulla est. Ad omnes igitur omnium rerum fines intelligendos,

unica finis definitio satis est; ut id sit cujus gratia res est: utrum autem sit summus an subordinatus, universalis an specialis, id logica non spectat, sed inferioribus quibusvis disciplinis relinquit.

CAP. IX.

De Effecto.

"EFFECTUM est, quod è causis existit." Effectum cùm sit vi omnium causarum, à causa tamen principe, scilicet efficiente, effectum denominatur. Sed quoniam, si propriè loquimur, effectum ab efficiente solo efficitur, omnium autem causarum vi est, idcirco non definitur ex denominatione quòd à causis efficitur, sed ex re potius, i. e. ex communi causarum vi, quod è causis est vel existit. Jam illud hîc monendum est, ex cap. 2, quod in causa explicanda monuimus, effectum esse argumentum absolute cum causa sive causæ consentaneum, i. e. causam absolutè arguere; ita ut quemadmodum posita causa, ponitur effectum; sic posito effecto, ponatur causa: ut enim causæ dant esse effecto, ita effectum esse suum habet à causis, i. e. ab efficiente, ex materia, per formam, propter finem existit. Effectum igitur causas arguit, et ab iis vicissim arguitur; sed non pari ratione: effectum enim arguit causam esse aut fuisse, Græcis ὅτι; causa autem, quare sit effectum demonstrat, Græcis διότι. Causæ sunt priores et notiores, effectum, ut posterius, ita minus arguit. Sic argentum materia poculi, magis arguit et manifestum reddit naturam poculi, quàm poculum argenti. Interdum autem effecta, non per se quidem, sed nobis notiora, clarius causas arguunt, quàm arguuntur à causis. Sic etiam Aristoteles, Post. 1, 10, "nihil prohibet eorum quæ se reciprocè arguunt," ut causa et effectum, "id notius nonnunquam esse quod non est causa."

"Sive igitur gignatur, sive corrumpatur, sive modo quolibet moveatur quidlibet, hic motus et res motu facta effectum dicitur." Ut causarum modi quidem fuere, ita nunc effectorum quidam his verbis ostenduntur. Modi effectorum generales sunt, vel speciales. Generales sunt vel motus quilibet, quæ "operatio et actio" dicitur; vel res motu factæ, quæ sunt opera. Modi speciales, sive exempla specialia, sunt "generatio, corruptio, et similia," à physicis petita. Causa enim corrumpens est causa procreans corruptionis. Notandum autem est hic rem quamlibet, non motam, sed "motu factam, effectum" dici; nulla enim res corrupta corrumpenti contraria est.

Hujus loci sunt laudes et vituperationes, quarum pleni sunt libri sacri et prophani. A factis enim quisque potissimum laudatur et vituperatur.

Huc etiam dicta scriptaque referenda sunt; consilia item et deliberationes, etiamsi ad exitum perductæ non fuerint. Neque enim facta solùm, sed etiam consulta et cogitata pro effectis habenda sunt.

"Sunt etiam effecta virtutum et vitiorum." Horatius hoc modò ebrietatis effecta describit:

"Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit," &c.

Volunt hic plerique Rami interpretes motus doctrinam, utpote rei generalis, ad logicam pertinere; sed non rectè. Quid enim potest logica docere de motu, quod naturale et physicum non sit? "Scientias," inquiunt, ex Aristot. Phys. 8, 3, "et opiniones, motu uti omnes." Utuntur quidem, sed ex natura, quam physica docet, petito. Sic logica ratione utitur, nec tamen rationis naturam, sed ratiocinandi artem docet. Omnis quidem causa movet, effectum movetur; nec tamen quid moveat aut moveatur, sed quid arguat aut arguatur logicus considerat. Ipsum etiam "arguere et argui" non quatenus motus est, aut res motu facta, sed quatenus relatione quadam arguendi vel facultatem ratiocinandi juvat vel artem tradit, ad logicam pertinet.

Duos hic canones causæ et effecti communes, quamvis in physica potiùs quàm in logica tractandos, ut multa alia quæ Aristotelici congerere huc solent, tamen quia sæpe occurrunt et fallaces sunt, appendiculæ in modum libet cum suis cautionibus hic attingere. Primus est, "qualis causa, tale causatum:" ex Aristot. 2 Top. c. 9. Quod verum non est primò in causis per accidens: ut, "hic sutor est vir bonus;" at non ergo "bonos consuit calceos;" potest enim esse sutor non bonus. Secundò, non in causis universalibus: ut, "sol omnia calefacit;" at non "idcirco ipse est calidus." Tertiò, non in causis voluntariis, nisi velint. Quartò, si res in qua effectum est producendum, id per naturam suam recipere non potest.

Canon secundus est, "propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud est magis tale;" Arist. 1 Post. c. 2. Scilicet primò rursus in causis per se: ut, "hic est ebrius;" non ergo "vinum magis ebrium." Secundò, si id à quo tales denominantur utrique insit: ut, "cera sit mollis à sole;" non "ergo sol est mollior." Tertiò, si causa illa recipiat magis et minus: non "ergo si filius est homo propter patrem, pater propterea magis homo." Sed canon hic valet præcipuè in causis finalibus: ut, "hic studiis dat operam propter quæstum; quæstui igitur studet magis."

CAP. X.

De Subjecto.

"ARGUMENTUM modo quodam consentaneum succedit, ut subjectum et adjunctum." Absoluta enim consensio causæ et effecti hanc modo quodam consensionem subjecti et adjuncti meritò præcessit. Modo quodam consentire cum re quam arguunt dicuntur, quæ leviter et extrinsecus tantum consentiunt, i. e. citra rationem essentiæ; cùm non ut causa effecto, ita subjectum det esse adjuncto; neque hoc ab illo essentiam accipiat. De subjecto prius est agendum: etenim subjectum omne suis adjunctis natura prius est, et quodammodo se habet ad adjunctum, ut causa ad effectum.

"Subjectum est, cui aliquid adjungitur." Hoc argumentum Cicero "rem subjectam" appellat, quia nimirum alicui subjicitur; subjici autem id dicitur, cui, cùm ex causis constitutum jam est, aliquid tanquam additamentum quoddam præter causas adjungitur: adjungitur itaque aliquid, quod alteri, nempe subjecto, perfecto jam suisque causis constituto, extrinsecus sive præter essentiam accedit. Subjectum ergo est quod ad aliquid arguendum est affectum, quod sibi præter illam essentiam, quam è causis habet, insuper accedit.

Ut causa, ita et subjectum suos quosdam habet modos: subjici enim aliquid dicitur vel recipiendo adjuncta vel occupando. Undè subjectum distingui potest in recipiens, quod Græce δεκτικὸν appellant, et occupans, quod objectum dici solet, quia in eo adjuncta occupantur. Recipiens vel in se recipit adjuncta, vel ad se: recipiens in se adjuncta, vel sustinet ea et quasi sustentat, quæ idcirco insita et inhærentia appellantur, vel continet, ut locus locatum.

Primus ergo modus est cum subjectum recipit adjuncta insita sive inhærentia. Sic anima est subjectum scientiæ, ignorantiæ, virtutis, vitii; quia hæc animæ adjunguntur, i. e. præter essentiam accedunt: corpus sanitatis, morbi, roboris, infirmitatis, pulchritudinis, deformitatis; quia corpori quidem insunt, sed præter essentiam.

Secundus modus est subjecta adjuncta in se continentis, i. e. loci. Sic locus est subjectum rei locatæ, sive in quo res locata continetur. Sic philosophi divinis entibus, licet parte et magnitudine carentibus, attribuunt locum. Sic geometræ locum locique differentias in rebus geometricis. Physici multo etiam diligentius in rebus physicis considerant, in mundo, in elementis simplicibus, in rebus compositis. Hinc nonnulli dialectici suæ artis amplificandæ studio, ut motus, ita loci doctrinam in logica tractandam esse contendunt. Verùm cùm locus externa sit affectio cujusvis naturæ sive corporeæ sive incorporeæ, miror quid illis, Rami præsertim discipulis, in mentem venerit, ut cùm argumenta, i. e. non res, sed rationes subjectum esse logicæ doceant; res tamen aut rerum naturalium affectiones, motum, locum, tempus in logica tractandas esse statuerent. Locus inquiunt omnium omninò rerum communis est: ergo, inquam, ad artem aliquam non corporum duntaxat, sed rerum naturalium omnium sive physicam, universalem, non ad logicam pertinet: quæ non quid sit locus, spatiumne an superficies corporis ambientis, sed quomodo arguat rem locatam, id solùm considerat; nempe ut subjectum arguit adjunctum.

Tertius modus est subjecti ad vel circa se recipientis adjuncta; quæ idcirco "adjacentia et circumstantiæ" appellantur. Sic homo est subjectum divitiarum, paupertatis, honoris, infamiæ, vestitus, comitatus, et eorum ferè quæ dicuntur "antecedentia, concomitantia, consequentia," si quam omninò affectionem inter se habent non necessariam; quæ causarum et effectorum quæque ab his orta sunt argumentorum affectio duntaxat esse solet. Hactenus de subjecto recipiente.

Quartus modus est subjecti occupantis, in quo nimirum adjunctum occupatur et exercetur: atque hoc propriè objectum dicitur. Sic sensilia sensuum, et res virtutibus ac vitiis propositæ, subjecta vitiorum et virtutum hoc modo nominantur. Color est subjectum visus, sonus subjectum auditus; quia hi sensus in his sensilibus occupantur et exercentur. Virtutes et vitia declarantur in ethicis hoc argumento: temperantia et intemperantia, voluptate; fortitudo et ignavia, periculis; liberalitas et avaritia, divitiis. Sic res numerabilis arithmeticæ; mensurabilis, ut ita dicam, geometriæ subjicitur. Ejusmodi subjecto Cicero 2 Agrar. disputat, inter Campanos nullam contentionem esse, quia nullus sit honor: "Non gloriæ cupiditate," ait, "efferebantur, propterea quòd ubi honos publicè non est, ibi cupiditas gloriæ esse non potest," &c.

CAP. XI.

De Adjuncto.

"Adjunctum est cui aliquid subjicitur," vel quod affectum est ad arguendum subjectum. Doctrina adjuncti doctrinæ subjecti per omnia respondet. Cicero hoc argumentum "adjunctum" et "conjunctum" vocat. Ab Aristotele, accidens vocatur, nec male. Quicquid enim ulli subjecto extrinsecus accidit, sive fortuito sive non, adjunctum ejus est. Animi, corporisque, et totius hominis bona et mala, quæ dicuntur, adjuncta sunt animi, corporis, hominis.

Cùm igitur adjunctum subjecto præter essentiam accedat, non mutatur ejus accessione vel decessione essentia subjecti, neque aliud inde fit subjectum, sed alio duntaxat modo se habet. Unde et modi, qui dicuntur, in adjunctis numerandi sunt. Sic in causis "procreare" et "tueri," modi, ut suprà dictum est, sive adjuncta quædam vel efficientis vel efficiendi sunt.

"Hoc argumentum etsi subjecto est levius, attamen est copiosius et frequentius." Subjecto suo levius est, quia subjectum prius est, et adjuncti sui quodammodo causa. Id quod de adjunctis non quibusvis verum esse docebitur. Hinc Aristot. Phil. S. 1, "adjunctum subjecto est posteriùs ratione, tempore, cognitione et natura:" quod etiam de omni adjuncto ita duntaxat verum est, si de tempore excipias, existentiam enim adjuncti non spectat logica, sed mutuam quam cum subjecto habet affectionem quæ utrobique simul est; ita ut subjectum adjuncto non magis sit tempore prius quam adjunctum subjecto; sublato igitur subjecto, tollitur adjunctum, ut "mortuus non est; ergo nec miser est." Hinc strepitur in scholis, "ab *est* secundi adjecti, ad *est* tertii adjecti, valet consequentia negando." Et posito adjuncto, ponitur necessario subjectum; ut, "si mortuus est miser, certè necessario mortuus est." Quod et scholæ sic balbutiunt; "ab *est* tertii adjecti, ad *est* secundi, valet consequentia affirmando." Est autem adjunctum subjecto copiosius et frequentius, quia unius ejusdemque subjecti plurima adjuncta esse possunt. Itaque quod de ejusmodi signis ait Ovid. 2, de Remed.

Forsitan hæc aliquis (nam sunt quoque) parva vocabit;
Sed quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant.

Huc itaque referuntur signa, quæ ad effecta potius referenda sunt; vimque arguendi perinde habent ut eorum causæ certæ sunt et cognitæ. Sic tumor uteri signum est gravidæ; incertum tamen, quia causæ tumoris illius aliæ esse possunt; lac mammarum multo certius, quia causa certior et notior. Ejusdem generis sunt signa physiognomonica, prognostica astrologorum et medicorum. Itaque ut causæ et effecta scientiam, sic subjecta et adjuncta conjecturam ferè pariunt. Hoc genere argumenti Fannium Chæream Cicero pro Roscio comœdo cavillatur: et ab adjuncta corporis habitudine, signa malitiæ colligit: "nonne ipsum caput et supercilia illa penitus abrasa olere malitiam, et clamitare calliditatem videntur? nonne ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum (si quam conjecturam affert homini tacita corporis figura) ex fraude, fallaciis, mendaciis constare totus videtur?" Sic Martial. l. 2, Zoilum ludit:

"Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine luscus,
Rem magnam præstas, Zoile, si bonus es."

Subjectorum porro modis, adjunctorum respondent modi. Quemadmodum igitur subjectum erat recipiens vel occupans, ita adjunctum est receptum vel occupatum. Receptum vel in subjectum recipitur, vel ad subjectum: quod in subjectum recipitur, vel sustinetur ab eo, vel in eo continetur aut collocatur: quod sustinetur, est adjunctum insitum, sive inhærens.

Primus ergo modus est adjunctorum inhærentium sive insitorum. Omninòque qualitates (qualitas autem est qua res qualis dicitur) subjectis præter causas, i. e. formas externas (quæ etiam qualitatibus numerantur) adjunctæ; sive propriæ sint, quæ omni solique subjecto semper conveniunt, ut homini risus, equo hinnitus, cani latratus; sive communes, quæcunque non sunt eo modo propriæ. Propria autem quatuor modis vulgò dicuntur: soli, sed non omni; ut homini proprium est mathematicum esse, sed non omni: omni, sed non soli; ut bipedem esse homini: omni et soli, sed non semper; ut homini canescere in senectute: omni, soli, et semper; ut risibilem esse homini: hoc demum verè proprium est et reciprocum; ita ut omnis homo sit risibilis, et omne risibile, propriè dictum, sit homo. Adjunctum itaque proprium etsi natura est posterius subjecto, adeoque levius, tempore tamen simul est, nobisque ferè notius; positoque adjuncto proprio, ponitur subjectum, et contrà: subjectum enim adjuncto proprie est modo quodam essentiale, adjunctumque à forma subjecti fluit: habet igitur à forma subjecti, non ab natura sua, quòd subjectum ponit et tollit.

Communis etiam qualitas est separabilis vel inseparabilis: ut aquæ frigus, qualitas est separabilis; humiditas verò inseparabilis; utraque autem communis. Atque istæ qualitatum distinctiones, communium et propriarum, separabilium et inseparabilium, ad judicium faciendum valde sunt utiles, ut secundo libro facile perspiciemus. Ad hunc modum refertur etiam quantitas, qua res magnæ vel parvæ, multæ vel paucæ dicuntur; et passio, qua res aliquid pati dicitur; adeo que motus, ad rem motam si referatur, hujus loci est. Hactenus de adjuncto quod in subjecto sustinetur.

Secundus modus est adjunctorum quæ continetur in subjecto, ut locatum in loco: atque huc etiam situs locorum refertur; nisi si cui ad primum potius modum referendus videatur: cùm situs passio sit quædam rei locatæ, et ad priorem modum sic pertineat. Atque hæc de adjunctis quæ in subjectum recipiuntur.

Tertius modus est adjunctorum quæ recipiuntur ad subjectum; quæ vulgò circumstantiæ nuncupantur, quia extra subjectum sunt. Huc "tempus" refertur, duratio nempe rerum præterita, præsens, futura. Sic etiam Deus dicitur qui est, qui erat, et qui futurus est, Apocal. 1, 8, et 4, 8. Deo tamen ævum sive æternitas, non tempus attribui solet: quid autem est ævum proprie, nisi duratio perpetua, Græcè ἀιων, quasi ἀεὶ ὢν semper existens. Sed quod superioribus capitibus de motu et loco, idem nunc de tempore monendum est; non pertinere ad logicam quid sit tempus philosophari, sed quo in genere argumenti ponendum sit, hic nempe in adjunctis. Huc etiam referuntur divitiæ, paupertas, honor, infamia, vestitus, comitatus, et ejusmodi quicquid adesse, adjacere, circumstare, aut citra vim causæ antecedere, concomitari, sequi, ut suprà in subjecto diximus, dici potest; vel, ut Cic. in Top. Quicquid ante rem, cum re, post rem, dummodo non necessariò, evenit.

Quo circumstantiæ genere, "Dido venetum proficiscens, magnifice 4 Æneid. depingitur:

"Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
It portis, jubare exorto, delecta juventus:
Retia rara, plagæ, lato venabula ferro," &c.

In hoc exemplo Dido est subjectum: cujus adjuncta adjacentia sive circumstantiæ variæ hic enumerantur: 1. "Tempus, oceanum interea," &c. 2. "Comitatus," nimirum "delecta juventus, equites," principes "Pœnorum." 3. Instrumenta (quæ quatenus ad habentem referuntur) adjuncta; et hujus quidem modi sunt, "retia, plagæ, venabula, canes, sonipes." 4. Habitus sive vestitus, "Sidonia chlamys, purpurea vestis," &c. Atque hæc de adjuncto recepto.

Quartus modus est adjuncti occupati. "Et" enim "adjunctorum ad subjecta, quibus occupantur, usus item magnus."

Hoc argumento "Plato miseras civitates auguratur, quæ medicorum et judicium multitudine indigeant, quia multam quoque et intemperantiam et injustitiam in ea civitate versari necesse sit." Quia nempe in effectis intemperantiæ sanandis, medici; in effectis injustitiæ vindicandis, judices tanquam adjuncti occupati in subjecto suo occupante versantur.

"Sed categoria" sive locus argumentorum "consentaneorum sic est, unde quidvis alteri consentaneum, vel idem vel unum dici possit: omnesque modi unitatis et (ut ita dicam) identitatis huc sunt tanquam ad primas et simplices fontes referendi."

Ad explicandum consentaneorum in comparationibus usum hæc clausula adjecta est. Namque ut consensionis omnis duorum in uno tertio, ita et unitatis

modo hinc sunt petendi. Quot autem modis plura dicuntur inter se consentire, tot etiam modis dicuntur unum et idem: absolute scilicet aut modo quodam: absolute unum vel idem causa et effecto; modo quodam unum et idem subjecto et adjuncto. Causa vel efficiente vel materia vel forma vel fine. Sic plures statuæ efficiente sunt eædem, si ejusdem artificis; materia, si ex eadem, auro scilicet aut ebore; forma, si effigies ejusdem, Alexandri puta vel Cæsaris; fine, si ad eundem ornandum. Sic subjecto idem sunt adjuncta duo vel plura in eodem subjecto; adjuncto idem sunt plura subjecta quibus idem adjungitur: ut duæ vel plures res albæ vel nigræ, albedine vel nigredine idem sunt.

CAP. XII.

De Diversis.

"Argumentum consentaneum expositum est" in causa et effecto, subjecto et adjuncto.

Altera species argumenti artificialis, primi, simplicis, dissentaneum, sequitur. Et sequi debet: ut enim affirmatio negatione, sic consensio prior est dissensione; prior autem non natura solum, verùm etiam usu et dignitate. Ab affirmatione enim et consensione, ut scientia omnis, ita ars omnis atque doctrina deducitur.

"Dissentaneum est quod dissentit à re" quam arguit. Ab altero nempe sui generis ac nominis dissentaneo. Nam in hoc genere argumentorum, argumenta inter se affecta eodem nomine, ideoque plurali numero enunciantur, eademque definitione et doctrina explicantur.

"Sunt autem dissentanea inter se æquè manifesta: alterumque ab altero æqualiter arguitur; tametsi sua dissensione clarius elucescant."

Hæ duæ sunt proprietates dissentaneorum communes. Primum n. in consentaneis causæ effectis, subjecta adjunctis, priora, notiora, firmiora, præstantiora fuerunt: in dissentaneis alterum altero neque prius neque notius; sed natura simul, in illa nempe dissensione, et æquè nota, æquè firma inter se sunt: id quod necesse est cùm eodem nomine ac definitione tractentur.

Secunda quoque proprietas, quam Aristoteles contrariis alligat, dissentaneorum est omnium communis; nempe "sua dissensione clarius elucescere." Quod nisi fieret, argumentum dissentaneorum nullius usus esset. Debet enim omne argumentum affectum esse ad aliquid arguendum et illustrandum. Quorum autem hæc est proprietas ut æquè nota et ignota sint, eorum alterum ab altero argui aut illustrari non potest. Priori igitur proprietati secunda hæc subvenit: quamvis enim dissentanea sint inter se æquè manifesta, ita ut unum ab altero tanquam notiori argui non queat, ex dissensione tamen sua, sive, ut alii loquuntur, juxta se posita, clarius elucescunt. Sic bonæ valetudinis commoda adversæ valetudinis incommodis manifestiora fiunt; virtutum laudes contrariorum vituperatione vitiorum illustrantur.

Utiles itaque sunt hi loci dissentaneorum, teste etiam Aristotele, Top. 3, 4, non solùm ad arguendum et illustrandum, verum etiam ad impellendum ac refutandum: ut enim consentaneorum loci valent maximè ad arguendum, probandum, et confirmandum, sic loci dissentaneorum ad redarguendum, impellendum, et refutandum: ut qui consentaneo argumento doceri non vult, dissentanei absurda consecutione eò redigatur, ut nolens etiam non possit veritati non assentiri. Hinc Aristot. Rhet. 3, 17, "refutantia demonstrativis" anteponit.

"Dissentanea sunt diversa vel opposita.

"Diversa sunt dissentanea, quæ sola ratione dissentiunt." Nomen hoc videtur aptissimum ad hanc levissimam dissensionem significandam: hac enim voce ea significantur, quæ cùm consensionem quandam inter se habere videantur, possintque per se suaque natura eidem subjecto simul convenire, tamen nec idem sunt, nec ei subjecto competunt cujus ratione dissentire dicuntur: quæ autem dissentiunt in eodem tertio, dissentiunt etiam inter se.

Sola igitur ratione dissentiunt, quia non per se suaque natura dissentiunt, sed solummodo ratione attributionis, i. e. ratione ac respectu alicujus subjecti, cui simul non attribuuntur. Distributio itaque dissentaneorum pro ratione dissensionis rectè instituta est: nam ut consensio alia arctior est et absoluta, alia remissior et imperfecta (unde consentanea divisa sunt in ea quæ absolutè vel modo quodam consentiunt) ita dissensio omnis vel remissior est, ut in distinctione sive discretione diversorum, vel acrior, ut in disjunctione oppositorum: ergo dissentanea aut ratione et modo quodam dissentiunt, ut diversa, aut re et absolute, ut opposita. Verùm quod de consentaneis etiam objici potuit, speciebus æque communicandum est genus (has enim voces etiam communi usu citra artem vulgò intellectus, pace methodi nonnunquam anticipare fas sit) respondetur, quemadmodum consentanea absolute et modo quodam erant æque consentanea, sed non æque consentiebant; sic diversa et opposita æque dissentanea sunt, sed non æque dissentiunt; in diversis tam est dissensio quam in oppositis, sed non tanta: ut in re simili Cic. de Fin. 4, "æquè contingit omnib. fidibus, ut incontentæ sint; illud non continuò, ut æquè incontentæ." Diversa autem idcirco priore loco tractantur, quòd propter levissimam dissensionem videntur affinitatem quandam cum consentaneis præ se ferre. Quanquam autem diversorum doctrina ab omnibus præter Ramum logicis omissa est, constat tamen locum in argumentorum doctrina diversis etiam assignandum, cùm ex arguendi varia affectione argumenta distinguenda sint, affectio autem dissensionis in diversis, ut diximus, levior sit, in oppositis acrior. Cur diversa logici hactenus omiserint, videtur hoc esse; quod ad unum syllogismum omnia referunt, in quo diversa locum non habent, ut l. 2, ostendetur.

Diversorum autem notæ sunt frequentissimè "non hoc, sed illud, quanquam, tamen:" ut pro Pompeio; "non victoriam, sed insignia victoriæ reportarunt."

Victoria et victoriæ insignia res admodum affines sunt; possuntque ac debent eidem duci competere: ad Syllam autem et Muræenam si spectas, qui non reportata victoria triumpharunt, dissentanea sunt, et distinguuntur, alteroque affirmato alterum negatur. Sic Ovid. 2, de Arte:

> "Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses."

Et Virg. Æneid. 2.

> "Hic Priamus quanquam in media jam morte tenetur,
> Non tamen abstinuit."

Ut victoria et victoriæ insignia respectu Syllæ et Murænæ, sic formosum et facundum respectu Ulyssis, in media morte teneri et non abstinere à convitiis ratione Priami, diversa adeoque dissentanea sunt. Paulò sècus in Eunucho:

> "Nam si ego digna hac contumelia
> Sum maxime: at tu indignus qui faceres tamen."

Sed idem est ac si dictum esset, quanquam ego digna; tamen tu indignus qui mihi hanc contumeliam faceres. Dignam se quidem esse contumelia Thais affirmat; à Chærea tamen negat. Cic. 5 Tusc. "Quanquam sensu corporis judicantur, ad animum tamen referuntur." Hoc affirmato, negatum intelligitur non ad corpus.

Item illa aliusmodi. Pro Ligario: "scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? isto n. nomine illa adhuc causa caruit: alii enim errorem appellant, alii timorem; qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissimè, temeritatem: scelus præter te adhuc nemo." In hoc genere exemplorum aliquid conceditur, ut aliud vicinum possit negari: cujusmodi et illud est; veritas premi potest, opprimi non potest; et similia.

Atque hi modi quidam diversorum sunt: in quibus plerunque accidit, ut quæ sua natura sunt opposita, ratione tamen certi alicujus subjecti sint tantùm diversa; ut in exemplo superiore error, timor, spes, cupiditas, pertinacia, scelus. Sic aurum, argentum, æs opposita sunt, ut infrà liquebit: ratione tamen attributionis huic vel illi subjecto, qui unum vel aliqua horum habet, alterum vel reliqua non habet, cùm habere simul possit, diversa sunt.

CAP. XIII.

De Disparatis.

"Opposita" sunt "dissentanea, quæ ratione et re dissentiunt." Opposita respondent nomine quidem iis, quæ ab Aristotele ἀντικείμενα dicuntur; sed re et significatione latius patent; nam ἀντικείμενα Aristoteli (qui disparata non attigit) nihil aliud quàm "contraria" sunt. Possunt etiam "repugnantia" dici; siquidem repugnare ea dicuntur, quæ ejusmodi sunt, ut cohærere nunquam possint; quod Cic. ait in Top. ejusmodi enim sunt opposita. "Re" autem "et ratione," est non solùm ratione certi alicujus subjecti, cui cùm tribuuntur, simul non conveniunt, verùm etiam reipsa, i. e. per se et inter se, sua ipsorum natura dissentire, etiam subjecto cuivis non attributa; cui si tribuuntur, non solùm non conveniunt, sed, servata, quæ sequitur, oppositorum lege, convenire non possunt. Ea lex quæ ex ipsa definitione oritur, et est oppositorum omnium communis, non, ut docuit Aristoteles, contrariorum propria, hæc est, "Opposita eidem attribui, secundum idem, ad idem, et eodem tempore non possunt." "Eidem," i. e. eidem numero, rei, sive subjecto. "Secundum idem," i. e. eadem parte. "Ad idem," i. e. eodem respectu; ut, "sol et major est terra et minor;" sed non eodem respectu; in se quidem major; ut nobis videtur, minor. Extra has tres conditiones possunt eidem subjecto attribui opposita. "Sic Socrates, albus et ater non potest secundum idem," i. e. eadem parte esse; pater et filius ejusdem," sive ad eundem relatus; "sanus et æger eodem tempore: at albus esse potest alia parte, ater alia; pater hujus, filius illius; sanus hodie, cras æger."

"Itaque ex altero affirmato alterum negatur."

"Ex quo facile apparet quid intersit inter diversa et opposita: in illis enim "altero affirmato;" in his, "ex altero affirmato" alterum negatur: i. e. ex affirmatione unius, necessario sequitur negatio alterius. Ut, sumpto ex diversis exemplo, "non victoriam, sed insignia victoriæ reportarunt:" hic insignia victoriæ affirmantur, victoria negatur; non ex his affirmatis negatur illa: at in oppositis, dicta lege servata, Socrates est homo, ergo non est equus: juxta illud; "opposita se invicem tollunt.

"Opposita autem sunt disparata aut contraria.

"Disparata sunt opposita quorum unum multis pariter opponitur."

Disparatorum ergo remissior videtur esse oppositio, contrariorum acrior. Disparata etiam à Boethio nominantur, "quæ tantum à se diversa sunt, nulla contrarietate pugnantia," ut vestis, ignis. Apud Ciceronem tamen, Invent. 1, et Fabium, l. 5, c. 10, contradicentia significant. Nos verborum inopia coacti, Boethium sequimur. Multis, nempe sine ulla certa oppositionis lege aut numero: nam et infinitæ ferè res hoc modo opponi inter se possunt: et sic intelligendum est verbum opponitur, juxta illud; "Vocabula in artibus facultatem significant:" ut vestis et ignis etsi res duæ, inter se tamen disparata sunt, eò quòd multis pariter opponi possunt. Pariter: i. e. æquè pari ratione, eodem dissensionis modo: ut enim disparata sint, non multis tantum, sed pariter opponi debent. Albedo opponitur nigredini, flavedini, rubedini, ut unum pluribus; non autem singulis ut disparatum, quia non pariter: nigredini enim opponitur ut contrarium, cæteris rebus omnibus ut disparatum. Viride, cineraceum, rubrum, media sunt inter album et nigrum, quæ singula extremis, et inter se disparata sunt. Sic liberalitas et avaritia inter se disparantur. Sic homo, arbor, lapis, et ejusmodi res infinitæ disparantur; nec eadem res potest esse homo, arbor, lapis. Virgil. 1 Æneid. hoc argumento disputat:

> "O quam te memorem, virgo! namque haud tibi vultus
> Mortalis; nec vox hominem sonat: o dea certè."

CAP. XIV.

De Relatis.

"CONTRARIA sunt opposita, quorum unum uni tantum opponitur."

Intelligitur autem unum uni in eodem genere opponi contrariorum, ut relatorum unum uni tantum, et sic in reliquis: nam in diversis speciebus contrariorum, plura possunt ut contraria, uni eidemque rei opponi; ut "videnti, non videns, et cæcus; motui, motus contrarius, et quies; servo, dominus, et liber."

Quæ Aristoteles ἀντιθέμενα et ἀντικείμενα, ea Cicero in Topicis (quem Ramus sequitur) contraria appellat: quas etiam in species quatuor Aristoteles ἀντικείμενα, in easdem Cicero contraria distribuit.

Priùs autem quàm ad contrariorum distributionem in species accedimus, inserenda est distinctio quædam non inutilis, et ad ea quæ diximus capite superiore clariùs intelligenda, et ad eas, quæ secundo libro dicentur, disjunctiones necessarias à contigentibus dijudicandas. Dictum est superiore capite, viride, cineraceum, rubrum, media esse inter album et nigrum, quæ singula extremis et inter se disparata sunt. Sciendum itaque est contraria, quasi extrema quædam, habere alia medium, alia medio carere: medium vel est negationis vel participationis; ex Aristotele, Top. 4, 3, et Phil. V, 7. Medium negationis est quicquid inter duo contraria dici potest, quod sit neutrum eorum: ut inter præceptorem et discipulum, is qui neque est præceptor neque discipulus. Medium participationis est, quod utriusque extremi naturam participat; ut viride inter album et nigrum, tepidum inter calidum et frigidum. Contrariorum igitur quæ medium habent, non est necesse alterutrum affirmari; potest enim affirmari medium: quæ autem medio carent, eorum alterum necesse est affirmari. Quœnam autem contraria medium habeant aut non habeant, ex eo dignoscitur quod et Gellius tradit, l. 16, Noct. Att. c. 8. Contraria quorum contradicentia, cùm attribuuntur ei subjecto cui propriè possunt attribui, sunt etiam inter se contraria, ea medium non habent. Sanum et ægrum contraria sunt: eorum contradicentia, non sanum non ægrum, si animali attribuas cui soli possunt attribui, contraria etiam reperies: non sanum enim, est ægrum: non ægrum, sanum; sanum ergo et ægrum medio carent: sic nox et dies, non nox et non dies, æquè sunt inter se contraria; non nox enim, est dies; non dies, nox; medio igitur carent: sic visu prœditum, et cæcum esse, si homini tribuis. Quorum verò contradicentia non sunt contraria, ea medium habent: ut præceptor et discipulus; non præceptor enim, non est discipulus; neque non discipulus, est præceptor; etenim potest alteruter aliquid esse tertium sive medium. Sic album et nigrum: namque non album et non nigrum de quovis colore medio dici possunt. Nunc ad distributionem contrariorum veniamus.

"Contraria sunt affirmantia aut negantia.

"Affirmantia, quorum utrumque affirmat." Scilicet rem, sive veram sive fictam; vel quorum vox utraque rem certam ponit atque significat; quorumque unum alteri ut res rei opponitur; ut pater filio, calor frigori. Contraria itaque affirmantia, quod hic notandum est distinguendum, sunt quorum utrumque affirmat rem, non affirmatur de re sive subjecto eodem, id enim supradictæ oppositorum regulæ, qua ex altero affirmato alterum negatur, planè repugnaret. Quæ igitur affirmat rem aut negat, topica affirmatio aut negatio dicitur; quæ res de alio affirmatur aut negatur axiomatica, de qua lib. 2.

"Contraria affirmantia sunt relata aut adversa.

"Relata sunt, quorum alterum constat ex mutua alterius affectione."

Atque ita quidem ut ex eorum illa mutua affectione, contrarietas ipsa nascatur, ut infra demonstrabitur. Quid ergo; num idcirco relata nunc consentanea nunc dissentanea sunt? Nequaquam, ut relata quidem: sed ea tamen quæ relata sunt, aliis atque aliis argumentorum generibus possunt subjici; ipsa interim argumentorum genera inconfusa et distincta manent. Sic causa et effectum, quæ arguendo inter se relata sunt, adeoque dissentanea et æque manifesta, suam tamen vim propriam arguendi retinent, qua et consentanea sunt, et causa prior notiorque effecto. Relata esse contraria ex definitione et consectariis contrariorum liquet; sunt enim opposita, quorum unum uni tantum opponitur, ut pater et filius. At, inquis, unus multis, pater filiis, frater fratribus, præceptor discipulis, herus famulis, opponi potest. Respondetur, opponi patrem filio ut relatum; neque aliud quicquam patri quàm filium, neque filio quàm patrem; et sic de cæteris: sed hunc patrem et hunc filium, hunc præceptorem et hunc discipulum, &c. non esse relata, sed disparata: neque enim horum alter ex mutua alterius affectione constat; neque natura simul sunt, et alter sine altero existere potest. Itaque primæ substantiæ, sive individua et singularia, ut ait Aristoteles, Categor. 5, non sunt relata. Et Categor. 6, ait multa genera "relata esse, singularia verò nulla:" sed non video cur relata, quemadmodum et alia argumenta, etiam in singularibus considerari non possunt; singularia enim exempla sunt ferè omnia. Nec magis video cur in uno relato singulari non possit ad correlata multa esse multiplex relatio; dummodo relatio una numero inter bina tantummodo sit, totiesque consideretur quot sint correlata; patris nimirum toties quot sunt filii; filii quot sunt parentes, pater nempe et mater; fratris, quot sunt fratres et sorores: nam nisi quicquid de relatis in genere dici solet, de singulis quoque relatis verè dicatur. Id ne toto quidem de genere verè dici posset. Si reponas ex Aristot. Philos. 5, Relata non significare existentiam, ne cætera quidem argumenta id significant sed mutuam tantummodo affectionem. Sunt affirmantia, i. e. ut duæ voces sunt, ita etiam duæ sunt res inter se oppositæ; ut pater, filius. Constare autem alterum ex mutua alterius affectione, est nullam aliam habere essentiam, quatenus relata sunt, præter mutuam illam unius affectionem ad alterum et alterius ad illud. "Atque inde nominata sunt relata," quòd ad se invicem referuntur, totaque illorum natura in relatione consistit. Sic patrem esse, est habere filium; filium

esse, est habere patrem. Hinc illud, Omnia relata convertuntur: ut pater est filii pater; filius est patris filius.* Hujus mutua affectionis ratione relata sunt mutuæ sibi causæ et mutui effectus, nam quòd quis pater est, id habet à filio; quòd filius, à patre: et tamen hujus mutuæ affectionis vi ita sibi invicem opponuntur, ut neque unum de altero nec ambo de tertio dici possint; ut Æneas est pater Ascanii, ergo non est Ascanii filius; Ascanius est filius Æneæ, ergo non est Æneæ pater. Sed quoniam relatorum unum constat ex mutua alterius affectione, mutuæque sibi, ut diximus, causæ atque effecta sunt, consectarium hoc inde est quod sequitur.

"Relata simul sunt natura: ut qui alterum perfectè norit, norit et reliquum."

Relata autem simul esse natura docuerunt et veteres logici, Aristoteles, Damascenus, et alii; relataque se mutuò inferre mutuoque tollere; ut posito patre, ponatur filius; sublato, itidem tollatur: etiamsi enim ille manet qui filius fuit, non tamen filius manet. Neque solùm unum existere nequit sine altero, sed ne intelligi quidem. Necesse est igitur, quod et meminit Aristot. Top. 3, "Ut alterum in alterius definitione comprehendatur;" utque alterum perfecte, i. e. definite, qui norit, norit continuò alterius definitionem; quæ sicuti et essentia eorum, reciproca est. Supra itaque Ramus definivit subjectum, "cui aliud adjungitur;" non, "quod alteri subjicitur," ut alii malebant; etiamsi his verbis non modò essentia subjecti, sed etiam notatio contineri videatur: deinde adjunctum definivit, "cui aliquid subjicitur," non quod alteri adjungitur, quia subjectum et adjunctum relata sunt; et subjectum adjuncti, adjunctum subjecti, ex qua alterum alterius mutua affectione constat, ea erat definiendum, quæ ipsorum essentia est. Ad exempla nunc veniamus.

Pro Marcello: "Ex quo profectò intelligis quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, cùm in accepto tanta sit gloria." Hic dare et accipere relata sunt, quorum unius consequens ex consequente alterius intelligi ait Cicero. Martialis in Sosibianum, l. 1.

> "Tum servum scis de genitum, blandeque fateris;
> Cùm dicis dominum, Sosibiane, patrem."

Arguebat se servum esse genitum Sosibianus, dum negare videbatur, quia dominum vocabat patrem. Sic apud Quintilianum, l. 5, c. 10. "Si portorium Rhodiis locare honestum est, et Hermacreonti conducere." Quomodo et in Oratore Perfecto Tullius: "Num igitur est periculum, ait, nequis putet in magna arte et gloriosa turpe esse docere alios id quod ipsi fuerit honestum discere?" Apud Ovidium in ætatis ferreæ descriptione, Metam. 1, varia relatorum exempla afferuntur:

> "—— Non hospes ab hospite tutus,
> Non socer à genero: fratrum quoque gratia rara est.
> Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti:
> Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercæ:
> Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos."

"Atqui argumentum talis relationis contrarium nihil habet, immo arguit mutuas causas:" ut sum tuus pater; tu es igitur meus filius. At quum dico, sum tuus pater; non igitur sum tuus filius, tum contraria verè sunt; atque ex ipsa quidem hac mutua relatione.

CAP. XV.

De Adversis.

"Adversa sunt contraria affirmantia, quæ inter se velut è regione absolutè adversantur."

Sic etiam à Cicerone appellantur in Topicis. Sunt contraria, quia eorum unum uni tantum opponitur; ut honestum turpi: duo n. duntaxat possunt sibi invicem è regione adversari. Sunt affirmantia; quia unum uni opponitur, ut res rei; quod supra demonstratum est, et infra clarius patebit. His autem verbis "è regione absolutè adversantur," nihil aliud quàm directa oppositio, adeoque maxima, intelligitur; qualis est inter duo puncta diametri in eodem circulo. His etiam verbis distinguuntur adversa à suis mediis, quæ inter se et cum extremis disparantur. Absolutè; i. e. omninò, perfectè; ut in consentaneis, quæ absolutè consentiebant. Ramus perpetuò dixerat: sed assentior aliis, qui absolutè malunt; nam perpetuò opponi, omnib. oppositis etiam relatis, commune est, quatenus opposita sunt, i. e. ratione et re dissentiunt. Absolutè autem additur, ut hac particula distingui adversa possint à relatis, in quibus consensio quædam est, quatenus alterum ex mutua constat alterius affectione, cujusmodi hic omninò nulla est. Sic albor et nigror, calor et frigus opponuntur.

Aristoteles, contraria (sic enim adversa vocat Categ. 6) definit, "quæ plurimum inter se distant in eodem genere:" et rursus Categ. 8, "Contraria sunt vel in eadem specie, vel in eodem genere." Quem Cic. est secutus in Top. et Galen de Opt. secta. Verum adversa, ut docet idem Arist. cap. de Contrariis, non in eodem solùm genere plurimum differunt, ut album et nigrum, verum etiam in contrariis, ut justitia et injustitia; vel ipsa genera, ut bonum et malum, virtus et vitium. Quid quod in eodem genere differre, commune videtur adversis cum relatis: pro eodem igitur genere, rectius in definitione ponitur è regione, prout Cicero interpretatur. Æneid. 11.

> "Nulla salus bello; pacem te poscimus omnes."

Libertas et servitus apud Tibullum, 1, 2.

> "Sic mihi servitium video, dominamque paratam;"
> Tu mihi libertas illa paterna vale."

Sic consilium et casus; pro Marcello: "nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur." Et Parad. 1, contra Epicureos: "illud tamen arctè tenent accurateque defendunt, voluptatem esse summum bonum: quæ quidem mihi vox pecudum videtur, non hominum," &c. Pecudem et hominem adversa Cicero opposuit: voluptas pecudis bonum est, non igitur hominis. Usus enim hujus argu-

menti non in qualitatibus duntaxat, ut vulgò putant, verùm in substantiis etiam et quantitatibus, immo omnibus in rebus versatur: id quod Aristot. non diffitetur, cùm ait Phil. x. 3, "Contraria etiam ad primas entis differentias referri:" et rursus; "in omni genere contrarietatem esse." Contrarietas deinde argumentum esse logicum ab omnibus agnoscitur: nihil ergo obstat quominus ad quævis rerum genera pertineat. Quædam denique formæ vel maximè substantiæ sunt: formas autem specificas omnes sibi invicem adversas esse, apud omnes receptissimum est: immo verò major videtur esse formarum contrarietas quàm qualitatum; qualitates enim commisceri facile possunt, formæ vix unquam. Quod ergo idem Aristot. alibi docet, substantiæ et quantitati nihil esse contrarium, id non ratione tantùm, sed ipsius etiam testimonio suprà citato refellitur; non substantiarum autem pugna etsi non physica, logica tamen est, dum ex altera substantia singulari affirmata, negatur altera.

CAP. XVI.

De Contradicentibus.

"CONTRARIA negantia sunt, quorum alterum ait, alterum negat idem." Ab altero negante sic nominantur: in puris enim negantibus, ut loquuntur, nullus est rationis usus. Atque hinc demum nunc clarius patet, quænam essent contraria affirmantia: de quibus cùm dictum est, de negantibus quoque est dictum quod satis sit.

"Ea sunt contradicentia aut privantia.

"Contradicentia sunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat ubique:" ut justus, non justus; animal, non animal; est, non est.

"Contradicentia sunt contraria," quia una negatio uni affirmationi opponitur, et contrà; immo sine medio. Sic etiam Aristot. Post. 1, 2, "Contradictio est oppositio cujus nullum est medium per se." Quorum alterum negat ubique; i. e. in re qualibet: negare enim ubique est de re qualibet dici, de qua affirmatum non dicitur; ut de quo videt non dicitur, de eo non videt dicitur. Unde illud vulgò dictum, "contradicentia sunt omnia:" et illud Aristot. 1, Post. 1, 2, "quodvis verè est vel affirmare vel negare: verè affirmare et negare simul, impossibile est," et Top. 6, 3, de qualibet re vel affirmatio vel negatio verè dicitur." Alterum autem negare ubique dicitur, vel expressè vel implicitè. Expressè ut suprà, cum negandi particula: implicitè, cùm reipsa non minus contradicit et repugnat alteri, quàm si verbo negaret; ut corpus infinitum, proprietas communis. Vulgò vocatur contradictio in adjecto; quia id subjecto adjungit quod subjectum planè tollit; atque ita contradictionem implicat. Atque hinc etiam est quòd contradicentia medio carent non solùm participationis, verum etiam negationis, quia necesse est affirmare vel negare unum quodvis de altero. Sic etiam Boethius in Topicis: "inter affirmationem et negationem nulla est medietas." Contradicentium porrò exempla hæc sunt. In defensione Murænæ contradicitur sententiis Catonis et Ciceronis; illius Stoici, hujus Academici. Dialogus est his verbis: "nihil ignoveris: immo aliquid, non omnia. Nihil gratiæ causa feceris: immo ne resistito gratiæ, cum officium et fides postulabit. Misericordia commotus ne sis; etiam in dissolvenda severitate: sed tamen est aliqua laus humanitatis. In sententia permaneto: enimverò nisi sententia alia vicerit melior." In hoc exemplo quadruplex contradictio est; nihil ignoveris; nonnihil ignoveris: nihil gratiæ causa feceris; nonnihil gratiæ causa feceris, &c. Martial. l. 1.

> "Bella es; novimus: et puella; verum est:
> Et dives; quis enim potest negare?
> Sed dum te nimium, Fabulla, laudas,
> Nec dives, neque bella, nec puella es."

Cicero in Tusc. cogit hoc argumento Atticum Epicureum fateri mortuos miseros non esse, si omnino non sint, ut Epicurei credebant. "Quem esse negas; eundem esse dicis: cùm enim miserum esse dicis, tum eum qui non sit, esse dicis." Sic Terentianus Phædria Dori eunuchi dictum elevat, quòd affirmasset prius, quæ pòst inficiaretur: modò ait, modò negat.

Sunt qui contradictionem nullam esse statuunt, nisi axiomaticam; de qua lib. 2. Verùm si affirmatio et negatio topica datur, ut suprà demonstravimus, necesse est dari quoque topicam contradictionem: qualis est illa Rom. 9, "Vocabo non populum meum, populum meum; et non dilectam, dilectam." In distinctionibus etiam frequentissimus est hujus contradictionis usus; præsertim ubi alterum distinctionis membrum apta voce exprimi non potest: ut dialecticæ materia est ens, et non ens; lex est scripta, vel non scripta. Sic ad Critonem Socrates; "videris opportunè quidem non excitasse me." In his exemplis axiomatica contradictio nulla est; uti neque in illo quod suprà in hoc capite ex Martiale allatum est: "bella es; novimus: et puella," &c. Non enim verbum est sive copulatio negatur, sed partes. Fabulla est bella, et puella, et dives; Fabulla est et non bella, et non puella, et non dives. Axiomatica enim contradictio hujusmodi fuisset: Fabulla non est et bella et puella et dives: quod lib. 2 clarius intelligetur.

CAP. XVII.

De Privantibus.

"PRIVANTIA sunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat in eo tantum subjecto, in quo affirmatum suapte natura inest." Atque hic affirmatum dicitur habitus, quo quis quid habet, negatum autem privatio, qua quis ea re privatur aut caret: ut visus et cæcitas, motus et quies in iis rebus quæ motu conservantur. Sunt contraria, quòd unum uni opponitur, habitus privationi;

qua ex parte negantia quoque dicuntur: nam et hic rei alicujus affirmationi ejusdem negatio, i. e. enti non ens opponitur: privatio enim, ut inquit Aristot. Phys. 2, 8, "per se est non ens:" et Plut. de primo frigido; privatio est essentiæ negatio;" habituique opponitur, non ut natura quædam aut essentia per se existens, sed ut ejus corruptio et ademtio. Quorum alterum negat in eo tantum subjecto, in quo, &c. His verbis forma privantium qua distinguuntur à contradicentibus, exprimitur. In contradicentibus enim negatio infinita est, affirmatum suum ubique, i. e. qualibet in re negans; ut quicquid non est justum, est non justum, in privantibus verò finita est negatio, atque in eo tantum subjecto affirmatum sive habitum negans, in quo affirmatum suapte natura inest: aut inesse potest; ut etiam Aristot. in Categor. Sic cæcitas est negatio visus, non ubique et in re qualibet, sed in qua solùm visus inesse natura debuit: nam privari aliquid tum demum dicitur, cùm eo caret quod natum est habere: non ergo quicquid non videt, propriè cæcum dicitur. Deinde in contradicentibus negatum contradicendo negat, et est pura negatio; ut videns, non videns; in privantibus negat privando; nec solum negatio est, sed privans negatio et extinctio habitus alicujus qui inesse natura subjecto debuit aut potuit; ut videns, cæcus. Hinc illæ privationis proprietates ex Plut. de primo frigido, non inutiles: "privatio iners et agendi impos est: non suscipit magis aut minus;" neque enim quis dixerit hunc illo cæciorem; aut tacentem, magis minusve tacere; aut defunctum, magis minusve esse mortuum: habitus enim gradus esse possunt, non entis non item: illa autem Aristot. "à privatione ad habitum non datur regressus," incertior est: cùm enim habitus quo quis habere quid dicitur duo modi sint, potentia et actus, à privatione potentiæ vel facultatis, idque natura duntaxat, regressus negatur. Contradicentia denique medio carent non solùm participationis, verùm etiam negationis: privantia verò carent quidem medio participationis, nulla enim est habitus cum privatione permixtio; non carent autem medio negationis; multa enim sunt, quæ neque vident, neque cæca sunt; ut lapis, arbor, &c., nisi cùm ei subjecto attribuuntur, cui natura inesse debuerunt: tum enim negationis etiam medio carent; quippe omnis homo aut videns est aut cæcus, gnarus aut ignarus. Exempla porrò privantium sunt dives et pauper: Martial. l. 5.

> "Semper eris pauper, si pauper es, Æmiliane.
> Dantur opes nullis nunc, nisi divitibus."

Vita et mors, ut in Miloniana: "hujus mortis sedetis ultores, cujus vitam, si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis." Item loqui et tacere: 1 Catil. "quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis." Cætera exempla quæ Ramus attulit, minus quadrant: ut ebrius et sobrius, mortalis et immortalis, quæ potius adversa sunt. Neque enim "in" præpositio in compositis privationem semper, sed adversum habitum sæpe significat; unde nec peccatum privationem esse dixerim; siquidem hoc vel illud peccatum sive vitium, privatio non est. Atque hæ quidem species contrariorum sunt. Sed quæri hic solet, quænam earum sint maximè inter se contrariæ. Aristoteles maximam contrarietatem nunc adversis tribuit, nunc contradicentibus. Sed videtur maximam esse dissensionem inter privantia: deinde inter adversa; minorem adhuc inter contradicentia; minimam inter relata: nam relata propter illam mutuam affectionem, partim consentanea sunt: contradicentia purè quidem contraria negantia sunt, sed tamen propter infinitam illam negationem, pro mediis et disparatis crebro accipiuntur, ut non calidum non tam opponitur calido quàm frigidum; quoniam non calidum potest tepidum esse; sic non bonum, medium quiddam esse potest et adiaphorum: non album de rubro dici aut intelligi potest: adversa è regione quidem adversantur; non ita tamen, quin commisceri queant: privantia verò mixtionem non admittunt; et privatio ferè est habitus extinctio atque ereptio aut saltem deficientia; habitusque est ens, privatio non ens; enti autem nihil, æquè ac non ens, contrarium est.

"Sed dissentaneorum categoria sic est, unde quidvis ab altero differre quolibet modo possit."

Quanquam enim causa omnis essentialis differentiæ, formæ primitus est reliquarum, argumenta reliqua consentanea, ut quot modis consentire totidem dissentire res dicantur, causa nempe vel effecto, subjecto vel adjuncto, modi tamen omnes, quib. res inter se differunt vel ratione scilicet vel re, non tractantur nisi in dissentaneis, vel si comparantur, in comparatis. Unde illud genere vel specie differre, nihil aliud est quàm communi vel propria forma, quarum illa symbola sunt, ut infra dicetur.

CAP. XVIII.

De Paribus.

"Argumenta simplicia ita fuerunt in consentaneis et dissentaneis.

"Comparata sunt argumenta prima, quæ inter se comparantur."

Simplex rerum affectio comparatione prius tractanda fuit; hanc enim si removes, comparata omnia aut consentanea erunt aut dissentanea. Platonis doctrina et Xenophontis ante adjuncta utrique erat, quàm comparata. Sunt argumenta prima non orta, eo quòd orta, ut patebit infra, eandem habent affectionem cum primis unde orta sunt; comparata etsi simplicia prius fuere, simplicium tamen affectionem non habent. Inter se comparantur; nimirum quæ sunt ejusdem generis: genera autem distributio mox docebit. Nunc proprietates comparatorum sunt dicendæ.

"Comparata etsi ipsa comparationis natura æquè nota sunt; attamen alterum altero alicui notius et illustrius esse debet."

Ubi hoc advertendum, non sua sed comparationis natura dici æquè nota esse comparata. Ita sunt, inquis, et relata vi relationis; immo argumenta omnia quæ

etiam relata sunt. At, inquam, relatio et comparatio non sunt idem; et reliqua argumenta, et si quatenus relata sunt notione logica, æquè nota sunt, sua tamen natura, prout quæque est, vel æquè vel non æquè sunt manifesta; dissentanea quidem æquè, consentanea non æquè, ut jam supra est dictum. Debet autem ei quicum disputamus comparatorum id quod arguit sua natura et priusquam comparatio instituitur, notius esse atque illustrius eo quod arguitur; æquè enim obscurum nihil argueret. Unde in signis comparatorum usus elucet; quo fit ut inæqualis rerum notitia comparationis vi æqualis reddatur. Sic consentanea ad probandum, dissentanea ad refellendum, comparata ad illustrandum aptissima sunt.

"Comparata autem sæpe notis brevius indicantur; aliquando partibus distinguuntur, quæ propositio redditioque nominantur."

Duplex ergo est comparationis forma: altera contracta, altera explicata. Contracta est quæ uno verbo concluditur, ut infra cap. 21. Explicata, quæ partibus distinguitur; partesque istæ propositio et redditio nominantur. Propositio præcedit sæpe, et argumentum est: redditio sæpe sequitur, estque id quod arguitur: si secus occurrit, inversio est. Omnis autem forma comparationis contracta, suis partibus explicari potest.

"Atque omnino comparata etiam ficta arguunt fidemque faciunt."

Arguunt scilicet rem veram; in quo cæteris argumentis præcellunt; quæ ficta si sunt, rem fictam duntaxat arguunt; ut materia ficta, fictam solis domum. At comparata etiam ficta, non sua quidem natura, sed comparationis vi, res veras arguunt fidemque faciunt.

"Comparatio est in quantitate vel qualitate.

"Quantitas est qua res comparatæ quantæ dicuntur.

"Estque parium vel imparium." Non hic loquimur de quantitate solùm mathematica, quæ magnitudinis est aut numeri, sed de quantitate logica, quæ ratio quælibet sive affectio est, qua res quæcunque inter se comparatæ quantæ, i. e. æquales vel inæquales, pares vel impares dici possint.

"Paria sunt, quorum est una quantitas."

Sic enim definit Aristoteles, Phil. 8, 15. Quod idem valet acsi diceretur, quorum par ratio est. "Una," i. e. eadem, æqualis: unde in plurali numero eodem nomine ac definitione explicantur.

"Argumentum igitur paris est, cum par illustratur à pari."

Ad exempla veniamus; atque ad ea primùm quæ in forma, ut diximus, contracta notis brevius indicantur. Hæ autem notæ præcipuæ sunt "par, æquale, æquare;" ut in his:

"———Par levibus ventis." Æneid. 2.

Ubi levitas Creusæ umbræ comparatur levitati ventorum.

"Et nunc æquali tecum pubesceret ævo." Æneid. 3.

"En hujus nate auspiciis, illa inclyta Roma
Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olympo." Æneid. 6.

His notis aliæ sunt affines, "pariter, æquè, æqualitas, æqualiter, perinde, acsi," et id genus alia.

Sequitur forma explicata: in qua propositio et redditio distinguuntur, quæ in contracta forma erant implicitæ. In hac autem forma explicata par quantitas vel notis apertè indicatur, vel sine notis mente et ratione concipitur: notæ istæ sunt vel propriæ parium: vel negationes imparium: parium propriæ, "idem quod; tam, quàm; tanto, quanto; tot, quot." In quibus singulis notarum paribus prior quæque redditioni inservit, posterior verò propositioni. Catil. 4, "Cujus res gestæ atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur."

"Tam ficti pravique tenax quàm nuntia veri." Æneid 4.

"Tantò pessimus omnium poëta,
Quantò tu optimus omnium patronus."
Catullus 4.

"Littora quot conchas, quot amœna rosarea flores,
Quotque soporiferum grana papaver habet, &c.
Tot premor adversis——" Ovid. 4. Trist.

Negationes imparium sunt; vel majoris et minoris seorsim vel utriusque simul "non magis, non minus." Philippic. 9, "Neque enim ille magis jurisconsultus quàm justitiæ fuit," &c. "Neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quàm controversias tollere." Ovid. 2, de Arte.

"Non minor est virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri."

"Utriusque simul" pro Muræna: "paria cognosco esse ista in L. Muræna, atque ita paria, ut neque ipse dignitate vinci potuerit, neque te dignitate superarit." Observandum est autem negationem majoris vel minoris seorsim non semper esse notam parium: neque enim si "servus non est major domino, ergo est æqualis;" nec si "dominus non est minor servo, ergo par."

Hactenus cum notis; nunc sine notis hæc quæ sequuntur. Atque in hoc potissimum genere exemplorum sine notis, apparet vis eadem arguendi in utramque partem; adeo ut si unum, alterum quoque sit; si non sit unum, neque alterum. Itaque ex uno eorum affirmato, alterum affirmatur; ex negato, negatur: 2 Philip. "Quorum facinus commune, cur non eorum præda communis?" Ter. in Adel.

"Quando ego non curo tuum, ne cura meum."

"Hujus loci," parium nempe sine notis, "sunt consectaria illa è contrariis quidem orta, sed parium collatione tractata." Ut ex adversis ista; Cicero pro Sylla "neque verò quid mihi irascare intelligere possum; si, quòd eum defendo quem tu accusas, cur tibi quoque ipse non succenseo, qui accuses eum quem ego defendo? Inimicum, inquis, accuso meum: et amicum, inquam, ego defendo meum." Sic 5 Tusc. "quod cùm fateantur, satis magnam vim esse in vitiis ad miseram vitam; nonne fatendum est eandem vim in virtute esse ad beatam vitam?" Contraria enim contrariorum sunt consequentia."

Quæ tamen regula non est perpetuo vera: primò nisi collatio sit verè parium: non ergo sequitur, "mala opera damnant; ergo bona justificant." Mala n. opera omninò mala, bona imperfectè bona sunt; illa

nostra, hæc non plane nostra. Secundo, sed in iis duntaxat paribus, contrariorum ex loco petitis, quorum parium propositio reciprocatur. Quod in relatis quidem fit frequentissimè: ut apud Martialem:

> "Tum servum scis de genitum, blandeque fateris,
> Cùm dicis dominum, Sosibiane, patrem."

Pater est filii dominus, et filii dominus est pater: pariter ergo filius est patris servus. Sic ex adversis: "bonum est appetendum; pariter ergo malum est fugiendum." Nempe quia propriè adeoque reciprocè, omne appetendum est bonum. Et ex privantibus: Ovid. 1 Fast.

> "In pretio pretium nunc est, dat census honores,
> Census amicitias: pauper ubique jacet."

Dives est in pretio, et quisquis est in pretio, est dives; ergo omnis pauper jacet.

"Quoties autem collationis propositio non reciprocatur, vel quoties uni parium id quasi proprium tribuitur quod utrisque commune est, eorum consequentia contraria non sunt, sed sæpe eadem." Fallit ergo hoc ex relatis: "pater est dives; ergo filius est pauper:" quia propositio non est reciproca; omnis enim dives non est pater. Et hoc etiam ex adversis: "homo est sensu præditus; bestia igitur sensu caret. Homo mortalis; bestia igitur immortalis:" quippe nec sensu præditum, nec mortale est homini proprium; sed utrique contrario commune, et homini et bestiæ. Hoc etiam ex contradicentibus: "homo est animal; ergo non homo est non animal." Hoc denique ex privantibus: "videns vivit; ergo cæcus est mortuus:" vivere enim et videnti et cæco commune est. "Non enim idem non dici de contrariis, sed contraria de eodem dici non possunt; immo quod suscipit unum contrariorum, suscipit alterum; et quod unum non suscipit, neque alterum;" ut, "in quo est amor, in eo potest esse odium. Quibus nullum est jus, iis nulla fit injuria."

Est et alius parium sine notis modus, "quo interdum lacessiti, par pari reponimus." Qualis est Virgil. Ecl. 3, in illa pastorum alterna contentione repetitum illud; "Dic quib. in terris," &c. Cujusmodi est et illud Mat. 21, 23, &c. "Qua authoritate facis ista? &c. Interrogabo vos ego etiam quiddam: Baptisma Joannis unde erat?" Affine est illud Cic. Off. 2, "Cato, cùm ab eo quæreretur, quid esset fœnerari? respondit, quid hominem occidere."

Paria verò ficta quorum esse proprium suprà diximus rem veram arguere, sunt illa apud Ciceronem, Invent. 1, ex Æschine Socratico; ubi Aspasia cum Xenophontis uxore et Xenophonte ipso sic inducitur locuta: "dic mihi, quæso, Xenophontis uxor, si vicina tua melius habeat aurum quàm tu habes, utrum illius an tuum malis? Illius, inquit. Et si vestem? Illius verò respondit. Age verò, si virum illa meliorem, an illius malis." Hic mulier erubuit. Comparatio sic se habet: si aurum, si vestem vicinæ meliorem habere malles quàm tuam, malle etiam meliorem vicinæ virum argueris. Non dicit vicinam habere aurum aut vestem meliorem, sed fingit aut ponit, eamque si mallet Xenophontis uxor, arguitur malle virum quoque vicinæ si melior sit.

CAP. XIX.

De Majoribus.

"Imparia sunt, quorum quantitas non est una."

"Non una," i. e. non eadem; quorum par ratio non est: contrariorum enim contraria ratio est.

> "Impar est majus vel minus.
> "Majus est cujus quantitas excedit."

Major autem vel minor quantitas æstimanda est ex rerum quæ comparantur, elatione vel summissione, ut inquit Cic. in Top. i. e. excessu vel defectu; quæ vel notis indicantur, vel, si desunt notæ, aliis vocibus, quæ excessum vel defectum significant, intelliguntur. Ex eo autem quod suprà de logica quantitate diximus, intelligendum est id logicè majus quoque esse, cujus non solum magnitudo, mensura, aut numerus, sed etiam auctoritas, potentia, præstantia, probabilitas, difficultas, aut quid hujusmodi majus est; vel brevius, quod quavis ratione excessum habet, id majus est; idque non solùm rei ipsius natura, sed vel opinione disserentis. Majus igitur est cujus quantitas excedit id quod minus est: majus enim hic adhibetur ad arguendum minus.

Quemadmodum autem parium, ita argumenti à majore, forma alia contracta est, quæ notis brevius indicatur; alia explicata, quæ partibus plenius distinguitur.

Contractioris formæ notæ sunt vel nomina comparativa et superlativa suos casus regentia, vel verba quædam; et ea quidem utraque non solùm quæ excessum significant, ut "major, melior, pejor; præstare, superare, vincere, excedere, præferri," cum referuntur ad id quod arguit, verùm etiam ea cùm nomina tum verba quæ defectum significant, ut "minor, inferior, posthabeo, cedo, vincor, superor," si referuntur ad id quod arguitur.

Explicata autem forma nunc est cum notis, nunc sine notis. Notæ sunt "non solùm, sed etiam;" non, tam, quam, et comparationes, verbaque, ut suprà, non modò elationem significantia cum particula "quàm," si ea particula tribuatur ei semper quod arguitur, sed etiam ea quæ summissionem significant, si modò particula "quàm" referatur ad id quod arguit: ut, "minus est amicum pulsare, quàm patrem." Sed hoc exemplum arguit potius à minori quàm grave scelus sit pulsare patrem, quàm a majori non admodum grave esse pulsare amicum. Idem de cæteris hujusmodi est dicendum.

Exemplum primæ notæ: Cic. pro Muræna: "Tollitur è medio non solùm ista verbosa simulatio prudentiæ, sed etiam illa domina rerum sapientia. Spernitur orator non solùm odiosus in dicendo aut loquax, verùm etiam bonus." In hujusmodi exemplis "sed etiam" est propositio, et, ut majus, arguit redditionem "non solum," ut minus.

Huic nota affinis est "immo," vel "immo verò." Cujusmodi est illud apud Terent. "Thr. Magnas verò agere gratias Thais mihi? Gn. Ingentes. Thr. Ain tu? læta est. Gn. Non tam ipso quidem dono,

quàm abs te datum esse: id verò seriò triumphat." Hic facile intelligitur "immo ingentes" et "immo id seriò triumphat." Ingentes gratiæ arguunt magnas; et triumphare, lætam esse. Sic Catil. 1: "Hic tamen vivit, vivit? immo verò in senatum venit." Et illud Ver. 3: "Non furem, sed raptorem; non adulterum, sed expugnatorem pudicitiæ," &c.

Exemplum secundæ notæ, comparativorum scilicet et verborum cum particula "quàm," est ex Cic. pro Marcello: "Plus admirationis habitura, quam gloriæ." Sed ambiguum: aut enim plus admirationis arguit minus gloriæ, et sic argumentum est à majori, aut minor gloria si magna sit, arguit maximam admirationem.

Verborum elationem significantium cum particula "quàm" exemplum hoc erit; "mendicare præstat, quàm furari." Hic mendicare, quanquam inhonestum, ut magis tamen et potius faciendum, arguit multo minus esse furandum.

"Sic malo illud," scilicet quod arguit, "quàm hoc," scilicet quod arguitur: ut Juvenal Satyra 8, adversus gloriosum nobilem:

> "Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
> Æacidæ similis, Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
> Quam te Thersitæ similem producat Achilles."

Quod malit ignobilem fortem, quod tamen non est ita optandum, ex eo arguit atque ostendit à majori sive à potiori quàm minime velit nobilem ignavum. Cæsar: "Malo modestiam in milite, quam virtutem." Modestia, judicio Cæsaris, præstantior et major, arguit virtutem sive fortitudinem in milite minus esse quàm modestia requirendam: vel potius à minori exaggerat modestiæ laudem in milite præ virtutis laude.

"Sequitur majorum tractatio sine notis."

Atque in hoc solùm genere id majus est cujus probabilitas aut difficultas est major. Hic etiam logici regulas consequentiæ tradere solent non solùm negando, ut vult Aristot. Rhet. 2, 23, verùm etiam affirmando, pro quantitatis diversa vi et consideratione, in exemplis diversis: ejusdem enim exempli una tantum ratio est. Si majus est probabilius, duntaxat negando, in hunc modum: "quod non valet in majore, non valebit in minore." Si majus est difficilius aut incredibilius, duntaxat affirmando: "quod in re majore valet, valet in minore," ut inquit Cic. in Top. Hujus exemplum est Æneid. 1:

> "O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)
> O passi graviora! dabit deus his quoque finem."

Si gravioribus malis dedit deus finem, dabit his certè. Sic Cic. pro Muræna: "Noli tam esse injustus, ut cùm tui fontes vel inimicis tuis pateant, nostros rivulos etiam amicis putes clausos esse oportere."

"Ficta etiam majora idem valent in suis consequentiis vel refutandis vel probandis."

Refutandi exemplùm est Terent. Heaut.

> "———— Satrapas si fiet
> Amator, nunquam sufferre ejus sumtus queat:
> Nedum tu possis:"—quasi diceret, finge satrapam esse.

Et Æneid. 5:

> "Magnanime Ænea, non si mihi Jupiter auctor
> Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere cœlo:
> Mutati transversa fremunt, &c.
> Nec nos obniti contrà, nec tendere tantùm
> Sufficimus:"—i. e. multo nunc minus Jove non spondente.

CAP. XX.

De Minoribus.

Majus et minus inter se affecta et relata sunt: adeoque unius definitionem qui norit, norit alterius.

Ut igitur majus est cujus quantitas excedit, "ita minus est cujus quantitas exceditur." Quantitas autem ut majoris erat in qualibet rerum elatione sive excessu, ita nunc minoris est in qualibet rerum summissione sive defectu. Sententiarum enim minor probabilitas aut difficultas locum non habet, nisi in minorum forma explicata; quod ex majorum quoque explicata forma intelligi potest. Minus igitur est cujus quantitas exceditur à majore: argumentum itaque à minore est, cùm id quod minus est, adhibetur ad arguendum id quod est majus.

Minora etiam vel brevius indicantur notis, vel plenius distinguuntur partibus. Hujus utriusque formæ vel propriæ sunt minorum notæ, vel negationes parium.

Propriæ notæ contractioris formæ sunt primùm, voces comparativæ grammaticæ, cùm nomina tum verba, elationem utraque significantia, si modò attribuantur ei quod arguitur. Ovid. 2 de Trist. "Sævior es tristi Busiride." Hic minor sævitia Busiridis arguit majorem illius in quem poeta invehitur. "Præstat sapientia divitiis." "Sævior" et "præstat" elationem significant, et notæ sunt majoris; sed quia tribuuntur ei quod arguitur, argumentum utrobique est à minori. Atque hoc sedulò advertendum est, ut argumentum majoris à minori dijudicare possis: majora enim et minora, contractæ præsertim formæ, easdem plerumque notas præ se ferunt; idemque exemplum utramvis in partem vel à majori vel à minori arguere potest: ut, "sævior es tristi Busiride." Hoc si ad sævitiam cujusvis exaggerandam dicatur, ut hoc loco, à minori est: si ad Busiridis extenuandam, à majori. Si igitur illa quæ elationem significant, referantur ad id quod arguitur, sunt illa quidem notæ majoris, argumentum autem est à minori; quoniam majus, cujus illa notæ sunt, est id quod arguitur: sin illa quæ summissionem significant, referuntur ad id quod arguitur, sunt illa quidem notæ minoris, sed argumentum est à majori; quoniam id quod arguitur, minus est.

Secundò, comparationes grammaticæ verbaque summissionem significantia, ut minor, inferior, &c. Posthabeo, postpono, cedo, vincor, superor, &c. Si modò ad id quod arguit, referatur: ut "cedant arma togæ." Hic togæ dignitas arguitur à minori armorum dignitate, quæ cedit.

Atque hæ sunt notæ affirmantes contractæ formæ:

quibus annumerandæ sunt etiam istæ formulæ, quæ fiunt negatione parium. Philip. 9, "Omnes ex omni ætate, qui in hac civitate intelligentiam juris habuerunt, si unum in locum conferantur, cum S. Sulpitio non sunt conferendi," i. e. non æquandi, quæ nota parium fuit. Hactenus contracta forma.

Explicata forma vel cùm notis est, vel sine notis. Propriæ notæ sunt primò, "non modò non, sed ne." Cic. 2, Catil. "Nemo non modò Romæ, sed ne ullo in angulo totius Italiæ oppressus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fœdus asciverit." Hic posterior nota "sed ne," est propositionis, et nota minoris; arguitque "non modo non," quæ redditionis est, et nota majoris, quod arguitur. Ne ullo in angulo Italiæ non fecit, quod minus utile sibi erat, non modò non igitur vel multo magis Romæ fecit, quod majus erat, vel sibi magis utile. Pro Fonteio: "Non modo nullum facinus hujus protulerunt, sed ne dictum quidem aliquod reprehenderent." Ne minus quidem fecerunt ut dictum aliquod reprehenderunt, quæ propositio est et arguit non modo non majus, i. e. ergo non majus, ut facinus aliquod proferrent, quæ redditio est, et arguitur.

Verùm in hujus notæ exemplis propositionis nota "sed ne," aliquando omittitur. Ad Lent. "Nullum meum minimum dictum, non modò factum pro Cæsare intercessit," i. e. nullum non modò factum, sed ne dictum quidem. Huic notæ affinis est illa formula, "tantum abest ab hoc, ut ne illud quidem." Pro Marcello: "Tantum abes à perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta, quæ cogitas, nondum jeceris." Ne hoc quidem fecisti quod minus est, abes ergo longe ab illo quod est majus.

Secundæ notæ sunt comparationes grammaticæ et verba quædam cum particula "quàm," quæ vel elationem significant, ut "potius hoc quàm illud, malo hoc quàm illud," vel summissionem, ut "minor, inferior," ita ut "quàm" utrobique referatur ad id quod arguitur. Catil. 1, "Ut exul potius tentare, quàm consul vexare remp. possis." Quod potius erat Ciceroni ut exul tentaret remp. quàm consul vexaret, illud ut minus malum arguit hoc esse majus. Hic comparatio grammatica "potius," ad id quod arguit, refertur, nempe ad minus malum; particula "quàm" ad id refertur quod arguitur, nempe ad majus malum; "Sic maluit Metellus de repub. quàm de sententia sua dimoveri." Hic "maluit," verbum elationis, refertur ad id quod arguit, nempe ad minus malum, judicio Metelli, de rep. dimoveri; particula "quàm" ad id refertur quod majus malum arguitur, dimoveri de sententia. Sic in iis notis quæ summissionem significant, particula "quàm" refertur semper ad majus quod arguitur, non secus atque in iis quæ significant elationem: ut, "minus est accipere, quàm dare; inferior est Cæsar quàm Scipio."

His notis affinis est, "antequam," i. e. potius quam. Pro Milone: "Utinam Clodius dictator esset, antequam hoc spectaculum viderem."

Tertia nota est "cùm tum:" 1 Agr. "quæ cùm omnib. est difficilis et magna ratio, tum vero mihi præter cæteros."

Sequuntur negationes parium in hac forma explicata. "Non tam, quàm." Catil. 2, "Quanquam illi qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hæc queruntur, quàm verentur." Sic "non tot, quot:" pro Muræna; "Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum tot motus, tantas, tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum; quantas perturbationes et quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum?" In hoc exemplo interrogatio fortius negat paria.

Nunc ad exempla formæ sine notis explicatæ veniamus. Cic. Off. 1, "Ergo histrio hoc videbit in scena, non videbit sapiens in vita." Atque hinc etiam consequentiæ ducuntur non solùm affirmando et probando, ut vult Arist. Rhet. 2, 23, et Cic. in Top. sed etiam negando et refutando: si quidem hoc de exemplo non eodem intelligitur: sin de eodem, tum quidem vel solùm affirmando, vel solùm negando rectè proceditur. Affirmandi exemplum est Ovid. 1 de Remed.

> "Ut corpus redimas ferrum patieris et ignes, &c.
> Ut valeas animo quicquam tolerare negabis?"

Si corporis causa, multo magis animi quidvis tolerabis; animus enim dignior. Item pro Archia: "Bestiæ sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur: nos non poetarum voce moveamur?" Sic illud Mat. 6, 26, "Passeres curat Deus; multo magis ergo homines." At negando, nulla ex his consequentia deducitur: non ergo sequitur, "si corporis causa quicquam non tolerabis, ergo nunc animi;" et sic de cæteris. Rectè igitur, si hoc modo intelligitur Aristoteles, à minore ad majus affirmando solùm proceditur. Verùm exempla non desunt, in quib. à minore arguitur etiam solùm negando: cujusmodi est illud supra citatum, pro Marcello; "fundamenta nondum jecisti, certè ergo non perfecisti." Nec tamen idem affirmando; "fundamenta jecisti, ergo perfecisti." Hic modò cavendum est, ne ponatur negatio quæ affirmationi æquipolleat: ut, "Deus non negligit passeres," idem est quod "curat." Sic enim utriusque consequentiæ idem exemplum prout sententia eadem vel affirmando vel negando variatur, dari posset: ut, "si fures plectendi, multo magis sacrilegi. Si furib. non parcendum, multo minus sacrilegis." Hic "plectere" et "non parcere" idem est; et minus sit nota majoris: non igitur notæ, sed rerum elatio vel summissio majus vel minus efficit. Atque hæc de consequentiis minorum sine notis.

Verùm eædem consequentiæ ducuntur ab explicata forma, quæ etiam cum notis est, ut ex iis exemplis quæ suprà ponuntur, intelligas licet. In hac forma explicata sine notis est ubi occurrit minorum quædam gradatio: ut Ver. 7, "Facinus est vincere civem Romanum; scelus verberare; propè parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere?"

Finguntur etiam minora: Virgil. Ecl. 1.

> "Ante leves ergo pascentur in æthere cervi, &c.
> Quàm nostro illius labatur pectore vultus."

Philip. 2, "Si inter cœnam in tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu verò populi R. negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum," &c.

CAP. XXI.

De Similibus.

Hactenus comparatio in quantitate fuit. Sequitur "comparatio in qualitate, qua res comparatæ quales dicuntur."

Qualitas enim logica non solùm est habitus, aut dispositio, aut potentia, vel impotentia naturalis, aut denique figura aut forma exterior, quæ Aristot. species qualitatis sunt, et in aliis artibus tractandæ, sed est affectio quælibet sive ratio, qua res inter se comparatæ quales, nempe similes aut dissimiles dicuntur. Nulla autem res est, quæ si alteri qualitate conferatur, non sit ei similis vel dissimilis.

"Similia sunt quorum eadem est qualitas."

Sic enim definit Aristoteles, Phil. 8, 15, et Boethius, l. 2, in Cic. Top. "similitudo," inquit, "est unitas qualitatis." Argumentum igitur similitudinis est, quando simile explicatur à simili. Magna quidem est affinitas parium cum similibus; verùm ut ex definitionibus eorum perspicere licet, in hoc maximè differunt, quòd paria non admittunt elationem aut summissionem, similia admittunt: possunt enim etiam simillima majora esse vel minora; quod paria non possunt.

Similitudo proportio dicitur, Græcè ferè "analogia;" et similia proportionalia, Græcè "analoga." Proportio autem nihil aliud est quàm duarum rationum similitudo; ratio autem est duorum inter se terminorum sive rerum collatio. * Monendum autem est similia sive contractæ formæ sive explicatæ urgenda non esse ultra eam qualitatem quam in utrisque eandem esse propositum assimilanti erat ostendere: sic magistratus assimilatur cani, sola nimirum fidelitate custodiæ: unde illa in scholis, "nullum simile est idem, simile non currit quatuor pedibus, omne simile claudicat."

Similia nunc notis brevius indicantur, nunc partibus plenius distinguuntur; hoc enim comparatis omnibus commune est. Notæ similitudinis contractæ "quæ uno verbo concluditur," sunt vel similium propriæ vel dissimilium negationes. Propriæ similium sunt vel nomina, ut "similis, effigies, imago, more, ritu, instar, in modum;" vel adverbia, "tanquam, veluti, quasi, sicuti;" vel verba, "imitari, referre," &c. 1 Æneid. "Os humerosque deo similis." Philip. 9, "Quanquam nullum monumentum clarius Servius Sulpitius relinquere potuit, quàm effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiæ, pietatis, ingenii, filium." 1 Trist.

> "Namque ea vel nemo, vel qui mihi vulnera fecit,
> Solus Achilleo tollere more potest."

In Pis. "Unus ille dies mihi quidem instar immortalitatis fuit, quo in patriam redii." Verr. 1, "Sed repente è vestigio ex homine, tanquam aliquo poculo Circæo, factus est Verres." Pro lege Manil. "Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis En. Pompeium, sicut aliquem, non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cœlo delapsum intuentur." Negationes dissimilium sunt, "haud secus, non àliter, non absimilis," &c. Æneid. 3, "Haud secus ac jussi faciunt." Terent. in Phor. "Ego isti nihilo sum aliter, ac sui."

Ad contractam similitudinis formam pertinet etiam metaphora: metaphora enim, ut docent rhetores, est ad unum verbum contracta similitudo sine notis quidem, quæ tamen intelliguntur. Pro Sest. "Cujus ego patrem deum atque parentem statuo fortunæ nominisque mei," i. e. "tanquam deum."

"Similitudinis partes deinceps explicantur, et quidem disjuncte vel continuè.

"Similitudo disjuncta est, quando termini" sive res "quatuor reipsa distinguuntur," i. e. quando duo termini sive res distinctæ in propositione comparantur duobus terminis sive rebus distinctis in redditione. Occurrit autem hæc forma et cum notis et sine notis. Notæ sunt, "qualis, talis;" illa propositionis, hæc redditionis nota est. Ita "quemadmodum, ut, sicut," propositionis; quibus respondent, "sic, eodem modo, similiter," redditionis. Ecl. 5,

> "Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,
> Quale sopor fessis in gramine."

Carmen ad auditorem, ut sopor ad fessum, termini quatuor distincta sunt. Ad Frat. 1, "Quemadmodum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic sapientissimi viri fortunæ impetum persæpe superare non possunt." Hic quatuor sunt item termini, ut gubernator ad tempestatem, sic sapiens ad fortunam. 1 Trist.

> "Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum,
> Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides."

Cicero 2 Phil. "Sed nimirum ut quidam morbo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt; sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi, veræ laudis gustum non habent." In vita Virgil.

> "Hos ergo versiculos, feci, tulit alter honores:
> Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves:
> Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes:" &c.

In hoc exemplo redditio sine nota præcedit. Particula autem "sic," quæ nota solet esse redditionis, hîc propositioni attribuitur.

"Aliquando nulla prorsus est nota." Virg. Ecloga 2,

> "O formose puer, nimium ne crede colori.
> Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur."

"Continua similitudo est, quando est ut primus terminus ad secundum, ita secundus ad tertium." Leg. 3. "Ut magistratibus leges, ita populo præsunt magistratus." Hîc termini sunt tres; lex, magistratus, populus. Sed medius bis adhibetur, et in omni proportione continua continuatur; estque posterior terminus propositionis, prior redditionis. In omni enim proportione termini esse debent ad minimum quatuor. Ordo hujus sic est: ut leges magistratibus, ita magistratus populo præsunt.

Quanquam autem similia magis ad illustrandum quàm ad probandum accommodata sunt, et Plato in Phædone, "Ego," inquit, "sermones qui ex similibus demonstrationes sumunt, probè novi ad ostentationem comparatos esse; et nisi quis caveat ab iis, facile im-

ponunt," quod ad regulas tamen consequentiarum attinet, ex definitione similium perspicitur, similium similem esse rationem; valere igitur similia in utramque partem. Unde Aristot. Top. 24, "Quod in aliquo simili valet, in aliis quoque similibus valebit; et quod non in aliquo, nec in cæteris."

Quoniam autem similitudo non solùm est propositionis et redditionis, sed terminorum etiam inter se. Idcirco si quædam similia sunt, inversè quoque similia erunt, et alternè. Et inversè quidem duobus modis; inversione scilicet vel propositionis et redditionis quæ aliorum comparatorum communis est; vel terminorum, quæ videtur similium propria. Exempli gratia; ut gubernator ad tempestatem, sic sapiens ad fortunam: inversè ergo; ut sapiens ad fortunam, sic gubernator ad tempestatem. Hæc propositionis et redditionis inversio est. Rursus, ut tempestas ad gubernatorem, sic fortuna ad sapientem: hæc inversio est terminorum. Alternatio est quando antecedens propositionis antecedenti redditionis et consequens consequenti comparatur. Regula ergo hîc est; si quædam similia fuerint, alternè similia erunt. Ut gubernator ad tempestatem, sic sapiens ad fortunam: ergo, alternè; ut gubernator ad sapientem, sic tempestas ad fortunam. Inversionum hujusmodi et alternationum in mathematicis proportionibus usus maximus est: sed proportio non mathematica solùm, verùm etiam logica est, ut supradiximus, rerum omnium communis; ejus ergo regulæ non erant hîc omittendæ.

Ficta similitudo parem vim habet superioribus illis, sed præcipuè in hac explicata similitudine Æsopici apologi excellunt.

Horat. 1 Epist.

> "Quod si me populus Romanus fortè roget, cur
> Non ut porticibus, sic judiciis fruar iisdem?
> Nec sequar aut fugiam quæ deligit ipse vel odit?
> Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
> Respondit, referam; quia me vestigia terrent
> Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum."

Huc etiam refertur parabola Socratica vulga dicta: quæ est inductio similium interrogationib. ferè constans. "Illa autem," inquit Fabius, "hanc habuit vim; ut cùm plura interrogasset Socrates, quæ fateri adversario necesse esset, novissime id, de quo quærebatur, inferret, cui simile adversarius concessisset." Vide pag. 882, ad *.

CAP. XXII.

De Similibus.

HACTENUS similia, quorum qualitas est eadem. "Dissimilia sunt comparata, quorum qualitas est diversa."

Contrariorum enim eadem scientia est. Et Cic. in Top. "ejusdem est," inquit, "dissimile et simile invenire." In hoc differunt dissimilia à diversis, quod dissimilitudo sit differentia comparata, et non idem, eodem saltem tempore, sed diversis plerumque subjectis attribuatur. Itaque diversorum uno negato, alterum affirmatur; dissimilia, sive diversa sive opposita, simul affirmari aut negari possunt. Diversa autem qualitas est non eadem; sive diversa sit sive opposita: quasi dicas dissimilium dissimilis est ratio. Argumentum igitur dissimilitudinis est quando dissimile arguitur à dissimili.

Contractæ dissimilitudinis notæ sunt "dissimile, dispar, differens, aliud, secus:" Pro Planc. "Dissimilis est debitio pecuniæ et gratiæ." Ennius: "O domus antiqua, heu quàm dispari dominare domino." Dispar autem est non impar, sed dissimilis. Cæsar 1 Bell. Gal. "Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt." 2 Agrar. "Alio vultu, alio vocis sono, alio incessu esse meditabatur." Cic. 2 Nat. "Quoniam cœpi secus agere, atque initio dixeram."

Dissimilitudinis notæ etiam sunt per negationem similium, "ut non similis, non talis, non idem, non tanquam," &c. 3 de Orat. "Non est philosophia similis artium reliquarum." 2 Eneid.

> "At non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles,
> Talis in hoste fuit Priamo."———

Horat. 1 Epist. "Non eadem est ætas, non mens." 1 ad Frat. "Sit annulus tuus, non tanquam vas aliquod, sed tanquam ipse tu." Hoc argumento pastor ille errorem suum confitetur. Eclog. 1,

> "Urbem (quam dicunt Romam) Melibœe, putavi,
> Stultus ego huic nostræ similem."———

Et mox,

> "Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hœdos
> Noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam."

Ut nec canibus catuli, nec matribus hœdi, sic nec Mantua Romæ similis est. In hoc exemplo erroris confessio pro negatione similium est.

Explicata dissimilitudo itidem cum notis est vel sine notis. Notæ sunt hic etiam negationes similium. 3 Philip. "Certus dies non ut sacrificii sic consilii expectari solet."

"Nota plerumque nulla est, cum dissimilitudo plenius explicatur."

Quintil. l. 5, c. 11, "Brutus occidit liberos proditionem molientes. Manlius virtutem filii morte mulctavit."

Catullus.

> "Soles occidere et redire possunt:
> Nobis cùm semel occidit brevis lux,
> Nox est perpetua una dormienda."

Dissimilitudo est dici et vitæ nostræ. Redditio est vitam semel amissam non restitui. Illustratur à dissimili, quæ propositio est, soles occidere et redire possunt.

CAP. XXIII.

De Conjugatis.

HACTENUS prima argumenta sunt exposita: quorum tria genera fuere; consentanea, dissentanea, et comparata.

Sequuntur "orta de primis; quæ ad id quod arguunt perinde sunt ut prima unde oriuntur: ut conjugata et notatio, distributio et definitio."

In se itaque habent vim arguendi ut argumenta artificialia, et eandem quidem cum iis unde oriuntur: non autem à se, quia non prima, ut in capite secundo jam dictum est. Definitionem autem vix aliam requirunt præter ipsum nomen, quod naturam eorum satis per se explicat: unde illud consectarium, "Orta argumenta perinde esse ad id quod arguunt, ut sunt prima unde oriuntur."

Quatuor hæ species ortorum, in duo genera, anonyma licet, distinguuntur, cùm propter dichotomiæ studium, tum quia conjugata et notatio sub eodem genere continentur, propter illam quæ inter ea intercedit communionem. Cicero itaque in Top. locum ex conjugatis notationi finitimum esse dixit. Et in multis exemplis conjugata à notatione et nomine nihil aut parum differunt. Communio autem illa duplex est: primò quòd sunt argumenta nominalia sive à nomine petita. Sed in hoc differunt, ut etiam tradit Boet. l. 4, in Top. Cic., quod notatio expositione nominis, conjugatio similitudine vocabuli ac derivatione perficitur. Neque idcirco ad grammaticam pertinent: ex vi enim nominum argumenta petere, logici est, non grammatici. Secunda communio est, quòd sunt orta simplicia: neque enim ex pluribus primis simul conjunctis, sed ex uno aliquo argumento primo singula eorum exempla oriuntur, nisi in nominibus compositis: compositorum enim nominum composita interdum ex pluribus argumentis notatio est. Distributio autem et definitio sunt argumenta realia, i. e. in rerum explicatione versari solent, et composita, i. e. ex pluribus argumentis primis simul conjunctis originem suam trahunt. Si ergo ortorum genera, quæ anonyma esse diximus, nominibus distinguere lubet, orta erunt vel nominalia et simplicia, ut conjugata et notatio, vel realia et composita, ut distributio et definitio: nisi hoc fortè excipiamus, quod definitio ex uno primo, i. e. ex sola forma nonnunquam constare potest. Ex his autem duobus generibus prius tractandum est illud cui conjugata et notatio subjiciuntur, quia ferè simplicius est. Atque in hoc genere conjugata priorem sibi locum vendicant, quod ex solis consentaneis oriantur, cùm notatio ex quovis argumento primo petatur. Fabius l. 5, c. 10, conjugata nihili facit: Aristoteles autem et Cicero in Topicis suis aliter sentiunt; quorum ille l. 3, c. 4, et l. 7, c. 2, locos ex dissentaneis, conjugatis et casibus plurimum ait valere; et ad plurima esse utiles.

"Conjugata sunt nomina ab eodem principio variè deducta. Ut justitia, justus, justè." Aristoteles et Cicero conjugata, ille, nomina ejusdem conjugationis; hic, ejusdem generis esse definiunt: sed neque ille quasi jugum ipsum conjugatorum, neque hic genus, neque noster principium ipsum sive originem et thema conjugatorum numero excludit. Conjugata autem sunt omnia non solùm nomina tam substantiva quàm adjectiva, sed etiam verba, et, quæ Aristoteles casus vocat, adverbia, cùm paronyma, i. e. derivata, tum ipsa themata, servatis tamen istis conditionibus. 1. Si ut idem sonant, sic idem etiam significant. 2. Si in eadem significationis ratione sumantur. Nam si unum significat potentiam sive facultatem aut habitum, alterum verò actum, et ex potentia sive habitu arguatur actus, aut contra, captio est. 3. Si in iis symbolum sit consentaneorum argumentorum, i. e. si à consentaneis orta sunt: quorum vim et affectionem in arguendo aliis nominibus iisque conjugatis referant: quorum etiam ad inventionem nominalis hujusque conjugationis indicio ducamur: unde elucet non contemnendus hujus loci usus, præsertim in definitionibus.

Sequuntur exempla; ut justitia, justus, justè. Cujusmodi in exemplis observandum est, abstractum quod vocant, causam esse concreti, et concretum adverbii. Ut justitia est causa, cur aliquis sit justus: et quia justus est, idcirco justè agit. Quod tamen non est ubique verum: sanum enim, i. e. quod efficit aut conservat sanitatem, causa est sanitatis, concretum scilicet abstracti, ut notat Aristot. top. 2, 3, Propert. lib. 2,

> "Libertas quoniam nulli jam restat amanti,
> Nullus liber erit, siquis amare velit."

Hîc libertas, quæ causa est cur sis liber, quia non restat, ergo nullus, &c. Cicero 3, de Nat. Deor. cùm de Dionysio tyranno loquitur: "Jam mensas argenteas de omnibus delubris jussit auferri, in quibus quòd more veteris Græciæ inscriptum esset bonorum deorum, uti eorum bonitate velle se dicebat: dii boni sunt: eorum igitur bonitate est utendum." Hîc ex effectis ad causas est disputatum; ut vult Ramus: ut mihi quidem videtur à causis ad effecta. Terent. "Homo sum, humani à me nihil alienum puto." Ex subjecto est ad adjunctum. In Pison. "Cum esset omnis illa causa consularis et senatoria, auxilio mihi opus fuerat et consulis et senatus." Ex adjunctis est ad subjectum. Phil. 2, "Non tractabo ut consulem, ne ille quidem me ut consularem." Ex effecto est ad causam: nam esse consulem causa est ut quis postea sit consularis: unde sic arguitur; non agnoscit is in me effectum, non agnoscam ergo in eo causam. Notandum est nonnulla sensu duntaxat, non sono esse conjugata: ut "somnus, dormiens; morbus, æger."

CAP. XXIV.

De Notatione.

"NOTATIO est nominis interpretatio," i. e. reddita ratio cur quidvis ita nominatum sit. Definitio autem hæc est "Boëthii, l. 1, in Cic. Top. Notatio inquit Cic. in Top. Græcis etymologia dicitur," i. e. verbum ex verbo veroloquium: "nos autem novitatem verbi non satis apti fugientes, genus hoc notationem appellamus, quia sunt verba rerum notæ." Hæc ille. Ex iis igitur quæ supradicta sunt, intelligi potest, notationem esse argumentum ortum adeòque symbolum alicujus primi; esse nominale, i. e. ut Cicero loquitur, argumentum ex vi nominis elicitum.

"Quippe nomina sunt notæ rerum et cujuslibet nominis vel derivati vel compositi, siquidem notatione

vera nomen inditum fuit, ratio reddi potest ex aliquo argumento primo."

"Ut homo ab humo." Hæc à materia est notatio. Sed linguæ, cùm prima illa quam Adamus in Edene, tum illæ variæ atque à prima fortassis ortæ, quas conditores turris Babelicæ subito acceperunt, divinitus proculdubio datæ sunt; unde vocum primitivarum ratio si ignoretur, mirum non est: quæ autem voces derivatæ sunt aut compositæ, vel earum origines ex aliis linguis antiquis jamque obsoletis petendæ sunt, vel ipsæ vetustate aut infimæ plebis inquinata fere pronuntiatione ita immutatæ, mendose etiam scribendi consuetudine ita quasi obliteratæ, ut vera vocum notatio raro admodum teneatur. Unde argumentum à notatione, nisi ea fortè manifestissima sit, fallax admodum et sæpe ludicrum est.

Nunc reliqua exempla videamus. Ovid. 6 Fast.

"Stat vi terra sua; vi stando Vesta vocatur."

Terra dicitur Vesta ab effecto suo naturali, propterea quod vi sua stat.

"At locus à flammis et quod fovet omnia dictus."

Ex effectis est notatio. Item Verr. 4, "O verrea præclara! Quo enim accessisti, quo non attuleris tecum istum diem? Etenim quam tu domum, quam urbem adiisti, quod fanum denique, quod non eversum atque extersum reliqueris? Quare appellantur sanè ista Verrea, quæ non ex nomine, sed ex moribus naturaque tua constituta esse videantur." Ex effectis item est notatio. Ovid. 1 Fast.

"Prima dies tibi, Carna, datur, dea cardinis hæc est.
Numine clausa aperit, claudit aperta suo."

Notatio hæc è subjecto est, cardine scilicet, in quo versando dea illa exercebatur. Hinc illa cavillatio in Antonium generum: "Tuæ conjugis, bonæ fœminæ, locupletis quidem certè, Bambalio quidem pater, homo nullo numero, nihil illo contemptius; qui propter hæsitantiam linguæ stuporemque cordis, cognomen ex contumelia traxerit." Ex adjunctis est notatio hæc Bambalionis, quia balbus et stupidus. E dissentaneis autem sunt illa apud Quintil. l. 1, c. 6. "Lucus, quia umbra opacus parum luceat: et ludus, quia sit longissimè à lusu: et dis quia minimè dives." Est etiam è comparatis notatio pyropi, quòd ignis quondam speciem præbeat.

Atque hactenus de notatione: nunc aliquid de nomine adjiciendum est. "Est enim ut notationi ad suum nomen, sic nomini ad notationem sua affectio:" Hoc est, ut notatio arguit nomen, sic nomen vicissim arguit notationem. Ut animi plenus, ergo animosus; et contrà, animosus, ergo animi plenus. Nam et nomen quoque ortum argumentum est; ex quo autem fonte oriatur, notatio declarat. Hæc autem appendicule de nomine idcirco est adjecta, quia cum alia argumenta inter se affecta, quot quidem eodem nomine ac definitione non sunt comprehensa, sua seorsum capita sibi habuerint, et tantillum esset quod de nomine dicendum erat, non videbatur caput novum ob id esse instituendum. In hoc igitur capite duo loci inventionis continentur, notationis et nominis: inter quos si comparatio fiat, potior videtur nominis. Unde tota hæc categoria ab Aristotele "locus à nomine" dicitur. Sæpiusque et firmius à nomine quàm à notatione argumentum ducitur; ut homo est, ergo ex humo; focus est, ergo fovet. At non eadem vi argumentum à notatione deducitur; ex humo est, homo igitur; fovet omnia, ergo focus est.

CAP. XXV.

De Distributione.

Reliquum est ex ortis aliunde argumentis argumentum distributionis et definitionis.

"In qua utraque affectio reciprocationis est, illic partium omnium cum toto, hic definitionis cum definito."

Reciprocatio autem hoc loco est qua prorsus idem, eademque, ut ita dicam, essentia utrinque significatur: nam partes omnes simul sumptæ, i. e. rite compositæ, idem sunt quod totum, et definitio idem, quod definitum; quod de nullo præterea genere argumentorum dici potest. Unde nascitur hæc regula utrique huic argumento communis, ut in distributione ac definitione "nequid desit, nequid redundet:" nam ubi reciprocatio, ibi quoque æqualitas requiritur. Hinc eximia illa distributionis et definitionis laus effloruit; ex iis nempe artium institutiones maxima ex parte constare. Cùm n. omnia artium præcepta constare debeant ex argumentis reciprocis, reciprocatio autem nusquam alibi reperiatur nisi inter formam (quæ ipsa in definitionibus comprehendi solet) et formatum, inter subjectum et proprium adjunctum; hinc factum est ut præcepta omnia vel definitiones sint vel distributiones vel regulæ quædam sive consectaria, quæ proprietatum explicationes dicuntur.

"Distributio est, cum totum in partes distribuitur.
Totum est, quod continet partes.
Pars est, quæ continetur à toto."

Totum logicè et generaliter dicitur, quicquid quocunque modo distribuitur et partes continet: pars, quæ quocunque modo continetur à toto.

"Atque ut distinctio totius in partes, distributio; sic collectio partium ad constituendum totum, inductio dicitur."

Inter hanc autem inductionem et distributionem nullum aliud discrimen est, nisi quod distributio à toto ad partes, hæc verò à partibus ad totum progreditur. Quamobrem, ut supra nomen ad notationem, ita hic inductio ad distributionem referenda est; non ad syllogismos, ut plerique volunt; cùm non alio modo ab inductione argumentemur atque à distributione: siquidem eadem est via Thebis Athenas quæ Athenis Thebas. Inductionis autem auctorem Aristoteles agnoscit Socratem; ejusque necessitatem tantam esse testatur, ut, cùm scientia universalium sit, universalia cognoscere nequeamus nisi per inductionem. Inductionis ergo ope

præcepta artium inventa sunt; ut in proœmio monuimus.

"Distributio sumitur ex argumentis toti quidem consentaneis, inter se autem dissentaneis."

Sed dissensio illa non est distributionis dissensio (nunquam n. dissentaneum in dissentaneum distribuitur) sed partium distributarum.

"Itaque tanto accuratior erit distributio, quanto partium et cum toto consensio et inter se dissensio major fuerit."

Hinc efficitur, eam distributionem accuratissimam esse, quæ in duas partes fit; eaque "dichotomia" dicitur: dissensio enim inter duo maxima est; contrariorum unum uni tantum opponitur. Platonis itaque regula est: "oportet in quàm proximum fieri potest numerum semper dividere." Quod si dichotomiam invenire non queamus, difficile n. est eam semper invenire, species bisbinas ponere interdum præstat, quasi sub duobus generibus, licet anonymis, quàm quatuor sub uno. Hæc n. distributionis forma, licet non sit optima, est tamen optimæ proxima. Hac ratione suprà cap. 3, Ramus divisit causas in duo genera anonyma, nempe "efficientem et materiàm, aut formam et finem." Eff. Ubi autem dichotomia nullo modo commodè adhiberi potest, "multis protinus differentiis res dividenda est," ut Aristoteles monet. Neque enim propter dichotomiæ studium distributio vel mutilanda vel implicanda aut confundenda est.

CAP. XXVI.

De Distributione ex Causis.

"Distributio prima est ex absolutè consentaneis, causis nempe et effectis. Distributio ex causis est, quando partes sunt causæ totius."

"Hîc distributio integri in sua membra præcipuè laudatur."

"Integrum est totum, cui partes sunt essentiales," i. e. quod partibus totam suam essentiam complectentibus constituitur; ideòque symbolum est effecti ex materia per formam existentis.

"Membrum est pars integri."

Nimirum integro suo essentialis. Sive ut Aristot. Phil. 8, 15, "Membra sunt ex quibus integrum componitur." Et membra quidem symbola sunt causarum essentialium, materiæ nimirum et formæ, in quibus tota integri essentia consistit: singula n. membra materiam continent; cuncta simul, ipsam quoque formam. "Sic grammatica in etymologiam et syntaxin; rhetorica in elocutionem et actionem; logica in inventionem et dispositionem argumentorum dividitur. Ab his n. partib. artes illæ constituuntur;" non tanquam ex causis, sed tanquam ex causarum symbolis. Cùm enim essentia dialecticæ partim communis sit materia scilicet, i. e. præcepta, et forma etiam nempe methodica illorum præceptorum dispositio; partim propria, quæ in bene disserendo posita est, tota hæc dialecticæ essentia in inventione et dispositione comprehenditur. Nec tamen partes istæ sunt ipsa materia, i. e. præcepta, nec ipsa forma communis, i. e. methodica præceptorum dispositio, nec propria, i. e. ipsa facultate disserendi; sed ex præceptis methodicè dispositis conflatæ sunt, et ipsa facultas disserendi inventionis et dispositionis finibus continetur.

Quæ sequuntur apud authorem nostrum exempla duo, alterum ex Virgilio, Georg. 1, alterum ex Cicerone pro Muræna, objectis utraque distinguuntur, non causis; ideòque ad cap. 28, ad distributionem nempe è subjectis, ad quam etiam præmissa illa annotatio de usu pertinet.

"Quinetiam aliter tractatur hoc argumenti genus, vel à partibus ad totum, vel à toto ad partes."

Hac de re Aristoteles Top. 6, 6, regulas quasdam tradit. Primo à partibus: "affirmatis partibus cunctis, affirmatur totum:" et contrà; "sublatis partibus cunctis, tolli totum." Item ab una parte: "una parte sublata, totum tolli." Secundo à toto ad partes: "toto affirmato, affirmantur partes." Verùm hæc omnia ex illa reciprocationis regula superioris capitis initio tradita satis intelliguntur. Nam quæ reciprocantur, eorum alterum ex altero vicissim et necessariò affirmatè et negatè concluditur. Hoc verò, ut Aristoteles etiam notavit, non sequitur; sublato integro, partes tolluntur.

Utriusque generis (nempe affirmationis et negationis à partibus ad totum) exemplum habemus apud Catullum.

"Quintia formosa est multis: mihi candida, longa,
Recta est: hæc ego sic singula confiteor:
Totum illud, formosa, nego. Nam nulla venustas,
Nulla in tam magno est corpore mica salis.
Lesbia formosa est: quæ cùm pulcherrima tota est,
Tum omnibus una omnes surripuit veneres."

Est et alia distributio ex causis et meritò quidem imperfectior dicta, cum non tam ipsius rei quàm ejus causarum distributio sit: ut ab efficiente, testimonium est divinum vel humanum. Sic statuæ veteres aliæ factæ erant à Phydia, aliæ à Polycleto, &c. Distributio hæc quædam est totius in partes; ubi tamen non tam partes ipsæ ponuntur quàm pro iis earum efficientis, quibus inter se distinguuntur. Sic statuæ aliæ erant aureæ, aliæ argenteæ, aliæ æneæ, aliæ eburneæ, &c. distributio est ex materia. Aliæ ad hominum, aliæ ad brutorum effigiem factæ; est distributio à forma externa. Aliæ factæ sunt ad usum religiosum, aliæ ad civilem; est distributio à fine.

CAP. XXVII.

De Distributione ex Effectis, ubi de Genere et Specie.

"Distributio ex effectis est, quando partes sunt effecta.

Distributio generis in species hic excellit."

Nonnulli ex Cicerone distributionem integri in membra "partitionem" vocant; generis in species "divi-

sionem." Nec de nihilo sanè: membra enim copulari, species disjungi solent.

"Genus est totum partibus essentiale."

In quo contrarium est integro: illic enim toti partes, hic totum partibus est essentiale: unde constat, illam ex causis, hanc ex effectis distributionem rectè dici. Genus autem "est totum partibus essentiale," quia illam essentiam nempe materiam et formam, quæ speciebus omnibus æquè communis est, significatione sua complectitur: vel brevius, quia symbolum est communis essentiæ. Neque enim genus propriè essentiam speciebus communicat (cùm in se extra species revera nihil sit) sed earum duntaxat essentiam significet. Quod enim essentiale est et speciebus omnibus commune, ejus notio genus dicitur. Et idœa sæpe à Græcis, non separata quidem à rebus illa, ut volunt Platonica, quæ nugæ sunt, teste Aristot. Phil. 1, 7, et v. 5. Sed quod cogitatione et ratione unum et idem est specieb. multis commune in quibus re et natura est singulatim, ut Plato in Menone. Stoici etiam Idœas, ut refert Plut. de Placit. 1, 10, nostras notiones esse dixerunt.

"Species est pars generis."

Sic etiam Aristoteles, Phil. 8, 25. Et Cicero Invent. 1, "Pars quæ generi subest." Ex definitione autem generis intelligimus speciem ejusmodi partem esse cujus essentia communis in generis significatione contineatur. Propriam autem essentiam species, per quam est id quod est, à propria forma habet, quæ generis significatione minime continetur." Sic etiam Aristot. Phil. ζ, 12, "Genus non videtur particeps esse differentiarum: simul n. contrariorum idem particeps esset; differentiæ n. contrariæ sunt." Unde illud; plus est in specie quam in genere: et illud Porphyrii; "differentia est qua species superat genus." Tota igitur generis essentia singulis æqualiter inest speciebus; at tota essentia speciei non est in genere, nisi potentia, ut inquit Porphyrius. Hinc ut species est pars generis, ita genus pars esse speciei quodammodo videtur: quod et Plato in Politico notavit. Sic animal genus hominis et bestiæ dicimus. Animal enim est totum, cujus essentia, nempe corporea, animata, sentiens, ad hominem et bestiam communiter attinet. Sic dicimus hominem et bestiam species animalis; quia partes sunt animali subjectæ, quæ animalis essentiam communem habent.

"Genus est generalissimum aut subalternum.

Species subalterna aut specialissima.

Genus generalissimum, cujus nullum est genus."

Ut in logica inventione argumentum est genus generalissimum artificialium et inartificialium.

"Subalternum genus, ut subalterna item species, quod species hujus, illius autem genus est."

Id est, quod nunc genus est, nunc species: genus, si ad species sibi subjectas referatur; species, si ad suum genus.

Sic causa, genus est materiæ et formæ; species, argumenti absolutè consentanei. Sic homo est genus subalternum, sive species subalterna: species quidem, si ad animal referas; genus, si ad singulos homines.

"Species specialissima est, quà individua est in species alias."

Ut materia et forma quæque singularis. Sic homines singuli sunt species specialissimæ hominis, et singuli leones leonis.

Logicorum quidem pars maxima hominem speciem specialissimam, singulos homines individua vocant, non species. Verum ut animal est totum cujus essentia communis, nempe corporea, animata, sentiens, ad hominem et bestiam communiter attinet; sic homo est totum, cujus communis essentia rationalis communiter ad singulos attinet homines; atque ut homo et bestia species sunt animalis, quia partes sunt animali subjectæ, quæ animalis essentiam communem habent; ita singuli homines species sunt hominis, quia partes sunt homini subjectæ, quæ hominis essentiam communem habent: ergo homo non minus est singulorum hominum genus quàm animal hominis; homines singuli non minus sunt hominis species quàm homo animalis. Singuli enim homines propria forma differunt: quæ autem forma differunt propria, differunt et specie; teste Aristot. Phys. 1, 7. Deinde, quicquid differt, aut genere differt aut specie; teste eodem Aristot. Phil. 10, 3. Differre autem genere singulos homines nemo dixerit; differunt ergo specie. Nam quod aiunt hominem esse speciem singulorum hominum, id planè absurdum est: species enim pars est ejus cujus est species; ut ex ejus definitione constat: genus porrò et species cum relata sint, genus utique erit speciei genus; species, generis erit species. Si igitur homo, ut vulgò volunt, est species singulorum hominum; singuli homines erunt genus hominis; quod nimis absurdum est. At inquiunt singuli homines numero tantum differunt, non forma. Verum quæ numero differunt, forma quoque differre, jam supra capite de forma satis ostendimus; etsi formæ cujusque propriæ differentia nobis non nisi per externa quædam effecta, et accidentia, quæ vocant, dignosci potest. Deinde, singuli homines inter se disparantur, ergo opponuntur: quæ autem inter se opponuntur, eorum eadem forma esse non potest; forma ergo differunt non numero tantum. Itaque apud Laertium, in Zenone, stoici docent, Socratem esse speciem specialissimam. Immo Aristot. de Part. 1, 4, Socratem et Coriscum species infimas vocat. Sic jurisconsulti, hominem genus appellant; Stichum et Pamphilum species.

"Genus verò et species notæ sunt causarum et effectorum."

In animali n. est essentia corporea, quæ materia est ad species communiter attinens: tum facultas vitæ et sensus, quæ forma item communiter ad species spectat. Quare "genus continet causas, quæ communiter ad ipsius species attinent: contra itaque etiam species effecta generis sui continent."

"Hinc universale est insigne ac præstabile: quia causam declarat."

Idem ait Aristot. Poster. 1, 24.

"Distributio generis in species valdè quidem excellit, sed difficilis est et rara inventu."

Excellit quidem quia quicquid in artibus ex causis et effectis sumitur, id totum fere generis et speciei notionibus comprehenditur: difficilis est, cùm quia formæ, unde species oriuntur, difficiles itidem inventu sunt;

tum etiam propter vocum penuriam, quibus genera et species apte nominentur.

Attamen illustrationis et exempli gratia afferemus quod poterimus. Ovidius 1 Metam. dividit animal in quinque species, stellas, aves, bestias, pisces, homines: stellis animam tribuens, ut etiam quidam philosophi tribuerunt.

> "Neu regio foret ulla suis animalibus orba,
> Astra tenent cœleste solum formeque deorum," &c.

Sic Cic. Offic. 1, virtutem dividit in species quatuor, prudentiam, justitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam; quæ tamen ipsæ non ponuntur in distributione, sed, quod idem est, earum formæ. "Sed omne quod honestum est, id quatuor partium oritur ex aliqua: aut enim in perspicentia veri solertiaque versatur, aut in societate hominum tuenda, tribuendoque suum unicuique, et rerum contractarum fide; aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore; aut in omnibus quæ fiunt, quæque dicuntur, ordine et modo, in quo inest modestia et temperantia."

Hæc quidem, ut dixi, est "distributio generis in specierum formas;" quæ perinde est ac si in ipsa species esset; "quia forma cum genere constituunt suas species."

"Genus et species non solum tractantur hac simplici divisionis formula, sed etiam separatim alterum ex altero."

Hoc est, quod de toto genere, id de omnibus etiam speciebus rectè affirmatur. Sic Cicero, pro Archia, poëticam cum eloquentia comparans, quæ sunt species artis, cognatas esse ait inter se, quia idem de artibus in genere, humanioribus præsertim, affirmatur. "Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur."

"Contra genus tractatur per species."

Hoc est, quod de omnibus speciebus, id de genere quoque rectè affirmatur. Sic Ovidius probat, virtutem in rebus adversis clariorem esse, per inductionem specierum: quoniam scilicet virtus militis, nautæ, medici, rebus adversis spectatur, 4 Trist.

> "Hectora quis nosset, felix si Troia fuisset?
> Publica virtutis per mala facta via est:
> Ars tua, Tiphy, jacet, si non sit in æquore fluctus:
> Si valeant homines, ars tua, Phœbe, jacet.
> Quæ latet, inque bonis cessat non cognita rebus,
> Apparet virtus arguiturque malis."

Cùm itaque genus tractetur etiam per species, ut superiore regula docemur, et exempla specialia species eorum sint, quorum exempla sunt; hinc sequitur, "exempla speciali suo generi accommodata, hujus esse loci;" sive unum solum, sive per inductionem plura adhibeantur: specialia inquam, exempla enim vel similia sunt, quæ similia arguunt; vel specialia, quæ arguunt suum genus; qualia fuerunt in singulis argumentorum capitibus ex poëtis et oratoribus desumpta. Exemplorum autem specialium, non solum in artib. cùm inveniendis tum tradendis usus planè est necessarius (nam inductione exemplorum præcepta colliguntur, et eorum usu illustrantur) verùm etiam in omni sermone, quoties res lucem desiderat. Cujusmodi est illud Cic. ad Atticum: "Urbem tu relinquas? Ergo idem si Galli venirent. Non est, inquit, in parietibus respub. at in aris et focis: fecit idem Themistocles: fluctum enim totius barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat. At idem Pericles non fecit, annum ferè post quinquagesimum, quum præter mœnia nihil teneret: nostri olim, urbe reliqua capta, arcem tamen retinuerunt." Hic ab exemplo speciali in utramque partem disseritur. Themistocles deseruit Athenas; ergo urbem deserere licet. Pericles non deseruit Athenas; nec Romani Gallis venientibus Romam; ergo urbs non est deserenda. Quod si hoc modo argumentaretur, Themistocles urbem reliquit, ergo mihi licet; argumentum esset à simili: nam exempla, cùm ad alia specialia accommodantur, similia sunt vel dissimilia. Hujus autem loci ea demum sunt, quæ generi suo accommodantur.

Est et alia imperfectior distributio ex effectis, quando partes non sunt propriè effecta totius, sed ipsarum partium. Ut Cic. de Senect. "Nautarum alii malos scandunt, alii per foros cursitant, alii sentinam exhauriunt; gubernator autem clavum tenet in puppi." In hoc exemplo totum est nauta, quod est singulorum nautarum genus; partes, malum scandere, cursitare, &c. Quæ tamen nautæ ut totius sive generis partes sive species non sunt, sed specierum, i. e. singulorum nautarum effecta sive officia, quibus ipsæ species, i. e. singuli nautæ inter se distinguuntur. Verùm quanto hæc distributio imperfectior est, tanto est frequentior. Usus autem illius præcipuus est, ut perfectioris raritatem suppleat; cùm distributio generis in species, ut supradictum est, tam difficilis inventu sit.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Distributione è Subjectis.

"Reliqua distributio est modo quodam consentaneorum, ut subjectorum et adjunctorum. Distributio e subjectis est, cùm partes sunt subjecta." Id est quando veræ partes intellectæ subjectis distinguuntur vel adumbrantur.

Ut apud Catullum:

> "Virginitas non tota tua est: ex parte parentum est.
> Tertia pars matri data, pars data tertia patri:
> Tertia sola tua est: noli pugnare duobus,
> Qui genero sua jura simul cum dote dederunt."

Virginitas puellæ vel jus potius virginitatis in tres partes dividitur subjectis distinctas, matre, patre, et ipsa puella. Alterum exemplum ex cap. 26 huc transfertur, Virgil. 1 Georg. ubi poëta exorditur opus suum à divisione in quatuor partes, subjectis suis occupantibus distinctas, segetes, arbores, pecora, apes.

> "Quid faciat lætas segetes, quo sidere terram
> Vertere, Mæcenas, ulmisque adjungere vites
> Conveniat: quæ cura boum, qui cultus habendo

Sit pecori, atque apibus quanta experientia parcis,
Hinc canere incipiam."——

Tertium exemplum ex eodem etiam capite huc transfertur. Cic. pro Muræna: "Intelligo, judices, tres totius accusationis partes fuisse: et earum unam in reprehensione vitæ, alteram in contentione dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitûs esse versatam." Hic tota accusatio in tria membra distribuitur, subjectis suis occupantibus distincta: atque in his tribus exemplis totum est integrum. Quartum exemplum est generis in species ex Cic. 5 Tuscul. "Sint sanè illa tria genera bonorum, dum corporis et externa jaceant humi, et tantummodo quia sumenda sunt, appellentur bona. Alia autem, divina illa, longè latèque se pandant, cœlumque contingant." Hic Cicero bona in tres species, quas ille genera vocat, dividit, subjectis suis distinctas; nempe animi, corporis, et fortunæ.

CAP. XXIX.

De Distributione ex Adjunctis.

"Distributio ex adjunctis est, quando partes sunt adjuncta."

Ut hominum alii sani, alii ægri: alii divites, alii pauperes.

Sic Virgil. 1 Georg. mundum dividit in quinque partes; mediam torridam, duas extremas frigidas, et reliquas duas temperatas:

"Quinque tenent cœlum zonæ, quarum una corusco
Semper sole rubens, et torrida semper ab igni, &c."

Cæsar 1 Belli Gall. "Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes· quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui, ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli, appellantur.

In distributionibus hujusmodi imperfectis advertendum est id quod videtur distribui. Nam si id totius rationem habet, integri vel generis, distributio est; si non habet rationem totius, sed simplex aliquod argumentum est, ut causa, effectum, subjectum, adjunctum, non est distributio sed enumeratio potius, vel causarum plurium ejusdem effecti, vel effectorum plurium ejusdem causæ, vel subjectorum plurium ejusdem adjuncti, vel denique adjunctorum plurium ejusdem subjecti. Hoc genere distributionis imperfecto argumenta sæpe quorum veræ species nullæ apparent, modis quibusdam distinguuntur, modos autem supra in adjunctis posuimus. Sic in causis, "procreans et conservans, modi" efficientis, "non species," dicuntur: quia non differunt inter se ut species per differentias oppositas, sed ita ut uni et eidem efficienti convenire queant; quandoquidem quæ causa procreat, eadem ferè conservat; potestque efficere idem vel solus, vel cum aliis; nonnulla vel per se, vel per accidens.

CAP. XXX.

De Definitione.

Definitio in tradendis artibus est usu quidem prior distributione (prius enim definitur unaquæque res quàm distribuitur) natura tamen et inveniendi ordine est posterior: genus enim, quo non adhibito, si quod sit, nulla definitio constitui potest, à distributione, qui proprius generis est locus, mutuum accipit.

"Definitio est, cum explicatur quid res sit."

Definitio vocatur, eo quòd rei cujusque essentiam definit, eamque suis quasi finibus circumscribit.

"Atque ut definitio arguit sive explicat definitum, sic vicissim à definito argui potest." Quæ quanquam argumentorum omnium affectio communis est arguere inter se vicissim et argui, hic tamen eandem ob causam facta mentio est definiti, ob quam in capite notationis facta est nominis; ne argumentorum numero excludi videatur, cùm neque ejusdem sit nominis cum definitione quam arguit, neque caput sibi peculiare obtineat; sicut alia argumentorum paria, quæ nominis ejusdem non sunt. Ad reciprocationem autem quod attinet, quæ definitioni cum distributione communis est, ea definitionis et definiti manifestissima est: logica enim est ars bene ratiocinandi; et vicissim, ars bene ratiocinandi est logica. Atque ad hunc modum omnis definitio, ut nonnulli rectè monuerunt, conversione examinanda est: unde Boëthius, Top. 5, "omnis definitio rei, quam definit, adæquatur."

"Definitio est perfecta aut imperfecta: illa propriè definitio, hæc descriptio dicitur."

"Definitio perfecta est, quæ constat è solis causis essentiam constituentibus." Redundat ergo in definitione perfecta quicquid præterea ponitur.

"Causæ autem illæ genere et forma comprehenduntur."

Genus enim et forma (quæ sunt quasi corpus et anima definitionis) totam rei essentiam constituunt. Non ita tamen necessariò requiritur in definitione perfecta genus, ut perfecta non sit nisi genus habeat: primùm enim, summorum generum, ut argumenti in logica inventione, genus nullum est; sed tota eorum essentia sub ipsa forma continetur; quæ etiam materiam iis convenientem complectitur; deinde fieri potest ut ipsæ causæ facilius occurrant quam earum symbolum genus. Itaque si ex ipsis causis definitio constat, perfecta erit; si ex genere, succinctior tantum. Genus autem proximum, non remotum, in definitione semper est ponendum: qui enim proximum ponit, remotiora etiam posuit; nisi proximum fortè anonymum sit; tum enim et quotiescunque generis, sive anonymum sit sive non, paulo ante facta mentio est, abesse genus in definitione, et rectè subintelligi potest: ut in hac ipsa definitionis definitione, genus remotum, nempe ortum argumentum; tum etiam proximum, nempe reale et compositum, subintelligitur. Quam autem hic formam in definitione appellamus, plerique differentiam vocant. Sed differentia formæ fructus est: et nisi in rerum collatione, quæ in definitione nulla est,

non apparet; et forma ipsa est unde præcipua rerum explicatio sumitur; præcipuum ergo in definitione locum habet.

Atque hoc modo definitur homo, animal rationale: nempe genere, "animal," intelligimus, ut dictum est, essentiam corpoream plenam vitæ et sensus, quæ materies hominis est, et pars formæ: cui si addas "rationale," totam formam hominis comprehendes, vitæ, sensus, rationis facultate.

Itaque "perfecta definitio nihil aliud est, quàm universale symbolum causarum essentiam rei et naturam constituentium."

Tales definitiones sunt artium. Grammatica est ars bene loquendi. Rhetorica bene dicendi. Logica bene ratiocinandi. Arithmetica bene numerandi. Geometria bene metiendi. Nam genere "ars" intelligimus præceptorum ordine dispositorum comprehensionem, quæ materies est cujusque artis et pars formæ, sive forma communis, cui si addas formam cujusque artis propriam (quæ finem quoque sub se comprehendit, ut dictum est cap. 8,) habes totam artis essentiam explicatam, quæ perfecta definitio est.

Ad regulas consequentiæ quod attinet, nempe à definitione ad definitum; et contrà, affirmatè vel negatè; hæc omnia reciprocatio, quæ distributionis quoque fuit, satis clarè suo loco exposuit.

CAP. XXXI.

De Descriptione.

Definitiones perfectæ propter causarum et præsertim formarum obscuritatem, difficiles inventu sunt: ad supplendam igitur earum raritatem, "descriptio" inventa est.

"Descriptio est definitio imperfecta, ex aliis etiam argumentis rem definiens." Id est, ex quibusvis aliis rem quoquo modo explicans.

Ubi itaque forma haberi non potest (nam genera ferè notiora sunt) proprietas loco formæ seu differentiæ accipienda est: ut, "angelus est substantia incorporea; equus est animal hinnibile," &c. Adjuncta sive accidentia, quæ vocantur (quia substantiæ solæ, ut inquit Aristot. l. 6, Metaph. c. 5, primariò definiuntur, accidentia secundariò tantum) propria quidem genere, subjecto, causaque proxima vel efficiente, vel finali, vel utraque definiuntur. Genere et subjecto solo; ut, "simitas est curvitas nasi:" subjecto et efficiente; ut, "tonitru est sonus fractæ nubis, ob ignem oppressum; quantitas continua est adjunctum corporis, ab extensione materiæ:" finali; ut, "sensus est facultas naturalis in animali, ad judicandum de singularibus:" vel utraque; ut, "respiratio est attractio et expulsio aëris reciproca à pulmonibus facta, ad cordis refrigerationem." Omittitur enim sæpe subjectum in definitione propriorum; quippe quòd ex genere vel ex causa intelligitur: ut, "memoria est sensus internus conservans imagines rerum cognitarum." Non dicitur "sensus internus animalis," addito nempe subjecto, quia id mentione "sensus" intelligitur. Potentiæ naturales actione sua et causa efficiente definiuntur: ut, "risibilitas est facultas ridendi, orta ab anima rationali." Habitus vel fine vel objecto quæ sæpe coincidunt definiuntur: fine; ut, "Logica est ars bene ratiocinandi:" objecto; ut, "Physica est scientia rerum naturalium." Qualitates patibiles definiuntur subjecto et efficiente: ut, "color est qualitas corporis mixti, orta ex contemperatione lucidi et opaci." Actiones ferè subjecto efficiente et fine definiuntur. Relationes relatis inter se et fundamento sive causa: ut, "paternitas est relatio patris ad filium, ex procreatione orta."

Adjuncta communia objecto, efficiente, finali, vel ex his quot sunt ex usu, definiuntur: ut, "albedo est color, ortus ex lucido opacum superante."

Illud modo generatim in descriptionibus cavendum, ne causa pro genere habeatur: ut cùm dubitatio describitur, æqualitas rationum; sanitas, symmetria humorum; dolor, solutio continui; eclipsis lunæ, interpositio terræ: aut subjectum; ut, ventus est aër motus; justitia est voluntas constans; vulnus est pars carnis dilacerata; peccatum originis est natura corrupta, et similia.

Cæterum in his certæ regulæ dari non possunt. Aliquando enim ex remoto solùm contrario fit descriptio: ut,

> "Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
> Stultitia caruisse."——Aliquando planè arbitraria est.

Hinc etsi unica rei definitio, plures tamen descriptiones esse possunt.

Ut autem definitio definito, quod suprà monuimus, ita etiam descriptio descripto vicissim argui potest. Verùm non affectio solùm hæc mutua inter descriptionem et rem descriptam intercedit, sed etiam reciprocatio; juxta communem illam distributionis ac definitionis regulam, suprà, cap. 25, traditam; qua descriptio quoque propria rei descriptæ et reciproca esse debet. Quamvis enim in descriptionibus multa sæpe congeruntur, quorum aliqua fortè latius patent, quàm id quod describitur, juncta tamen æquantur descripto descriptionemque propriam reddunt; sin minus, vitiosa atque inutilis descriptio censenda est. Ut, "homo est animal mortale, capax disciplinæ." Hic cum aliqua causa (materia scilicet et communi forma, quæ sub genere "animal" continetur) miscentur duæ circumstantiæ sive adjuncta, alterum commune, scilicet "mortale," alterum proprium, "capax disciplinæ." At quorsum, inquis, illud "mortale," cùm nullum animal non sit mortale? Quia nempe Aristot. cujus hæc descriptio est, Top. 5, 1, animalia quædam ait esse immortalia, Top. 4, 2, et in eodem capite, Deum ipsum ζῶον ἀθάνατον, i. e. "immortale animal," vocat.

"Sed hæc succincta brevitas non est in hac specie perpetua; quæ sæpe illustriorem et copiosiorem explicationem desiderat."

Succinctæ descriptiones, quæ perfectas æmulantur definitiones, usum habent præcipuè in artibus tradendis ac disputationibus. Prolixiores illæ, utpote ad aures

vulgi magis accommodatæ, apud oratores ac poëtas frequentiùs occurrunt.

Sic gloria describitur in Miloniana: "Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam: hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur; quæ efficeret, ut absentes, adessemus; mortui, viveremus: hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus etiam homines in cœlum videantur ascendere." Descriptio hæc gloriæ constat ex genere, "præmio" nempe "virtutis;" adjuncta amplitudine, eaque aucta à minore, quod sit omnium amplissima; quatuor deinde effecta ejus adjiciuntur.

Sic 4 Æneid. fama describitur:

"Extemplò Lybiæ magnas it fama per urbes,
Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius ullum;
Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo," &c.

Describitur fama, 1. à genere, "malum:" 2. ab adjuncta velocitate, quæ illustratur à majore negato, "quo non aliud velocius:" tum duplici effecto aliarum rerum dissimili, quòd

"Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo."

3. Ab adjuncta varietate, quæ ostenditur ex aliis adjunctis, quòd sit primò "parva," idque arguitur causa, scilicet "metu," et circumstantia temporis, "primò" nempe; tum subitò grandior facta incremento exigui temporis incredibili, idque ostenditur trib. effectis, quæ singula subjectis suis illustrantur,

——"Mox sese attollit in auras:
Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit."

4. A causa procreante, "illam terra parens,"——— mater scilicet gigantum; et efficiendi modo, consilio nempe sive impetu naturali, "ira irritata deorum," qui gigantes occiderant; causa autem procreans communis illustrata tempore adjuncto, et communi testimonio,

"Extremam, ut perhibent, Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit." Rursus illustratam ab adjunctis,
——"Pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,
Monstrum horrendum, ingens"——

Deinde à partibus corporis et membris, iisque paribus.

——"Cui quot sunt corpore plumæ,
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures."

Tum ab effectis nocturnis, iisque partim affirmatis quæ subjectis locis illustrantur,

"Nocte volat cœli medio, terræque per umbram
Stridens;" partim negatis, "nec dulci declinat lumina somno."

Tum diurnis, eaque illustrantur et subjectis locis, et adjuncto situ sedendi,

"Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti,
Turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes."

Ab adjunctis denique paribus;

"Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri."

Tales sunt descriptiones plantarum, animalium in physicis; item fluminum, montium, urbium apud Geographos et Historicos; personarum denique apud poëtas et oratores.

CAP. XXXII.

De Testimonio divino.

"Exposito artificiali argumento, sequitur inartificiale.

"Argumentum inartificiale est quod non sua natura, sed assumpta artificialis alicujus argumenti vi arguit.

"Id uno nomine testimonium dicitur." Nempe, ut inquit Cic. in Top. "quòd ab aliqua externa re sumitur ad faciendam fidem."

Inartificiale autem dicitur, non quòd artis ope et auxilio non inveniatur (siquidem de eo inveniendo, ut inquit Cicero, Partit. in arte præcipitur) sed quod ex se suaque natura artis hujus et facultatis arguendi expers sit. Potest etiam assumptum dici, quod assumpta vi arguit, non sua. Argumentum enim inartificiale naturam rei non attingit, nedum arguit, ut artificiale solet, neque rei affectio, sicut artificiale, est; sed est nuda cujuspiam aliqua de re attestatio, sive attestantis affirmatio aut negatio. Res autem neque propter affirmationem sunt, neque propter negationem non sunt: testimonium igitur ex se suaque natura non arguit; "sed assumpta artificialis alicujus argumenti vi." Vis autem hæc est testantis auctoritas, à qua omnis testimonii fides pendet. Auctoritas autem variis in argumentis consistit, sed in effectis testantis et in adjunctis præcipuè cernitur.

"Itaque cum exquisita rerum veritas" sive natura "subtiliùs exquiritur, perexiguam probationis vim testimonium habet."

Hinc Cic. 1 de Nat. "Non tam auctores," inquit, "in disputando, quàm rationum momenta quærenda sunt."

"In civilibus autem et humanis rebus," ubi de facto queritur, "plerumque hoc argumentum præcipuam fidem è moribus arguentis efficit, si prudentia, probitas, et benevolentia affuerint."

Horum unum aliquod si deest, vel per imprudentiam testis, vel propter improbitatem, vel inimicitiarum denique aut nimiæ gratiæ causa, falsum sæpe pro testimonio dicitur.

Testimonium est divinum vel humanum.

Et rectè quidem in species efficientibus suis causis distinctas dividitur. Ab efficientibus enim maximè testimonium suas vires assumit. Effectum itaque est, si ad testem spectas; testimonium, si ad rem testatam. Perexiguam autem vim probationis in exquisita veritate et natura rerum pervestiganda communiter tribui testimonio quod tam ad divinum quàm ad humanum pertinere videatur, id cur quempiam offendat, non video: testimonium enim sive divinum sit sive humanum, peræque vim omnem ab authore, nullam in se habet. Et

divinum quidem testimonium affirmat vel negat rem ita esse, facitque ut credam; non probat, non docet, non facit ut sciam aut intelligam cur ita sit, nisi rationes quoque adhibeat.

Testimonium divinum est quod Deum habet authorem.

In divinis testimoniis numerantur non solum deorum oracula, sed etiam responsa vatum et fatidicorum.

Vera hæc sint an ficta, veri numinis an falsi, logicus non laborat, sed quam modò vim arguendi unumquodque habeat. Itaque in civilib. etiam et humanis rebus testimonium divinum perinde vim probationis habet, ut ejus author verus est aut falsus deus.

Hujusmodi sunt ista Catilin. 3, "Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque cœli; ut fulminum jactus, ut terræ motus, cæteraque, quæ ita multa, nobis consulibus, facta sunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere dii immortales viderentur."

CAP. XXXIII.

De Testimonio humano.

Testimonium humanum est, quod authorem habet hominem.

"Estque commune aut proprium."

Distributio hæc proponitur, non ut accurata aliqua divisio (neque enim testimonio propria est) sed ut distinctio qualiscunque subalternarum specierum, ad quas inferiores species testimonii et exempla possint revocari. Atque, ut superior illa distinctio in divinum et humanum, ab efficiente quoque sumitur, qui fit persona publica sive communis, aut propria sive privata.

"Testimonium commune est, ut lex et illustris sententia."

Hæc enim duo exempla sunt potius quàm species; quibus adjungi potest fama; quam Cic. in Top. quoddam multitudinis testimonium appellat; alii, consensum civitatis et publicum testimonium vocant.

"Legis autem et non scriptæ et scriptæ testimonium est pro Milone: Est enim, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus; verùm ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus: ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus: ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, in tela, aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis." Et ibidem, "Quod si duodecim tabulæ nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici impunè voluerunt, quis est, qui," &c.

Restat illustris sententia; cujus generis sunt proverbia. Ut pares cum paribus facillime congregantur. Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna. Tum dicta sapientum: ut, Nosce teipsum. Ne quid nimis. Sponde, præsto est detrimentum. Quanquam enim hæc dicta singula à singulis fortasse auctoribus orta sunt, tamen quia omnium in ore versantur, quasi omnium fiunt, et ad commune testimonium rectè referuntur.

Proprium testimonium est: ut Platonis illud, 1 ad Q. fratrem: "Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii et doctrinæ, Plato, tum denique fore beatas respub. putavit, si aut docti et sapientes homines eas regere cœpissent, aut qui regerent, omne suum studium in doctrina ac sapientia collocassent."

Talia sunt in poetis. Æneid. 6.

> "Discite justitiam, moniti; et non temnere divos."

Sic Homericis illis versibus:

> *Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας.*
> *Στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.*
>
> Ajax autem ex Salamine duxit duodecim naves.
> Constituit verò ducens, ubi Atheniensium stabant phalanges.

Victi sunt in judicio Megarenses, quo contenderunt cum Atheniensibus de Salamine insula, utrique forte civitati æquè vicina.

Atque hæc veterum fuere et absentium testimonia, et ferè mortuorum; quæ de jure potissimum afferuntur.

Viventium et præsentium, quæ de facto plerunque testantur, non tantum sunt "cùm quæritur de fundo aut cæde et ejusmodi negotio aliquo, sed etiam obligationis, confessionis, jurisjurandi testimonia sunt."

Obligationis exemplum est Philipp. 5, "Promitto, recipio, spondeo, P. C. Cæsarem talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit, qualemque eum maximè velle et optare debemus."

Pignus etiam obligatio quædam est.

Ut apud Virgil. Ecl. 3.

> "Vis ergo inter nos quid possit uterque vicissim
> Experiamur? Ego hanc vitulam (ne forte recuses,
> Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fœtus)
> Depono: tu dic, mecum quo pignore certes."

"Confessio est vel libera, in qua cujusvis testimonium pro se levissimum contra se gravissimum censetur. Vel est expressa tormentis, quæ propriè quæstio dicitur."

Tale fuit argumentum contra Milonem, quòd à Cicerone deridetur: quia cruciatus non sæpius veritatem quàm mendacium exprimit atque extorquet. "Age verò, quæ erat aut qualis quæstio: heus, ubi Ruscio? ubi Casca? Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? Fecit; certa crux. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas."

Huc etiam referri potest argumentum, quo utimur cùm affirmationis nostræ approbationem et experientiam adversario proponimus.

Verr. 4. "Ecquis Volcatio, si sua sponte venisset, unam libellam dedisset? veniat nunc, experiatur; tecto recipiet nemo."

Terent, Eunuch.

> ———"Fac periculum in literis,
> Fac in palæstra, in musicis; quæ liberum
> Scire æquum est adolescentem, solertem dabo."

Ovid. 3 Trist.

> "Quod magis ut liqueat, neve hoc ego fingere credar,
> Ipse velim pœnas experiare meas."

Jusjurandum etiam testimonium est.

Quale est Æneid. 9.

"Per superos, et siqua fides tellure sub ima est,
Invitus, regina, tuo de littore cessi."

Quamvis autem in juramentis divinum quodammodo testimonium invocetur, juramenti tamen fides authoritate et moribus jurantis nititur.

Reciprocatio hic obscurior est ad rem testatam, quod est hic alterum argumentum affectum; ut quia testatum verum sit, testis sit etiam verax.

Ut autem non sua vi testimonium, sed auctoritas testis arguit rem testatam; ita vicissim res testata non arguit ipsum testimonium, sed authoritatem testis.

ARTIS LOGICÆ PLENIOR INSTITUTIO, &c.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

DE ARGUMENTORUM DISPOSITIONE.

CAP. I.

Quid sit argumentorum dispositio?

Adhuc prima artis logicæ pars fuit in argumentorum inventione: pars altera sequitur in eorum dispositione.

Quemadmodum grammaticæ pars prima est de singulis vocibus, secunda de syntaxi earum; sic logicæ pars prima de argumentis inveniendis fuit, secunda est de disponendis, i. e. quæ doceat argumenta rectè disponere: ita dispositio quasi syntaxis quædam argumentorum est; non tamen ad bene judicandum duntaxat, ut vult Ramus, quod nimis angustum est, sed ad bene ratiocinandum, qui finis est logicæ generalis, ad quem unum finem omnia artis præcepta referenda sunt. Iis itaque non assentior, qui judicium secundam esse partem logicæ volunt: cùm ipsorum sententia judicium sit secundæ hujus partis nempe dispositionis finis et fructus: non potest autem res eadem esse finis et id cujus est finis, fructus quod affectum est et ejus fructus causa, quæ dispositio est. An inquiunt, judicium ut doctrina est pars logicæ; finis est ut habitus bene judicandi. Immo verò inquam, dispositionis doctrina suam operam confert non solùm ad bene judicandum, sed ad bene ratiocinandum; judicium autem et dispositionem pro eodem non dixerim cum Ramo: si enim certa, ut ipse Ramus ait, dispositionis regula unumquodque judicatur, dispositio utique ac judicium si idem erunt, idem erit et regula, et id cujus regula est: doctrina deinde judicii docet nihil aliud quàm bene judicare; doctrina dispositionis pro sua disponendi parte, etiam bene ratiocinari: sive id sit intelligere, sive judicare, sive disputare, sive meminisse. Certa enim dispositionis regula unumquodque munus ratiocinandi excolitur.

Cum itaque simplicem argumentorum inter se affectionem aliquid per se conferre ad judicium rectumque ratiocinium initio proposuerim, nunc eorum dispositionem aliquanto plus, adeoque clarius ad idem conducere propono.

Prius autem quàm ad partes dispositionis accedimus, generalis quædam dispositionis affectio, quæ crypsis dicitur, attingenda est; ut quæ ad omnes species dispositionis communiter pertineat. Crypsis autem, sive occultatio ista, est triplex; dispositarum scilicet partium vel defectus, vel redundantia, vel inversio. Quod itaque semel hic monendum est, siqua propter has crypses dubitatio contingit, explenda quæ desunt, amputanda quæ supersunt, et pars quæque in suum restituenda est locum.

CAP. II.

De Axiomatis affirmatione et negatione.

"Dispositio est axiomatica vel dianoetica.

"Axioma est dispositio argumenti cum argumento, qua esse aliquid aut non esse indicatur."

Axioma sæpe Aristoteli significat propositionem sive sententiam ita claram, ut quasi digna sit cui propter se fides habeatur. Aliàs axioma et propositionem sive sententiam quamlibet pro eodem is habet: et rectè quidem: ut enim sententia à sentio, i. e. existimo, vel arbitror, ita axioma à verbo Græco quod idem significat, derivatur. Atque hujus vocis generalem hanc significationem apud veteres dialecticos receptam fuisse, ex Cicerone, Plutarcho, Laertio, Gellio, Galeno lib. 16, c. 8, constat.

Latinè "enuntiatum, enuntiatio; pronuntiatum, pronuntiatio; effatum" Varroni profatum, et proloquium, apud Gellium lib. 16, id est sententia in qua nihil desideratur. Ex Græco etiam "oratio" et "propositio" dicitur.

Cur ergo, inquis, Græcanica, et hæc præ aliis, vox placita est? Quia, inquam, commodissima. Nam "oratio" et "sententia" voces latiores sunt; ideoque Græci qui λόγον sive "rationem" vocant, addunt ferè

"primam, brevissimam" aut "enuntiativam." Deinde "propositio" ambigua vox est; significat enim nunc priorem partem plenæ comparationis, nunc primam partem syllogismi. Latina autem illa, "enuntiatum, enuntiatio," &c., orationis exterioris videntur magis quàm rationis interioris esse: cùm dispositio hæc logica rationis omnino sit tam mente conceptæ quàm ore prolatæ; utque voces symbola sunt et notæ simplicium notionum, ita enuntiatum videtur esse symbolum axiomatis mente concepti. Sic tamen retineri possunt voces Latinæ "enuntiatum, enuntiatio," &c., si distinguimus cum Aristotele sermonem in exteriorem, qui ore profertur; et interiorem qui mente solùm concipitur.

Genus autem axiomatis rectè statuitur dispositio, non judicium, quod, ut supra retuli, dispositionis effectum est, et hic quidem specialiter quo aliquid esse aut non esse judicantur.

Argumentum autem cum argumento est id quod arguit cum eo quod arguitur.

Finis dispositionis est, ut per eam esse aliquid aut non esse indicetur, sive ut aliquid de aliquo dicatur aut non dicatur. Hinc illud Arist. Phil. 9. 10, "esse est componi, et unum esse; non esse autem est non componi, sed plura esse." Et simplicia quidem argumenta per se considerata significant aliquid; non autem esse, aut non esse aliquid, nisi disposita. Solo autem modo indicativo esse aliquid aut non esse indicatur: non reliquis, nisi ad indicativum reductis: ut "abi," i. e. jubeo te abire. "Fiat voluntas tua," i. e. precamur ut fiat. "Utinam dissolverer," i. e. cupio dissolvi. "Quid est dialectica," i. e. quæro quid sit.

Cùm autem in axiomate argumentum cum argumento disponatur, horumque unum necesse sit antecedere, alterum sequi; hinc partes axiomatis (Aristot. terminos vocat) duæ sunt, antecedens et consequens: illa vulgò minor terminus, sive subjectum, hæc terminus major seu prædicatum nominatur; quia id continet, quod de subjecto prædicatur sive dicitur. Verùm hæc nomina angustiora sunt, quàm illa, ut infra patebit.

Axiomatis affectio communis est crypsis illa triplex, de qua deque ejus triplici medela capite superiore diximus: defectus, cùm pars aliqua deest; ut, "excessit, erupit, evasit;" Catilina scilicet vel quis alius: "pluit, tonat;" deus nempe vel cœlum. Redundantia, quæ et amplificatio dicitur, est, cùm argumentum ejusque synonymum ponitur; aut ad id illustrandum quidvis aliud: prioris exemplum est, logica sive dialectica est "ars bene ratiocinandi:" posterioris est hoc,

Livor iners vitium mores non exit in altos.

Inversio est, cùm antecedentis loco ponitur consequens: ut "quæstus magnus est pietas cum animo sua sorte contento," i. e. pietas cum animo sua sorte contento est magnus quæstus.

Duæ sunt reliquæ axiomatis affectiones; quarum altera ex dispositione oritur, altera ad judicium pertinet. Nam intellectus cùm disponit argumenta, vel componit ea inter se, vel dividit: compositio autem illa et divisio nihil aliud sunt quàm affirmatio et negatio. Cùm verò de dispositione illa judicium fert, judicat eam vel veram esse vel falsam. Quemadmodum autem dispositio est prior judicio, sic esse et non esse prius quiddam est et simplicius quàm affirmare et negare, et utrumque hoc quàm verum aut falsum judicare.

"Axioma igitur est affirmatum aut negatum."

Duplex est hic modus enuntiandi, non duæ sunt species enuntiati sive axiomatis: contradictione enim idem axioma affirmatur et negatur: sed affirmatio et negatio enuntiationis, i. e. enuntiandi species sunt, non enuntiati; nam et affirmatio et negatio dici potest enuntiatio, enuntiatum verò nequaquam; axiomatis igitur utraque est affectio, non axioma.

"Axioma affirmatum est quando vinculum ejus affirmatur: negatum, quando negatur." Vinculum n. axiomatis forma est; vinculi vi axiomatis materia disponitur et quasi animatur; vinculo affirmato et negato, axioma ipsum affirmatur aut negatur: affirmatio itaque et negatio sunt vinculi affectiones, adeoque axiomatis ejusque specierum. Vinculum autem est vel verbum vel grammatica conjunctio, ut postmodum patebit, cum axioma in species dividetur.

Affirmatio autem hæc et negatio nihil aliud est, ut suprà diximus, quàm compositio et divisio: affirmatur enim axioma, cum ejus consequens per affirmationem vinculi cum antecedente componitur; negatur, cùm, negato vinculo, consequens ab antecedente dividitur. Negatio igitur axiomatica non est, quemadmodum erat topica non ens, sed entis tantummodo ab ente divisio.

"Hinc nascitur axiomatum contradictio, quando idem axioma affirmatur et negatur."

CAP. III.

De vero et falso.

"Axioma deinde est verum aut falsum."

Hoc scilicet ex affirmatione et negatione fit judicium: cùm enim affirmantur quæ affirmanda sunt, et negantur quæ neganda, axiomata judicantur vera; et contrà. Unde Aristot. de Interpret. 1, "in compositione et divisione est verum aut falsum." Falsum autem non docetur hoc modo in arte, sed judicatur: nam enuntiatio falsa non minus axioma est, quàm vera, eadem enim utrobique dispositio est: non idem de syllogismo ac methodo dici poterit.

"Axioma verum est, quandò pronuntiat uti res est: falsum, contrà."

Sic enim Plato, in Cratylo. Ad judicium itaque faciendum, non modò artis documenta, sed etiam rerum ipsarum cognitio requiritur; quia res ipsa veritatis norma et mensura est.

"Axioma verum est contingens aut necessarium. Contingens, quando sic verum est, ut aliquando falsum esse possit. Ut, 'audentes fortuna juvat.'

"Itaque veritatis hujus contingentis judicium, opinio dicitur." Quæ præteritorum et presentium homini certa esse potest, futurorum per naturam non admodum potest. Deo autem etsi tempora omnia præsentia non sunt, ut vulgò receptum est, præsentia enim mutare

potest, præterita non item; opinio tamen in Deum non cadit, quia per causas æque omnia cognoscit.

De contingentibus autem, præteritis etiam, et præsentibus humanum judicium certa quidem opinio dicitur, non tamen scientia: ea enim ex argumentis, quorum est immutabilis affectio, oritur; cujusmodi in contingenti axiomate non disponuntur. Neque idcirco non est opinio præteritorum et præsentium, quòd manifesta sunt, immo tum maximè opinari contingentia dicimur; nam dubia si sunt, sive contingentia sive necessaria, ne opinamur quidem, sed dubitamus: et necessaria tametsi sunt atque certissima, si causam nescimus, etiam ea duntaxat opinamur.

At, inquies, præterita et præsentia non sunt contingentia, sed necessaria, quia sunt immutabilia; nam neque factum infectum fieri potest; et quicquid est, quandiu est, necesse est esse. Respondendum, necesse quidem esse, ut quod fuit, fuerit, et quod jam est, sit; nec tamen sequi, ut quod fuit vel est, sit propriè necessarium. In axiomate enim contingenti, præterito, vel præsenti quæ videtur esse necessitas, absoluta non est, neque ex rerum dispositarum natura, sed ex conditione duntaxat et lege contradictionis pendet: dum enim aliquid est, non esse non potest; neque dum verum est, esse falsum: et tamen quod nunc verum est, fieri potest ut aliquando salsum fuerit, aut futurum sit. Idem de futuris dicendum; siquid futurum certò est, id necesse est fore quidem verum (omne n. axioma verum est aut falsum) non tamen necessarium. Id nisi teneatur, omne contingens futurum erit necessarium, quod implicat contradictionem. Hoc etiam monendum, futura quidem ipsa neque vera esse neque falsa, neque contingentia, neque necessaria, nondum n. sunt, sed affirmatio solùm de iis aut negatio in futurum, deque præteritis eodem modo sentiendum.

"Axioma est necessarium, quando semper verum est, nec falsum potest esse."

Nec supervacua posterior hæc clausula est: semper n. esse verum etiam contingens potest, necessarium autem non modò semper est verum, sed falsum esse non potest. Sic etiam Aristot. Post. 1, 26.

"Contrà, quod semper falsum est, nec verum potest esse, axioma impossibile dicitur." Sic etiam Aristot. Phil. δ. 12.

Hæc autem immutabilitas veritatis in necessario, et falsitatis in impossibili, ab argumentorum quæ in iis disponuntur vel summa consensione, vel infesta semper dissensione pendet. Pari ratione mutabilitas veri aut falsi in contingenti et possibili ex levi argumentorum in iis dispositorum consensione aut dissidio perspicitur.

Ex quo doctrina illa quatuor formularum modalium, "necesse est, impossibile est, possibile est, contingens est," quàm inutiliter ab Aristot. introducta sit, facile apparet: ut, "necesse est hominem esse animal; impossibile est hominem esse equum; possibile est Socratem esse divitem; contingens est Socratem esse doctum." Hæ quatuor modales dispositionem purarum enuntiationum quodammodo afficiunt: pura est, "omnis homo est animal"; modalis, "necesse est omnem hominem esse animal:" hic "omnem hominem esse animal," licet inverso ordine, subjectum est enuntiationis modalis, modus "necesse" est prædicatum. Verùm quid attinet quomodo partes axiomatis inter se affectæ sint, signis aut modis exprimere, cùm id ex argumentis ipsis in eo dispositis possit rectius judicari, et ad hos modos alii complures, "facile, difficile, honestum, turpe," &c. non inutiliùs possint adjungi?

Equidem secundarias, quas vocant modales, primariis hisce potiores existimem: quibus vulgò dividuntur enuntiationes in "exclusivas," quarum notæ sunt "solus, tantum, duntaxat," &c., ut, "sola fides justificat: exceptivas," quarum notæ sunt "præter, præterquam, nisi," &c., ut, "nemo præter te sapit: et restrictivas," quarum notæ sunt "qua, quatenus, quoad, secundum, quid," &c., ut, "homo qua animal, sentit." Et exclusiva quidem est vel subjecti vel prædicati: subjecti, quæ, nota exclusiva præposita, excludit omnia subjecta alia à prædicato. Sed frustra hanc regulam ratio dictarit, si logicis quibusdam modernis, et nominatim Keckermanno licebit, eam statim, conflato ad id ipsum canone, funditus evertere. "Exclusiva," inquit, "subjecti non excludit concomitantia: ut, solus pater est verus Deus. Hic," inquit, "non excluditur concomitans, filius, et spiritus sanctus." At quis non videt subornatum hunc canonem, ad locum illum luculentissimum Joan. 17, 3, ludificandum? Haud paulò utilior est canon ille restrictivæ enuntiationis, quem tradit l. 2, c. 4, (restrictiva autem est quæ ostendit quatenus subjectum prædicato convenit) "prædicatum," inquit, "contradictorium nulla limitatione subjecto conciliatur;" ex Aristot. 2 Top. c. ult. sect. 4. Quid evidentius dici potuit? et tamen reperti sunt qui interpositis quibusdam distinctiunculis, "accidens posse existere sine subjecto" (quod repugnat) "in cœna Domini" contendant: deinde, qui similib. confictis distinctiunculis, "humanam naturam Christi adeoque corpus infinitum esse" disputantes, parem contradictionem committant. Sed omissis theologorum paradoxis, ad præcepta logica redeamus.

"Axioma necessarium affirmatum appellatur κατὰ παντός, de omni."

Id est, cum consequens sive prædicatum, ut vocant, axiomatis, de omni et toto antecedente sive subjecto semper verum est. Sic etiam Aristot. 1, prior. 1, et post. 1, 4, et hoc etiam nonnunquam καθόλυ, i. e. de toto, vocat, Post. 2, 13.

"Axiomata artium sic κατὰ παντός esse debent."

Nempe de omni et de toto vera, non falsa; necessaria, non fortuita, alioqui non scientiam pariunt, sed opinionem; affirmata denique non negata: affirmatum enim est firmum, certum, brevissimum; negatum verò est vagum, incertum, infinitum, nihilque docet: ut si quis definiret logicam, non esse artem bene loquendi, non doceret quid logica sit, sed quid non sit; eaque definitio omnibus artibus præter grammaticam æque ac logicæ conveniret. Nonnulli addunt ex hac lege, axiomata artium debere etiam esse generalia. Verùm hæc regula non tantum de omni est, sed de toto: et multa in artibus præcepta specialibus de rebus occurrunt, ut in theologia, de Christo; in astronomia de sole et luna reliquisque planetis: in aliis artibus hujusmodì alia, in quibus, cùm sint specialia, etsi κατὰ παν-

τὸς dici non possunt, καθόλε tamen possunt, quod satis est. Quòd si quis objicit, ne in generalibus quidem præcepta artium κατὰ παντὸς esse posse, propter exceptionum multitudinem, ut in grammatica videre est; respondendum est, anomalium analogiæ conjunctam, κατὰ παντὸς instar esse.

"Sed præcepta artium homogenea etiam et reciproca esse debent.

"Axioma homogeneum est, quando partes sunt essentiales inter se."

i. e. Vel absolute, ut forma formato, genus speciei, membra integro, definitio definito; vel modo quodam, ut subjectum proprio adjuncto.

"Id appellatur καθ' αὑτὸ, per se."

Idcirco etiam partes axiomatis essentiales inter se esse debent, ut præceptum artis esse scientificum possit: accidentis enim, ut testatur Aristoteles, nulla est scientia; nulla nisi per essentiam et causam: idem, τὰ καθ' αὑτὸ, et τὰ συμβεβηκότα, i. e. accidentia, opponit, Post. 1, 4. Itaque non satis est, partes esse inter se consentaneas, sed essentiales: quod cùm ex argumentorum inter se summa consensione oriatur, ex qua necessarium quoque axioma esse ortum supradiximus, non video quid per hanc regulam καθ' αὑτὸ ad superiorem illam κατὰ παντὸς quod magni sit momenti, accedat; cum nullum axioma necessarium esse queat, quin ejus partes inter se sint etiam essentiales. Neque verò putem hic præcipi, ne quid heterogeneum sive alienum in arte doceatur; neque enim huc pertinet dispositio præcepti cum præcepto, sed argumenti solùm cum argumento, quæ axiomatis doctrina est, et ex homogenei definitione ipsa ejusque exemplis perspicitur.

"Axioma reciprocum est, quando consequens semper verum est de antecedente, non solùm omni et per se, sed etiam reciprocè."

Ut homo est animal rationale: numerus est par vel impar. Lupus est natus ad ululandum. Id appellatur καθόλε πρῶτον, de toto primum. Nempe quia de nullo prius dicitur: ideoque proximum est et immediatum, proprium et æquale; unoque verbo, reciprocum: ut risibile de homine: omnis enim homo est risibilis; et reciprocè, omne risibile est homo. Hæc regula nisi observetur, vitari tautologia in artibus non potest. Tum enim non reciprocatur axioma, cum antecedens consequenti non est æquale, aut contra; sed vel speciale alicui generi, vel generale alicui speciei attribuitur: generale autem de specie non dicitur primò; prius enim dicitur de genere. Cum autem id quod generis est, speciei attribuitur, idem in reliquis speciebus necessario est repetendum, quod in genere semel dictum oportuit. Ad hanc itaque regulam pertinet præceptum artis illud nobile γενικὰ γενικῶς, "generalia generaliter" et semel docenda sunt. Hæc lex brevitati, brevitas autem intelligentiæ et memoriæ consulit.

Atque hæ tres sunt leges documentorum artium propriorum. Prima κατὰ παντὸς, lex veritatis; propterea quòd necessariam affirmati axiomatis veritatem ex consentanea partium affectione postulat. Secunda καθ' αὑτὸ, lex justitiæ; quia justitiam requirit in essentiali partium cognatione. Peccant ergo in hanc legem, qui rhetoricam in inventionem, dispositionem, memoriam, &c., distribuunt, cùm rhetoricæ partes attribuant, quæ dialecticæ propriæ sunt. Tertia καθόλου πρῶτον lex sapientiæ meritò dici possit; cùm quia ejus judicium verissima scientia est, ut postea dicetur, tum quia vitia sapientiæ contraria prohibet, inæqualitatem sive inconvenientiam antecedentis cùm consequente et tautologiam.

Dices, duas illas priores leges comprehendi sub hac tertia: et hoc fatendum quidem est: veruntamen ut trigonum tetragonus et tetragonum pentagonus comprehendit, neque idcirco tamen distinctæ figuræ non sunt; ita hæ leges etiamsi posterior quæque priorum comprehendit, erant tamen perspicuitatis causa distinguendæ.

"Atque hujusmodi axiomatum ita reciprocorum judicium verissima et prima scientia est." Prima, quia principiorum est, quæ per se indemonstrabilia, suaque luce manifestissima sunt, neque syllogismi aut ullius argumenti clarioris lucem ad scientiam faciendam desiderant: quæ inde verissima quoque sit necesse est.

CAP. IV.

De Axiomate simplici.

"Atque hæc de communibus axiomatis affectionibus; species sequuntur.

"Axioma est simplex aut compositum."

Sic etiam Aristot. de Interpret. 1, 5. Vulgò propositio dividitur in categoricam et hypotheticam, eodem sensu. Sed categorica affirmatam duntaxat propositionem simplicem comprehendit, quæ scilicet de subjecto κατηγορεῖται, i. e. prædicatur.

"Axioma simplex est, quod verbi vinculo continetur."

Cùm enim vinculum, ut supradiximus, axiomatis forma et quasi anima sit, hinc efficitur, quemadmodum duæ sunt species vinculorum, verbum et conjunctio, illud simplicis axiomatis, hoc compositi, ut axioma quoque ex ista distributione vinculi, in oppositas formas sive species dividatur. Vinculum autem simplicis axiomatis, non solum est verbum substantivum, quod dicitur, sed quodvis verbum actionem aut passionem significans, vinculi in se vim inclusam habet; et vel totum consequens vel pars consequentis est; ut, Socrates scribit. Nam quod nonnulli putant, verbum omne in substantivum et participium resolvi oportere, ut ea ratione verbum substantivum esse vinculum appareat, scilicet, Socrates est scribens; id sæpe ineptissimum esse reperietur. Ut siquis hoc, Socrates docetur, sic solvat, Socrates est doctus: hoc enim aliud longe est. Quidquod etiam verbum substantivum nonnunquam et vinculum et totum consequens includit; ut, Socrates est; mortui non sunt, i. e. non existunt. Quodsi in uno simplici axiomate plura verba occurrunt, ut, imparia sunt comparata, quorum quantitas non est una, sciendum est illud verbum axiomatis vinculum esse, quod grammatici vocant principale.

"Id si affirmatur, axioma simplex est affirmatum; si negatur, negatum."

Negatur autem, si negationis nota verbum illud præcedit: nam si sequitur, negatum non est, sed affirmatum: ut Socrates est leo, non necessario affirmatum est, quia negationis nota sequitur verbum; nec totum consequens negatur, sed modus.

Negationis autem notæ non solùm sunt adverbia negandi, sed etiam particulæ exclusivæ (cujusmodi sunt "unicus et solus") et verba dissensionem vel differentiam significantia; ut, "differre, opponi," &c.

Exempla nunc videamus. Ignis urit; ignis est calidus; ignis est non aqua. Hic "ignis" est antecedens, "urit" consequens.

"Atque hic est prima inventarum rerum dispositio, causæ cum affecto, ut in primo exemplo; subjecti cum adjuncto, ut in secundo; dissentanei, cum dissentaneo, ut in tertio.

"Quo modo argumenta quælibet inter se affecta enuntiari possunt, consentanea quidem affirmando, dissentanea negando." Exceptis plenis comparationibus, in quibus duo planè distincta axiomata sunt, propositio, et redditio. Nam distributiones, quas etiam excipit Ramus, ut, argumentum est artificiale aut inartificiale, axiomate simplici enuntiari possunt, ut infra docebitur: possunt et diversa, quæ excipiunt alii, si sic enuntias, aliquis facundus non est formosus: et contraria: ut, virtus non est vitium, &c.

"Axioma simplex est generale aut speciale."

Hæc distributio est simplicis axiomatis ex adjuncta quantitate, quæ modos, non species constituit. In axiomate autem composito, quantitatis nulla ratio habetur, sed tantum vinculi, ut infra dicemus.

"Axioma generale est, quando commune consequens attribuitur generaliter communi antecedenti."

Vulgò etiam vocatur "universale." Generaliter autem consequens antecedenti attribuitur, quando omni totique sive universo antecedenti attribuitur, omnibusque iis, quæ sub ejus significatione continentur. Ad axioma igitur generale, tria hæc requiruntur; consequens, et antecedens generale, et generalis attributio. Neque enim ex nota sive signo universali definiendum fuit axioma generale; cùm et sæpissime non adsit nota, et cùm adest, non causa sed signum tantummodo sit axioma esse generale. Indefinita igitur, quæ vulgò vocant, etsi notam non habent generalem, generalia tamen sunt; ut definitiones et reliqua artium præcepta, quæ nemo generalia esse inficiabitur; nec notam tamen generalem præfixam habent. Notæ axiomatis generalis tam affirmati quàm negati hæ sunt: "omnis, nullus; semper, nunquam: ubique, nusquam," &c.

"Atque hic contradictio non semper dividit verum et falsum; sed contingentium utraque pars falsa potest esse:" ut,

> Omnis in urbe locus bajis prælucet amœnis.
> Nullus in urbe locus bajis prælucet amœnis.

"Itèm non contingentium."

Ut, omne animal est rationale; nullum animal est rationale. Hæc enim non contingentia sunt, sed potius absurda; quia consequens speciale antecedenti generali generaliter attribuitur. Falsa igitur pars utraque generalis contradictionis esse potest, vera esse non potest; falsitas quippe multiplex, veritas una est.

"Axioma speciale est, quando consequens non omni antecedenti attribuitur."

Speciale dicitur, quia de specie aliqua enuntiatur. Atque ut in generali axiomate consequens generaliter, sive omni et universo antecedenti; ita in speciali specialiter, sive non omni attribuitur.

"In hoc axiomate contradictio semper dividit verum à falso."

Id est specialis contradictionis pars una semper vera, pars altera semper est falsa.

"Axioma speciale est particulare aut proprium.

"Particulare, quando consequens commune antecedenti particulariter attribuitur."

Est axioma speciale quia de specie aliqua, licet ea quidem incerta et indefinita, enuntiatur; particulariter autem consequens attribuitur, quando non universo antecedenti, sed ejus alicui parti attribuitur. Attributionis autem particularis notæ sive signa sunt, "quidam, aliquis, aliquando, alicubi;" et negationes generalium, nonnulli, nonnunquam, non semper, non omnis, &c., quæ particulari æquipollent. Commune autem consequens debet esse; ex illa regula; Consequens nunquam minus est antecedente, sed semper vel majus eo vel saltem æquale. Unde Aristoteles, prior. 1, 28, negat "singulare de alio prædicari."

Sequitur nunc contradictio particularium.

"Huic autem axiomata generaliter contradicitur.

"Aliquid ignoscendum est; nihil ignoscendum est: aliqua clementia non est laudanda; omnis clementia est laudanda." Hic particulari affirmato, generale negatum; et particulari negato, generale affirmatum opponitur. Quodsi utraque pars particularis est, non modo nulla est axiomatum contradictio, sed ne oppositio quidem. Ut, Quidam homo est doctus, quidam homo non est doctus. Non enim eidem subjecto attribuuntur, quæ lex est oppositorum. Pars igitur utraque vera esse potest; sicuti etiam cùm utraque affirmata est vel negata: ut, Omnis homo est rationalis, quidam homo est rationalis: nullus homo est irrationalis, quidam homo non est irrationalis. In his non modo contradictio nulla, sed consensio summa est, generis nempe et speciei.

"Axioma proprium" (quod alii singulare vocant) "est, quando consequens antecedenti proprio attribuitur." Antecedens autem logicè proprium dicitur quando rem vel personam singularem designat; sive proprio nomine exprimatur, sive non: qualia sunt etiam demonstrativa; ut, "hic homo." Secundò, quæ per synecdochen generis dicuntur; ut poëta pro Homero aut Virgilio, philosophus pro Aristotele aut Platone, et similia. Ad consequens autem hujus axiomatis quod attinet, id vel commune esse potest vel proprium.

Proprii contradictio est quando utraque pars est propria: in quo discrepat à particulari, cujus pars altera duntaxat particularis esse debet; consentit cum generali, cujus pars utraque generalis; ut, "Fabulla est bella:" cujus negatio et contradictio est, "Fabulla non est bella." Atque hæc de axiomate simplici.

APPENDIX.

Ad has axiomatis simplicis affectiones addunt Aristotelici æquipollentiam et conversionem.

Æquipollentia definitur, "enuntiationum verbis discrepantium convenientia re atque sensu: sic aliquis homo est doctus, et, non omnis homo est doctus," idem valent, et similia, ut suprà in notis est dictum. Æquipollentia itaque cum in verbis duntaxat, non in rebus, posita sit, ad grammaticam vel ad rhetoricam et verborum copiam remittenda est.

Conversio est prædicati unius enuntiationis in locum subjecti transpositio ad probandam alteram enuntiationem, quæ ex ea transpositione sive conversione efficitur. Ea triplex affertur; simplex, per accidens, et per contrapositionem. Simplex, quæ fit manente eadem enuntiationis et quantitate et qualitate: fitque etiam tripliciter; in universali negante; ut "nullus homo est lapis, ergo nullus lapis est homo:" in particulari affirmante; ut, "aliquis homo est albus, ergo aliquod album est homo:" in affirmante denique universali et necessaria; ut "omnis homo est risibilis, ergo omne risibile est homo." Et hæc est una omnium conversionum verissima, quæ et "reciprocatio" dicitur, proprii scilicet cum suo subjecto, definiti cum sua definitione.

Conversio per accidens mutat enuntiationis quantitatem; universalem scilicet affirmantem in particularem: ut, "omnis homo est animal, ergo quoddam animal est homo." Per accidens hanc dici volunt, quia aliud prius sequitur, nempe, "quidam homo est animal," ex quo hoc deinde, simplici conversione, "ergo quoddam animal est homo."

Conversio per contrapositionem mutat enuntiationis qualitatem: universalem scilicet affirmantem in negantem: vel, in qua loco subjecti et prædicati, ponitur utriusque conversi contradictio: ut, "omnis homo est rationalis; ergo quodcunque non est rationale, non est homo: omne mortale est genitum; ergo quod non est genitum, non est mortale; vel, quod est non genitum, est non mortale: admittendi ad sacramenta, habent pœnitentiam et fidem; ergo qui hæc non habent, non sunt admittendi." Tres hosce modos conversionum ex Aristot. petunt: duos priores ex 1 Prior. c. 2, tertium ex 2 Top. c. 1, syllogisticæ reductionis gratia, cujus inutiliter infra ostendetur, ab ipso inventos.

Conversione autem hac ne decipiamur fortè, neque enim fidissima est, cautiones quædam adhiberi solent: prima, ne termini sint figurati; ut, "panis est corpus Christi." Secunda, ne quid mutiletur; ut "quidam cernit cæcum, ergo cæcus cernit quendam:" totum enim prædicatum non est "cæcum," sed "cernit cæcum;" ut etiam in hac; "omnis senex fuit puer, ergo quidam puer fuit senex;" non enim "puer," sed "fuit puer" totum prædicatum est; convertendum ergo, "quidam qui fuit puer, est senex." Tertia, ut casus obliqui à conversione facti, reddantur recti; ut, "aliqua arbor est in agro; ergo aliquod quod est in agro, est arbor," non sic, "ergo aliquis ager est in arbore."

Sed, omissis istis cautionibus, expeditior via est, conversionem omnem si dubia sit, tanquam sophisma petitionis principii rejicere; ut quæ sine medio termino probare rem dubiam conetur: de quo sophismate infra monebimus.

CAP. V.

De Axiomate copulato.

"Axioma compositum est quod vinculo conjunctionis continetur."

Hoc genus axiomatis Aristoteles totum prætermisit. Vulgò "propositio hypothetica" vocatur; i. e. conditionalis; angustè nimis; cum ea vox compositis non omnibus conveniat, ut suo loco patebit. Compositum autem dicitur, quia sententia est multiplex, quæ in plures resolvi simplices potest: nec tamen dicendum est, ex simplicib. axiomatis componi, sed ex argumentis, quæ conjunctionis vinculo composita, multiplicem sententiam efficiunt: idcirco autem axioma componitur, quia argumenta in eo conjuncta consentiunt et compositionem appetunt. Nulla autem hic ratio habetur quantitatis, generale sit an speciale, sed tantum compositionis. Ut autem verbum fuit vinculum simplicis, ita conjunctio est axiomatis compositi, ejusque proinde forma et quasi anima est.

"Itaque à conjunctione affirmata vel negata, affirmatur vel negatur." Conjunctione non negata, negatum axioma non erit, etiamsi partes omnes erunt negatæ.

"Contradictionisque pars vera est, pars falsa." De qua vulgus logicorum silet.

"Enuntiatum compositum est pro sua conjunctione congregativum aut segregativum.

"Congregativum est cujus partes tanquam simul veræ, conjunctione sua congregantur." Conjunctione videlicet non solùm illa grammatica verùm etiam sententiarum quavis relatione. Cùm autem relatio ista, sive grammatica sive logica, multiplex sit, essentiæ, consequentiæ, sive causæ, quantitatis, qualitatis, temporis, loci, relatio quidem essentiæ (cujus notæ sunt "is qui, id quod") et loci (cujus notæ sunt "ubi, ibi") ad simplicia axiomata referenda est; de reliquis suo loco.

"Congregativum enuntiat omnia consentanea affirmando, omni dissentanea negando." Hoc est, si unum consentaneorum subjecto attribuatur, alterum quoque attribuitur; et contrà, uno negato, alterum negatur: si unum dissentaneorum de subjecto affirmatur, alterum negatur; et contrà. Ita semper consentanea simul hic affirmanda vel neganda sunt, dissentanea non simul.

"Congregativum verò est copulatum aut connexum. Copulatum, cujus conjunctio est copulativa." Ut Æneid. 1.

> "Unà Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
> Africus."

Hic igitur negatio erit et contradictio, negatæ conjunctione; "non unà Eurusque Notusque ruunt," &c.

"Socrates et doctus erat et formosus: Socrates non et doctus erat et formosus." Quòdsi hoc modo negaretur, "Socrates nec doctus erat nec formosus," (qui modus contradictionis est adhibendus cùm omnes partes sunt falsæ,) contradictio non esset axiomatica; non enim vinculum negaretur, sed partes; copulatio enim significat utrumque simul verum esse, ejus negatio non utrumque; at hæc negatio neutrum: ac si dictum esset, "Socrates et non doctus et non formosus erat:" deinde, in axiomate composito contradictionis pars una vera, altera est falsa; hic autem utraque: hoc ergo axioma, "Socrates nec doctus erat nec formosus," est potius axioma copulatum affirmatum, cujus partes negantur. Copulati autem negatio per axioma etiam discretum fieri potest, cùm partes non omnes falsæ sunt; ut infra intelligitur. Conjunctio denique hic sæpe non adest, sed intelligitur.

"Verum autem enuntiati copulati judicium pendet ex omnium partium veritate; falsum, ex una saltem parte falsa." Hoc est axioma copulatum judicatur esse verum, si omnes partes simul veræ sunt; falsum, si vel una pars erit falsa. Idem tradit Gellius, l. 16, c. 8. In copulato enim axiomate, veritas omnium partium spectatur, quia partes omnes absolute enuntiantur tanquam simul veræ.

"Huic generi affine est enuntiatum relatæ qualitatis, cujus conjunctio" logica potius est quàm grammatica, nempe "ipsa relatio."

Relata autem qualitas est plena similitudo: ut notæ ipsæ testantur; "qualis, talis, quemadmodum, sic." Eclog. 3.

> "Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poëta,
> Quale sopor fessis in gramine.——"

Hic copulatum judicium est tanquam diceretur, sopor est fessis gratus, et sic tuum carmen nobis gratum est: cujus negatio, Non tale tuum carmen, quale sopor, &c.

Ad hunc etiam locum pertinet relatio quantitatis in plenis comparationibus: quarum notæ sunt, cùm à pari, "idem quod, tam quam, tanto quanto, tot quot, eò quò;" tum à majori, "non solùm, sed etiam;" tum à minori, "non modò non, sed ne," (quæ nota est copulati axiomatis affirmati, cujus partes negantur) "cùm tum." Relatio autem hæc et qualitatis et quantitatis, si hypotheticè, non absolutè enuntiatur, ad connexum potius referenda est.

Relationes autem loci ad axioma simplex rectius referuntur, ut supra est dictum. Neque enim in hujusmodi exemplo, "ubi amici ibi opes," est copulatum judicium, sed simplex et quidem generale; scilicet, omnem divitem amicos habere.

CAP. VI.

De Axiomate connexo.

"Axioma connexum est congregativum, cujus conjunctio est connexiva.

"Ut, si, nisi" affirmativè. Idem enim valet "nisi," quod "si non:" quo non totum axioma, sed antecedens tantum negatur: ut Æneid. 2,

> "—— Si miserum fortuna Sinonem
> Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget."

Cujus negatio est, negata conjunctione, "Non si miserum fortuna Sinonem finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget."

"Conjunctio etiam hæc interdum negatur apertiùs, negando consequentiam." Ut non continuò, non illicò, non idcirco, non ideo: his enim formulis non consequens axiomatis, id n. contradictionem non efficeret, sed ipsa partium consequentia quæ logica conjunctio est apertius negatur: ut pro Amer. "Non continuò, si me in sicariorum gregem contuli, sicarius sum." De Fato: "nec si omne enuntiatum verum est aut falsum, sequitur illicò causas esse immutabiles."

"Affirmatio enim significat, si sit antecedens, etiam consequens esse. Negatio itaque et contradictio statuit, si sit antecedens, non ideo consequens esse.

Potest et connexo pro axioma discretum contradici: ut, "quamvis omne enuntiatum sit verum aut falsum, non tamen causæ sunt immutabiles;" quod sequente capite liquebit.

"Sed cùm judicabis connexum absolute," i. e. per se suaque natura "verum esse, necessarium quoque judicabis; et intelliges hanc necessitatem ex necessaria partium connexione oriri, quæ ipsa potest esse vel in falsis partibus."

"Ut, si homo est leo, est etiam quadrupes," necessarium connexum est; quia argumentorum, quæ hic connectuntur, leonis scilicet et quadrupedis, connexio est necessaria, speciei scilicet cum genere. Unde efficitur axioma generaliter verum ac proinde necessarium; "omnis leo est quadrupes:" quod in connexio iudicium est absolutæ veritatis. Sic, si "Socrates est homo, est etiam animal," absolutè verum est et necessarium, quia omnis homo est animal: hujusque connexi consequens falsum esse non potest, nisi antecedens quoque falsum sit, quod aliud signum est absolutæ veritatis.

Quòd si consequens falsum fuerit, falsum item est antecedens. "Si illud, hoc: si non hoc, ne illud quidem." Atque ita, ut jam demonstravimus, si connexio absolutè vera est, erit quoque necessaria: sin ex conditione et pacto, sine quo connexum per se suaque natura verum non esset, erit tantummodò contingens.

"Quod si connexio sit contingens, et pro sua tantum probabilitate ponatur, judicium ejus tantum opinio fuerit.

Ut Terent. Andr.

> "Pamphile, si id facis, hodie postremum me vides."

Hoc est, si Philumenam uxorem ducis, ego hodie moriar: quod nemo sequi existimaverit, nisi hoc posito, Charinum, qui hoc dicit, Philumenam perditissimè amare. Per se enim nulla est connexionis necessitas inter nuptias Pamphili et interitum Charini. Qui autem ex amoris vehementia sic existimabit, ejus judicium non erit scientia, sed opinio.

Ut autem judicare possimus, quæ connexio sit absolutè vera, quæ non, spectanda argumenta sunt, quæ in axiomate connectuntur, consentiant inter se nec ne, et quo modo. Ut "si dies est, lux est," connexum est necessarium, quia dies sive sol ortus est causa lucis. "Si dies est, Dio ambulat," connexum est falsum aut contingens; quia nulla est affectio absolutè consentanea inter diem et Dionem.

"Connexio axiomati affinis est ista consequentiæ relatio:" quæ à nonnullis, "relatio causæ" dicitur; et axioma efficit, quod "Stoici causale" nominant; Laert. in Zenone: quia nempe antecedens est causa consequentis, adeoque vinculum ejus conjunctio causalis "cùm, quia, quoniam;" quibus respondet "ideo," vel "etiam: ut, cùm Tullius sit orator, est etiam peritus benè dicendi." Quanquam autem relata ista connexis affinia sunt, non nihil tamen discrepant: in antecedente enim connexi quædam conditio est, in hoc relato nulla: connexum potest ex falsis partibus verum esse, relatum hoc sive causale non potest esse verum, nisi antecedens verum fuerit: ut, "quia dies est, sol est supra horizontem."

Affinis est et relatio temporis axiomati connexo, ut ait ipse Ramus infra, c. 13.

Relatio autem temporis has habet notas, "tum cum, donec dum, quamdiu tamdiu:" ut apud Ovid. in epist.

> "Cùm Paris Œnone poterit spirare relicta
> Ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua."

Sic—"Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos."

Potest etiam connexum enuntiari sine ulla non modò relationis, verùm etiam connexionis nota; ut, "posita causa, ponitur effectum. Fac hoc, et vives." Ovid. in epist. "sume fidem et pharetram, fies manifestus Apollo." Nonnunquam etiam duob. negativis: Cic. pro Milone, "non hoc fragile corpus humanum mente regitur, et non regitur mente universum mundi corpus."

CAP. VII.

De Axiomate discreto.

"Axioma segregativum est, cujus conjunctio est segregativa.

"Ideoque argumenta dissentanea enuntiat.

"Enuntiatum segregativum est discretum aut disjunctum.

"Discretum, cujus conjunctio est discretiva." Discretum dicitur, quòd conjunctione illa segregativa discernuntur et segregantur, ea potissimum quæ leviter et ratione tantum dissentiunt.

"Itaque è dissentaneis præcipuè diversa enuntiat."

Præcipuè, quia diversorum notæ, "non hoc, sed illud," ut superiore libro dictum est, in diversis nonnunquam solent oppositis inservire. Ut autem diversorum ita etiam discreti axiomatis doctrina distinctionibus duntaxat, non conclusionibus, idonea est: et à reliquis propterea dialecticis, qui omnia ad syllogismum referunt, omissa. Sed rationis usus quicunque in logica prætermittendus non erat. Exempli gratia: Tuscul. 5, "Quanquam sensu corporis judicentur, ad animum referri tamen." Cujus negatio et contradictio est, "non quanquam corporis sensu judicentur, tamen ad animum referri: vel, quanquam sensu corporis judicentur, non tamen ad animum referri." Nam "tamen" est hic conjunctio præcipua. Quemadmodum autem copulati et connexi axiomatis negatio et contradictio discretum esse potest, ita vicissim copulatum vel connexum discreti: ut, "quanquam culpa vacat, non tamen suspicione caret:" cujus per copulatum contradictio est, "et culpa vacat, et suspicione caret;" vel per connexum, "si culpa vacat, etiam suspicione caret."

"Discretum enuntiatum judicatur esse verum et legitimum, si partes non solum veræ, sed etiam discretæ sint; falsum vel ridiculum contra."

Ut, "quanquam Ulysses formosus erat, tamen non erat infacundus," falsum est, quia antecedens est falsum. Sed si consequens modò verum est, axioma verum erit, etiamsi antecedens verum esse tantummodo concedatur. Hoc autem, "quanquam Menelaus formosus erat, tamen erat facundus," non est discretum, sed ne segregativum quidem: omnis enim segregativi axiomatis partes tanquam non simul veræ segregantur, hic verò tanquam simul veræ congregantur. "Quanquam Ulysses facundus erat, non tamen erat indisertus," est ridiculum, quia partes non sunt discretæ sed oppositæ.

CAP. VIII.

De Axiomate disjuncto.

"Axioma disjunctum est axioma segregativum, cujus conjunctio est disjunctiva."

Ut, "aut dies est, aut nox est. Aut vera est hæc enunciatio, aut falsa." Nam ut ex Cicerone citatur hoc exemplum, "omnis enuntiatio vera est aut falsa," videtur esse distributio potius quàm disjunctio. Distributio autem quatenus de toto diviso partes enuntiantur, axioma simplex et generale est, adeoque non compositum nedum disjunctum. Neque enim distributionis partes, quamvis inter se oppositæ, oppositionem vel disjunctionem ullam faciunt, sed eidem toti subjiciuntur, et in ejusdem simplicis axiomatis consequente verbi vinculo cum toto, quod antecedens est, consentiunt; at extra distributionem, ubi non de toto, sed de aliqua ejus parte vel specie enunciantur, tum demum axioma disjunctum efficiunt: ut, quod supra posuimus, "hæc enuntiatio aut vera est aut falsa."

"Hic significatur è disjunctis unicum verum esse."

Nempe quia opposita hic sola disponi debent. Atque id semper à differente significatur, tametsi aliquando accidit, ut disjunctorum vel plura uno, vel nullum omninò verum sit. Negatio igitur et contradictio erit, "non aut dies aut nox est."

"Et contradictione significatur, non necessario alterutrum verum esse."

"Nam si disjunctio absolutè vera est, est etiam necessaria; partesque disjunctæ sunt opposita sine ullo medio." De quibus vide superioris libri caput de contradicentibus.

'Veruntamen quamvis absolutè vera disjunctio, necessaria quoque sit; tamen nihil necesse est partes separatim necessarias esse."

Ut, "cras aut pluet aut non pluet," disjunctio est necessaria, quia ex contradicentibus constat, quæ sunt contraria sine medio: et tamen, "cras pluet et cras non pluet," utrumque contingens axioma est. Sic, "homo aut bonus est aut non bonus," &c.

"Nam disjunctionis necessitas pendet è necessaria partium oppositione et disjunctione, non ex earum necessaria veritate."

Hinc argumentum illud dissolvitur Chrysippi Stoici aliorumque veterum, apud Ciceronem de Fato; quo probare sunt conati, futura omnia esse necessaria et quasi fatalia, eò quòd necesse sit ea aut vera esse aut falsa. Disjunctio quidem, ut diximus, necessaria est; pars tamen disjunctionis alterutra talis erit, qualis causa ejus est; sive necessaria, sive contingens, i. e. vel libera vel fortuita.

Atque hæc de necessaria disjunctione, cujus judicium scientia est.

"Disjunctio autem sæpe est ex conditione."

"Ut si quæratur utrum Cleon venerit an Socrates, quia ita pactum si alterutrum tantum venturum esse."

"Itaque si disjunctio sit contingens (contingens autem est, si partes medium habent) non est absolutè vera, sed tantum opinabilis."

Qualis est frequenter in hominum usu. Ut Cæsar ad matrem: "hodie me aut pontificem videbis, aut exulem." Ovid. in epistola Leandri,

> "Aut mihi continget felix audacia salvo,
> Aut mors solliciti finis amoris erit."

CAP. IX.

De Syllogismo et ejus Partibus.

Atque ejusmodi dispositio est axiomatica sive noetica axiomatis per se manifesti: sequitur dianoetica.

"Dianoëtica est cùm aliud axioma ex alio deducitur."

Vox Græca *διάνοια*, mentis et rationis discursum significat; qui tum fit maximè cùm sententia alia ex alia ratiocinando deducitur.

"Dispositio dianoëtica est syllogismus aut methodus."

"Syllogismus est dispositio dianoëtica qua quæstio cum argumento ita disponitur, ut posito antecedente, necessariò concludatur."

Est dianoia: est ergo discursus mentis ac rationis quo aliud ex alio ratiocinando colligitur: eam ratiocinantis quasi collectionem vox ipsa syllogismi significat: quæ quidem collectio sive deductio ab intellectus humani imbecilitate profecta est: quæ cùm rerum veritatem et falsitatem primo intuitu perspicere in axiomate non potest, ad syllogismum se confert, in quo de consequentia et inconsequentia earum judicare possit.

"Cùm itaque axioma dubium est, quæstio efficitur, et ad ejus fidem tertio argumento est opus cum quæstione collocato."

Quæstionis partes vulgò termini appellantur; et antecedens quidem minor terminus, consequens major terminus dicitur: quia antecedente latius ferè est consequens. Tertium autem argumentum ab Aristot. medium et medius terminus dicitur. Non quod semper medius inter duos quæstionis terminos in syllogismo collocetur, sed eò quòd quasi arbiter de consensu eorum inter se aut dissensu, disceptat et judicat. Atque hæc sunt tria illa argumenta, ex quibus solis omnis syllogismus conficitur; duo scilicet questionis, et tertium argumentum; quæ vulgò "tres termini" dicuntur. Termini autem isti non semper simplices sunt voces, sed orationes nonnunquam longiusculæ; nec semper casibus rectis, sed obliquis interdum efferuntur.

"Partes syllogismi duæ sunt; antecedens et consequens. Antecedens syllogismi pars est, in qua quæstio cum argumento disponitur."

"Syllogismi antecedens partes duas habet, propositionem et assumptionem: quæ vulgò præmissæ nominantur.

"Propositio est prior pars antecedentis, qua quæstionis saltem consequens cum argumento disponitur."

"Saltem;" quia nonnunquam tota quæstio cum argumento in propositione disponitur, ut infra patebit.

Propositio vulgò "major" dicitur; vel quia majorem vim habet (est enim argumentationis quasi basis et fundamentum) vel quia major terminus, i. e. consequens quæstionis in propositione collocatur.

"Assumptio est secunda pars antecedentis, quæ assumitur è propositione."

Assumitur enim inde vel tertium argumentum vel tota assumptio, ut infra perspicietur. Hinc itaque argumentum tertium, sive medius terminus, dignoscitur, quòd bis ponitur ante conclusionem. Assumptio vulgo "minor propositio" dicitur, vel quia minorem vim obtinet, ex propositione videlicet deductam; vel quia minor terminus, i. e. antecedens quæstionis, in ea sæpe disponi soleat, non semper, ut infra intelligemus.

"Syllogismi autem pars consequens est, quæ complectitur partes quæstionis, eamque concludit. Unde complectio et conclusio dicitur."

Hinc sequitur, conclusionem et verbis et terminorum ordine, eandem planè esse cum proposita quæstione oportere; alioqui syllogismi fidem claudicare, et quasi depositum non reddere. Secundo hinc intelligitur illa regula, "tertium argumentum sive medius terminus nunquam ingreditur conclusionem." Ratio est, quia medium non est id quòd concluditur, neque de quo quicquam; sed id, quo adhibito, quæstio concluditur, vel duo ejus termini inter se consentire aut dissentire judicantur. Medius itaque terminus aut ulla pars ejus in conclusione si sit, syllogismum vitiosum facit; id facillime deprehenditur, si non solum quæstio proposita, sed præterea aliquid quod bis erat in præmissis repetitum, conclusionem intrat.

Cùm autem in omni syllogismo, ut ex ejus definitione constat, quæstio cum argumento ita disponatur, ut posito antecedente, i. e. concessis præmissis, necessariò concludatur: quæ necessitas non consequentis, sed consequentiæ, non materiæ, sed formæ est; hinc intelligitur, nullam in syllogismi forma differentiam esse contingentis et necessarii, sed syllogismum omnem necessario concludere, teste etiam Aristot. Prior. 1, 33, eamque necessitatem ex legitima dispositione quæstionis cum tertio argumento, non ex necessaria partium in antecedente dispositarum veritate pendere. Unde et illi redarguuntur, qui vulgò dividunt syllogismum in dialecticum et apodicticum, probabilem scilicet et demonstrativum, sive necessarium, cum et illa distinctio axiomatum sit, et syllogismi consequentia tam in contingenti, immo in falso necessaria sit, quàm in vero et necessario; immo ex falsis præmissis conclusio nunc vera nunc falsa necessariò sequatur: ut, "omnis leo est quadrupes: Socrates est leo; ergo Socrates est quadrupes." In quo simile quiddam habet syllogismus axiomati connexo, et fortasse originem ab eo ducit: nam ut connexum necessarium esse potest ex falsis partibus, modò ipsa connexio sit vera; ut, "si leo est quadrupes, et Socrates leo, Socrates necessario est quadrupes;" sic syllogismus necessariò concludit ex veris quidem partibus nil nisi verum, ex falsis et falsum et verum, modò ipsa dispositio sit legitima.

Quòd autem Aristotelici syllogismum dividunt in verum et falsum sive apparentem; verum, cujus materia vera est; in dialecticum sive probabilem, cujus materia contingens est, et apodicticum sive demonstrativum ac necessarium, eumque vel perfectum, quæ vocatur διότι sive à priori, quo accidens de subjecto per causam vel efficientem vel finalem positam quidem affirmatur, remotam verò negatur; et in imperfectum quæ vocatur του ὅτι sive à posteriori, quo accidens de subjecto per effectum probatur; hæc quidem divisio, qualiscunque est, cum axiomatis propria sit, et vel ad formam syllogismi ut in dialectico et apodictico, vel omninò ad artem, ut in falso sive sophistico, nihil pertineat, melius rejicitur.

APPENDIX.

De Paralogismis qui hac generali doctrina syllogismi redarguuntur.

Atque hæc syllogismi doctrina generalis fuit. Et rectum quidem index est sui et obliqui, et veritatis doctrina rectè tradita, errorem omnem ipsa per se indicat atque etiam redarguit. Verùm cùm non sit ea cujusque hominis perspicacia aut ingenii felicitas, ut vel omnes techmas adversarii animadvertere ex ipsis regulis, vel omnes artis regulas memoria tenere semper queat, alienum non erit de præcipuis captionibus quæ committere in hanc generalem syllogismi doctrinam solent, seorsim hic aliquid monere.

Cùm itaque syllogismi doctrina generali doceamur, tria duntaxat argumenta sive tres terminos in syllogismo disponi oportere, hinc facilè perspicuum est, peccare omnem syllogismum in hanc doctrinam generalem, in quo termini vel plures ternis disponantur, vel pauciores: termini autem non tam sunt verba, quàm verborum sensus et significationes.

Peccatur autem terminis pluribus, vel apertius vel tectius. Apertius (ut puerilia de accentu, figura dictionis, plurium, quæ dicitur interrogationum, et similia omittam) cùm tres termini distinctè numerantur in propositione: ut, "qui est bonus et dialecticus, is est bonus dialecticus; Cleanthes est bonus et dialecticus; ergo, est bonus dialecticus." Hæc fallacia compositionis dicitur; quia divisa male componit. Contra; "qui est bonus dialecticus, is est bonus et dialecticus; Cleanthes," &c. Hæc fallacia est divisionis; quia composita male dividit; vel quia composita proponit, divisa concludit. Idem committitur etiam sine conjunctione: ut, "bonus citharædus est bonus; Nero est bonus citharædus; ergo, bonus." Bonus duplici significatione cum "citharœdo" disponitur in propositione; quatuor ergo termini. Sic etiam cùm non iisdem verbis aliud planè proponitur, aliud assumitur: ut, "dextera Dei est ubique; humanitas Christi sedet ad dextram Dei; ergo, humanitas Christi est ubique."

Tectius verò peccatur, vel "homonymia," vel "amphibolia."

Homonymia sive æquivocatio est, primò, cum simplicis vocis seu termini unius, significatio duplex ponitur: ut, "leo est bestia; leo est papa; ergo, papa est bestia." Secundò, cum argumentum in una parte propriè, in altera tropicè ponitur; vel in una parte pro reipsa, in altera pro artificiali aliqua notione rei. Hujusmodi sunt artium vocabula: ut, "potens est participium; rex est potens; ergo, rex est participium." "Animal est genus; homo est animal; ergo, homo est genus."

Amphibolia sive ambiguitas vel in syntaxi est, vel in ipsa re. In syntaxi; ut, "pecunia quæ est Cæsaris, possidetur à Cæsare; hæc pecunia est Cæsaris; ergo, possidetur à Cæsare." Ambiguitas in ipsa re, quæ et "prava expositio" vocatur, fit, cùm affectio rei non eadem assumitur quæ proponitur; mutata autem affectione, mutatur argumentum; ut, "quas carnes emisti, comedisti; crudas emisti; ergo, crudas comedisti." Hic propositio et de carnibus et de substantia carnium loquitur; assumptio, de qualitate earum: dicendum ergo erat, "quales carnes emisti," &c. Eadem est fallacia cum id quod in "abstracto," quod aiunt, proponitur, in "concreto" assumitur: ut "candidum est disgregativum visus; paries est candidus; ergo, paries est disgregativum visus." Etiam cùm in ipsa copula quartus terminus latet: ut "fortitudo non est clementia; principis est fortitudo; ergo, principis non est clementia." Hic verbum "est" in majore "esse," in minore "habere" significat; casuumque mutationem rectorum in obliquos inducit; qui quatuor esse terminos declarant. "Nullus puer diu vixit: Nestor fuit puer; ergo, Nestor non diu vixit." Hic major de eo qui est, minor de eo qui fuit puer loquitur; qui duo termini sunt. Quatuor denique sunt termini cùm plus est in conclusione quàm in præmissis.

Pauciores autem termini sunt ternis, cùm tertium argumentum deest. Hoc fit quoties vel idem sensu vel æque obscurum pro argumento sumitur; (idem enim non est tertium; æque obscurum non est argumentum) quæ "petitio principii," vel, ejus quod erat in principio nominatur; quia postulatur ipsa quæstio ut gratis, i. e. sine argumento concedatur: ut, "ensis est acutus; gladius est ensis; ergo, gladius est acutus." Vel, "quod omnis homo est, id singuli homines sunt; omnis homo est justus; ergo, singuli homines sunt justi." Huc refer jactatum illud, "quæ non amisisti habes, cornua non amisisti, ergo cornua habes." Habere et amittere privantia sunt et quidem sine medio quatenus talia, ergo non amittere et habere sunt idem, nullus itaque hic est medius terminus, sed perinde ac si diceres; quæ habes, habes, cornua habes, ergo habes. Hujus generis est, cùm tertium argumentum non integrum è propositione assumitur: ut, "omnes apostoli sunt duodecim; Petrus et Joannes sunt apostoli; ergo, Petrus et Joannes sunt duodecim." Hic "omnes" collectivè sumptum, pars est tertii argumenti, quod totum erat in assumptione assumendum. Ad hoc sophisma referendæ sunt denique omnes conversiones enuntiationum; quoties rem dubiam non argumento sive medio termino, sed conversione sola probare contendunt: de qua supra monuimus. Atque his ferè modis in formam syllogismi generalem peccatur.

Materia syllogismi vitiosa est, quoties antecedentis pars vel altera vel utraque est falsa: id fit tot modis, quot sunt argumentorum genera. Quorum cum veritas tum falsitas quanquam in axiomate judicatur, propterea tamen quòd argumenta ipsa in syllogismo disponuntur, qui modi præcipuè nominantur à dialecticis vel materia sola, vel partim materia, partim forma vitiosi, eos hic breviter attingemus.

Primus est materiæ solius; diciturque "non causæ ut causæ." Causæ autem nomen hic usurpatur pro quovis argumento, etiam non effecti ut effecti, non subjecti ut subjecti, et sic deinceps. Hanc captionem singulorum argumentorum definitiones facile refellunt.

Secundus est quæ vocatur fallacia "accidentis," sive quod idem est, à dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter: vel contrà, à dicto simpliciter ad dictum secundum quid; quoties id quod adjuncti est, subjecto attribuitur; aut contrà quod subjecti, adjuncto: ut, "quæ non restituenda sunt domino furioso, non restituenda sunt domino; "arma non restituenda sunt domino furioso; ergo, non domino:" vel contra: quæ "restituenda sunt domino, etiam domino furioso; arma domino; ergo, domino furioso." In his propositio semper falsa est.

Tertius est "ignoratio elenchi;" ("elenchus" autem est redargutio quælibet sive vera sive falsa) cùm leges oppositionis non observantur eidem numero, secundum idem, ad idem, et eodem tempore: ut "cæci vident; qui carent visu, sunt cæci; ergo, qui carent visu, vident." Propositio distinguenda est; nempe, qui fuerunt cæci, nunc vident. Sic; "is qui non videt cæcus est; dormiens non videt; est ergo cæcus." Ad idem non est: propositio enim de potentia, assumptio de actu videndi loquitur; vel quatuor sunt termini, et prava expositio dici potest. Aliis ignorantia elenchi est, cùm vel planè mutatur et torquetur status controversiæ, vel conclusio adversarii non directè opponitur nostræ thesi secundum canones legitimæ oppositionis.

Quartus est fallacia "consequentis," sive comparatorum, quæ è contrariis quidem sunt orta, sed parium collatione tractata, cum disputatur contraria esse contrariorum consequentia: quam regulam esse fallacem, l. 1, c. 18, copiose ostenditur: ut, "quæ eidem æqualia, inter se æqualia; ergo quæ eidem sunt inæqualia, inter se sunt inæqualia." Ut, 2, et 2, sunt inæquales ad 5; ergo sunt inter se inæquales. Duo latera quadrati symmetra non sunt diagono; ergo non sunt inter se.

CAP. X.

De Syllogismo simplici contracto.

"Syllogismus est simplex aut compositus.

"Simplex, ubi pars consequens quæstionis disponitur in propositione, pars antecedens in assumptione."

Ut syllogismi forma generalis erat dispositio quæstionis cum argumento, ita specialis quæque dispositio quæstionis cum argumento cujusque speciei forma est, Ex. gr. "homo est animal: Socrates est homo; ergo Socrates est animal." Hinc facile perspicitur, si quæstionis terminus major non disponatur in propositione majore, minor in minore, syllogismum non esse legitimum. Quòd si aliquando usu venit, ut antecedens quæstionis in propositione et consequens in assumptione disponi videatur, intelligere debemus syllogismi partes inverti: ut, "Socrates est homo: homo est animal; ergo Socrates est animal."

Sequitur jam syllogismi simplicis distinctio in adjunctos modos, qui ex partium, i. e. axiomatum affectione oriuntur.

"Syllogismus simplex est affirmatus è partib. omnib. affirmatis. Negatus ex negata antecedentis parte altera cum complexione." Non ex omnib. negatis, ut affirmatus ex omnibus affirmatis; nisi enim argumentum tertium cum altera parte quæstionis consentiat, nihil probat.

Ut autem syllogismorum tota ratio intelligatur (quod hoc loco fieri commodissimè posse arbitror) sciendum est eam duab. præcipuè legibus fundari; altera parium, altera generis ex loco petita. Ex parium loco; "quæ conveniunt in uno aliquo tertio, conveniunt inter se; et contrà, quæ non in uno tertio, non inter se." Ex loco generis; "quod generi generaliter attribuitur, id omnibus etiam attribuitur speciebus quæ sub eo genere continentur." Hæc regula vocatur in scholiis, "dictum de omni et nullo." Illa à geometricis primum sensu præeunte facilius inventa est; et præcipitur Aristot. 1, Prior. c. 1. Ut enim illic norma, "si duab. lineis æque conveniat, eas lineas demonstrat convenire inter se sive esse æquales;" eodem planè modo medius terminus si duob. conclusionis terminis conveniat, velut norma demon-

strat, convenire duos illos inter se, et contrà. Itaque si quæstio affirmanda est, quærendum est per omnes inventionis locos argumentum quod utrique parti quæstionis conveniat: si neganda est, quærendum quod uni parti conveniat, ab altera dissentiat; nam si ab utraque parte dissentit, tertium argumentum esse non poterit, nihil n. probabit. Ex. gr. quæritur "an Socrates sit animal?" Si affirmanda est hæc quæstio, ad illa duo argumenta quæ in quæstione sunt, "Socrates et animal," quærendum aliquod tertium argumentum est, quod cum utraque parte quæstionis consentiat. Ejusmodi autem est homo: nam homo convenit cum "animali," ut species cum suo genere; cum Socrate, ut genus cum sua specie; ergo "Socrates et animal" conveniunt inter se; adeoque "Socrates est animal." Sin neganda est quæstio, ut, "Socrates non est bestia," quærendum est argumentum tertium, quod ab altera tantum parte dissentiat. Hujusmodi autem est "homo: homo n. non est bestia, at Socrates est homo; ergo Socrates non est bestia." Sin medius cum neutro quæstionis termino conveniat, neutrius norma esse potest; neque ostendit, inter se conveniant, necne; neque "de omni" dicit neque "de nullo;" adeoque nec probat quicquam nec refellit. Unde illa regula; "ex utraque præmissa negata nihil concluditur: Aristot. 1, Prior. c. 24, ut "nullus lapis est animal; nullus homo est lapis, nullus igitur homo est animal." Excipitur tamen ab hac regula, si medius terminus sit negatus, vel duplex negatio sit in majore: ut, "quod non sentit, non est animal: planta non sentit; ergo planta non est animal." Hic enim major, quæ videtur esse negata, æquipollet affirmatæ; eademque est acsi diceret, "omne quod sentit est animal:" negationesque istæ topicæ potius et infinitæ, quàm axiomaticæ sunt, partiumque negationes non totius axiomatis, hoc potius modo enuntiandi, "quod est non sentiens, est non animal:" et hoc affirmatum planè axioma est. Sed hac de re plura dicemus infra cap. 12, ad secundam speciem explicati. Cur autem complexio, negata antecedentis parte altera, negata quoque esse debet, ratio est, trita illa regula, "conclusio sequitur partem debiliorem:" negatumque debilius est affirmato, particulare generali, contingens necessario. Regulæ autem ratio est, quia conclusio est præmissarum quasi effectum: nullum autem effectum est toto genere dignius aut fortius sua causa. Fallit ergo hic paralogismus: "qui non differt à bruto differt à Sophronisci filio: Socrates non differt à Sophronisci filio; ergo non à bruto." Hæc conclusio non sequitur, uti debuit, assumptionem negatam, sed propositionem affirmatam: et enim "non differt à bruto" non propositionis totius, sed antecedentis duntaxat ejus est negatio: idemque valet, acsi affirmatum sic esset; "qui idem est cum bruto." Sequitur autem conclusio sive consequens partem antecedentis negatam non affirmatam, quia si partes conclusionis non consentiunt in argumento tertio, non consentiunt inter se: sequitur partem specialem, non generalem, quia genus concludit speciem, non species genus; juxta illud superius dictum "de omni et nullo."

"Syllogismus simplex (nimirum qui ex simplicibus axiomatis constat) est vel generalis, vel specialis, vel proprius."

"Generalis è propositione et assumptione generalibus."

Non ex generali etiam conclusione, ut patebit infra.

"Specialis est ex altera tantum generali."

Hæc enim regula firmissima quoque est, "ex utraque præmissa particulari nihil concluditur." Exigit enim dictum "de omni et nullo" partem antecedentis unam saltem generalem: nec non in duabus particularibus quatuor sunt termini: cùm enim individua, quæ vocant, "vaga," particulares propositiones faciunt, fit ut de alio subjecto major, de alio minor ferè loquatur: ut, "quoddam animal est homo: quoddam animal est brutum; ergo quoddam brutum est homo. Quidam sunt divites: quidam sunt docti; ergo quidam docti sunt divites."

"Proprius est ex utraque propria."

Cur autem ex utraque propria cùm non ex utraque particulari, quia nempe hæc certa sunt et de eodem dicta, illa vaga "ut suprà."

Hinc liquet, cur ut axioma, ita syllogismus specialis in particularem et proprium divida non potuerit, cùm syllogismus proprius non sit species syllogismi specialis. Quare autem partes omnes non sint propriæ, i. e. axiomata propria, infra etiam apparebit. Et syllogismus quidem proprius, etsi ab Aristotele neglectus, ab aliis rejectus sit, usum tamen frequentissimum habet.

"Simplex syllogismus est contractus partibus, vel explicatus."

Aristoteles in tres figuras dividit syllogismum; primam, secundam, et tertiam. Verùm hanc Rami dichotomiam esse commodiorem et naturæ ordini aptius respondere res ipsa demonstrabit.

"Contractus syllogismus est, cùm exemplum pro argumento ita subjicitur particulari quæstioni, ut utramque ejus partem antecedere et assumptione affirmatum esse intelligatur."

Exempli gratia: "quædam confidentia est virtus, ut constantia. Quædam confidentia non est virtus, ut audacia."

In his, ut cernimus, primò quæstio particularis duntaxat proponitur; generale enim, ut inquit Aristot. pr. 1, 6, et 2, 7, in hac specie, quæ tertia nimirum Arist. figura est, concludere non licet: addo etiam, neque proprium; quæ ratio est, cur syllogismus generalis non ex omnibus generalibus et proprium non ex omnibus propriis definitur, cùm in hac specie consequens sive conclusio debeat semper esse particularis, etiamsi utraque pars antecedentis generalis aut propria fuerit: unde sequitur, particulares duntaxat quæstiones in hac specie concludi. Deinde exemplum speciale pro argumento subjicitur sive subjungitur, ut "constantia."

Hujus autem syllogismi dispositio specialis hæc esse intelligitur, si contractum explicamus (tametsi nunquam ferè nisi contractus in usu occurrit) ut exemplum sive argumentum tertium, primò utramque partem quæstionis in præmissis, quod aiunt, antecedat, sive præmissæ utriusque subjectum sit.

"Hic autem argumentum sive exemplum utramque partem quæstionis antecedere intelligitur," quia quæs-

tionis pars utraque argumento sive exemplo attribuitur, i. e. de eo vel affirmatur vel negatur; perinde quasi explicatè diceretur, "constantiam esse virtutem, et esse confidentiam; ergo quandam confidentiam esse virtutem." Item, "audaciam non esse virtutem, et tamen esse confidentiam; ideoque quandam confidentiam non esse virtutem." Exemplum ergo sive argumentum tertium in contracto, etsi quæstioni subjicitur, tamen si contractum explicas, et propositionis et assumptionis antecedens sive subjectum esse reperitur. Est autem contractus enthymematis quædam species, quæ, cùm explicatur, in peculiarem quandam syllogismi formam resolvitur, ideoque erat specialiter docenda. Secundò, postulat hujus syllogismi dispositio, ut assumptio semper affirmetur. Cùm enim tertium argumentum speciale exemplum sit, adeoque species antecedentis sive minoris termini quæstionis qui in assumptione semper disponitur, atque ita antecedens sit tertii argumenti genus; necesse est, genus de specie semper affirmari.

"Atque ista expositio quæstionis per exemplum quod subjicitur, principium syllogismi partibus explicati ab Aristot. 1, pr. 6, &c. efficitur, tanquam per se pleno syllogismi judicio clarior et illustrior."

Prior ergo est ordine syllogismus contractus explicato, cùm quia clarior, tum quia simplicior: est autem ita clarus, ut mens eum, sicuti est contractus, antè percipiat, quàm partibus explicari possit; ideoque usus disserendi contracta hac forma contentus, formam explicatam rarissime solet adhibere. Claritas autem ejus eximia vel hinc perspicitur; quòd cùm duo duntaxat hujus speciei sint sophismata, eorum inanitatem contracta hujus syllogismi forma facilius detegit quàm explicata, ut infra ostendetur.

Ad tollendum itaque dubitationem, non hic supplendæ syllogismi partes, ut in enthymemate, sed contrahendæ; contractum quippe explicatio hic est explicatius, et ab judicio syllogismi ad axiomatis clarius judicium hic est quasi provocandum et regrediendum.

Quod ad modos attinet hujus speciei, si contractam tantummodo formam spectamus, pluribus non est opus quàm duobus, uno affirmato, altero negato: quia non refert, utrum exemplum subalterna sit species an specialissima. Sin explicatam hanc speciem spectamus, plures habet modos quàm species reliquæ: quatuor autem sunt affirmati, totidem negati; quorum duo sunt generales, quatuor speciales, duo proprii: quatuor autem sunt in hac specie speciales modi, cùm in reliquis bini tantum sint; quia in hac specie propositio potest esse vel generalis vel particularis, in reliquis verò nunquam particularis est. Exempla hæc sunt.

Primus modus est affirmatus generalis: ut, "constantia est virtus: constantia est confidentia; ergo quædam confidentia est virtus."

Secundus est negatus generalis: ut, "audacia non est virtus: audacia est confidentia; ergo quædam confidentia non est virtus."

Affirmatis specialis duplex est; tertius et quartus. Tertius, cujus propositio est particularis: ut, "quidam sapiens est dives: omnis sapiens est laudabilis; ergo quidam laudabilis est dives."

Quartus, cujus propositio est generalis: ut, "omnis sapiens est laudabilis, quidam sapiens est pauper; ergo quidam pauper est laudabilis."

Negatus item specialis est duplex; quintus et sextus. Quintus, cujus propositio est particularis: ut, "quidam stultus non est fortunatus: omnis stultus et contemptus; ergo quidam contemptus non est fortunatus."

Sextus, cujus propositio est generalis: ut, "stultus non est beatus: quidam stultus est fortunatus; ergo quidam fortunatus non est beatus."

Reliqui duo proprii sunt, cùm exemplum est species specialissima sive individuum. Affirmatus est, "Socrates est philosophus: Socrates est homo: ergo quidam homo est philosophus." Negatus est, "Thersites non est philosophus: Thersites est homo; ergo quidam homo non est philosophus."

Contracti syllogismi duo vitia sive sophismata sunt, quæ definitione præcaventur. Unum, si quæstio sive conclusio particularis non sit: ut "omnis homo est rationalis: omnis homo est animal; ergo omne animal est rationale," ratio est, quia id quod non generaliter attribuitur in assumptione (non enim omne animal est homo) non potest esse generale subjectum conclusionis. Alterum est cùm assumptio est negata: ut, "homo est animal: homo non est bestia; ergo bestia non est animal." Quæ duo sophismata in contracta hujus syllogismi forma, facilius, ut suprà dixi, deteguntur, et primo statim intuitu ridentur: ut, "omne animal est rationale, ut homo: quædam bestia non est animal, ut homo."

CAP. XI.

De Prima Specie Syllogismi simplicis explicati.

Syllogismus explicatus præter ipsum nomen aliam definitionem non desiderat. Dicitur "explicatus," non quod semper omnibus occurrat partibus explicatus, sic enim vix millesimus quisque syllogismus occurrit, sed quod partes non modo in forma integra, verùm etiam in enthymemate semper distinctas habet.

"In syllogismo explicato propositio est generalis aut propria; et conclusio similis antecedenti aut parti debiliori."

Similis, nempe et qualitate et quantitate: antecedenti, utrique scilicet ejus parti, propositioni et assumptioni, si ipsi inter se similes sunt sive affirmatæ sive generales sive propriæ, sin dissimiles, parti debiliori, ut suprà.

"Syllogismi explicati species duæ sunt. Prima ubi argumentum semper sequitur, negatum in altera parte."

Hæc prima species explicati, "figura secunda" ab Aristotele dicitur. Prior autem hæc species efficitur, quia dispositio ejus est simplicior, ut ex altera specie collata comperiemus. Sequitur autem semper argumentum partem utramque quæstionis, consequentem in propositione, antecedentem in assumptione: unde

ab Aristot. p. 1, 5, "prædicatum de ambabus" dicitur. Negatum autem dicitur argumentum in altera parte quia pars altera vel propositio nempe vel assumptio semper est negata. Unde cùm negata etiam conclusio semper necessariò sit, sequitur, hujus speciei modos omnes negatos esse, et negatas duntaxat quæstiones hac specie concludi, quæ omnis in refutationibus est posita.

Modi hujus syllogismi sex sunt; et omnes quidem, ut diximus, negati; duo generales, duo speciales, duo proprii.

Generalis primus, cujus propositio negatur: "Turbatus non benè utitur ratione: sapiens bene utitur ratione; sapiens igitur non est turbatus." Hoc exemplum in sua crypsi sic apud Ciceronem est, 3 Tuscul. "Quemadmodum oculus conturbatus non est probè affectus ad suum munus fungendum, et reliquæ partes totumque corpus à statu cum est motum, deest officio suo et muneri; sic conturbatus animus non est probè affectus ad exequendum munus suum. Munus autem animi est ratione uti: et sapientis animus ita semper affectus est, ut ratione optimè utatur; nunquam igitur est perturbatus." Crypsis hic unica redundantia est: nam ordo partium rectus est, nec ulla pars deest: prosyllogismus unus est propositionis: illustratur enim propositio similitudine plena, cujus redditio est ipsius propositionis sententia.

Generalis secundus, cujus assumptio negatur: "Res mortalis est composita: animus non est compositus; animus igitur non est mortalis." Hic syllogismus crypsi involutus est apud Cic. 1 Tuscul. quo is judicat animum immortalem esse. "In animi autem cognitione," inquit, "dubitare non possumus, nisi fortè in physicis plumbei sumus, quin nihil sit animis admixtum, nihil concretum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. Quod cùm ita sit, certè nec secerni, nec dividi, nec discerpi, nec distrahi potest; nec interire igitur: est enim interitus quasi discessus et secretio ac diremptus earum partium quæ ante interitum junctione aliqua tenebantur." In hoc exemplo partium ordo invertitur: nam postremo in loco propositionis sententia ponitur, interitum esse scilicet rerum compositarum, assumptio occurrit prima, "in animi autem cognitione," &c. Et ornatur synonymis: conclusio media est atque à causa illustratur, "ergo nec secerni, &c., nec interire igitur."

Specialis primus est, cujus propositio negatur: "lividus non est magnanimus, Maximus est: Maximus igitur non est lividus." Hoc judicio Ovidius 3 de Pont. eleg. 3, concludit.

> "Livor, iners vitium, mores non exit in altos;
> Utque latens ima vipera serpit humo.
> Mens tua sublimis supra genus eminet ipsum.
> Grandius ingenio nec tibi nomen inest.
> Ergo, alii noceant, miseris, optentque timeri,
> Tinctaque mordaci spicula felle gerant.
> At tua supplicibus domus est assueta juvandis;
> In quorum numero me precor esse velis."

Hujus etiam exempli crypsis redundantia sola est: propositio suos habet prosyllogismos, et livor pro livido ponitur, adjunctum pro subjecto; et illustratur à contrario abjecto; isque à simili, "vipera:" assumptio, i. e. Maximi magnanimitas, illustratur partim à minori totius generis magnanimitate, partim à notatione nominis ejus, i. e. Maximi; cujus parem esse animi magnitudinem demonstrat: conclusio negat Maximum esse lividum, partim quia dissimilis sit lividorum, quos describit ab effectis, "ergo alii noceant," &c.; partim, quia ipse faciat quæ magnanimus consuevit, qui disparatus à livido est; "at tua supplicibus," &c.

Specialis secundus est, cujus assumptio negatur: "saltator est luxuriosus: Muræna non est luxuriosus; Muræna igitur non est saltator." Cic. pro Muræn. "Nemo enim ferè saltat sobrius, nisi fortè insanet: neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Intempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. Tu mihi arripis id quod necesse est omnium vitiorum esse postremum; relinquis illa quibus remotis, hoc vitium omnino esse non potest: nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non comessatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur: et cùm ea non reperiantur quæ voluptatis nomen habent, quæque vitiosa sunt, in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te umbram luxuriæ reperturum putas?" Hujus etiam syllogismi partes prosyllogismis exornantur. Propositionis sententia his verbis continetur, "intempestivi convivii," &c., quam prosyllogismus præcedens illustrat à contrariis, "nemo ferè saltat sobrius," &c; assumptio per partes explicatur, "nullum turpe convivium," &c., et à minoribus quibusdam illustratur: cujus etiam prosyllogismus præcedit, reprehensio nempe Catonis, quòd postularet consequens, non probato antecedente: postremo loco ponitur conclusio, quæ negat Murænam esse saltatorem repetendo quædam quæ in assumptione præcesserant; et interrogatione fortius negando.

Hoc judicii modo Ovidius 1 Trist. eleg. 1, tripliciter concludit dum carminum suorum excusationem exponit:

> "Carmina proveniunt animo deducta sereno;
> Nubila sunt subitis tempora nostra malis.
> Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quærunt.
> Me mare, me venti, me fera jactat hyems.
> Carminibus metus omnis abest; ego perditus ensem
> Hæsurum jugulo jam puto jamque meo.
> Hæc quoque quæ facio, judex mirabitur æquus;
> Scriptaque cum venia qualiacunque leget."

Tres hic syllogismi sunt qui in unum sic reduci possunt: "Ut quis possit carmina bona scribere, oportet is lætus sit, otiosus, securus: ego nec lætus sum, nec otiosus, nec securus; ergo bona carmina non scribo." Pro assumptionibus prosyllogismi à dissentaneis et impedientibus causis ponuntur. Deinde conclusio sequitur, non ipsa quidem sed ejus consectarium; mirum esse si bona sunt; sed potius cum venia esse legenda, quia non sunt bona.

Proprius primus est, cujus propositio negatur; ut, "Agesilaus non est pictus ab Apelle: Alexander est pictus ab Apelle; Alexander igitur non est Agesilaus."

Proprius secundus est, cujus assumptio negatur: ut "Cæsar oppressit patriam: Tullius non oppressit patriam; ergo Tullius non est Cæsar."

Sophismata hic duo sunt: quorum unum utrique explicati speciei commune est, alterum primæ speciei proprium. Commune est, cùm propositio est particularis; quæ ex communi explicatorum regula generalis aut propria esse debuit.

Sophisma prima speciei proprium est, cùm argumentum tertium in altera parte antecedentis non negatur, ut definitio primæ speciei præcipit: unde illud vulgò dictum, Ex duabus affirmatis in secunda figura, nihil concluditur. Excipiendum tamen est, si propositio fortè axioma reciprocum sit: ut, "homo est animal rationale: Socrates est animal rationale; ergò Socrates est homo." Verùm hic potius inversio partium propositionis intelligenda est; "animal rationale est homo:" atque ita ad sequentem speciem syllogismi refertur.

CAP. XII.

De Secunda Specie Syllogismi simplicis explicati.

"Secunda species explicati syllogismi est, quando argumentum antecedit in propositione, sequitur affirmatum in assumptione."

Hæc species ab Aristotele, "prima figura" dicitur; sed naturæ ordine est postrema. Cùm enim in reliquis speciebus dispositio questionis cum argumento tertio simplex et uniusmodi sit, in hac specie duplex est; in propositione enim argumentum antecedit quæstionis consequentem, utpote specialius; in assumptione sequitur quæstionis antecedentem, utpote generalius; unde fortè medius terminus in hac solùm figura propriè dicitur. Quòd autem propositio nunquam particularis, conclusio semper antecedenti similis aut parti debiliori est, id habet commune cum explicata specie priore; hoc etiam cum contracta, affirmatum esse in assumptione; nisi in contracta, quæstionis antecedens ut generalius de argumento; in hac, argumentum de antecedente quæstionis affirmatur.

Hæc maxime figura fundatur dicto illo "de omni et nullo:" antecedens enim sive subjectum propositionis continet genus, adeoque est semper generalis, subjectum assumptionis continet speciem quæ de illo genere affirmata. Assumptio itaque semper esse debet affirmata. Ex quo sequitur, quicquid de genere in propositione dicitur, id de eo quod in assumptione species esse illius generis affirmatur, in conclusione rectissimè concludi. Quod si genus illud subjectum scil. propositionis termino infinito negante, seu topicè contradictorio exprimitur, non negata continuò censenda erit assumptio quamvis esse videatur; assumit n. tantummodo genus ex propositione termino illo topicè duntaxat contradictorio expressum, ipsa nihil axiomaticè negat: ut, "quisquis non credit, damnatur: aliquis Judæus non credit; ergo aliquis Judæus damnatur." Hic propositionis subjectum est genus "quisquis non credit," i. e. omnis non credens sive infidelis: Judæus est ex numero sive specie non credentium, id quod assumptio non negat, sed affirmat æque acsi sic diceret, "aliquis Judæus est non credens."

Ex hac autem affirmatione sequitur, nullum argumentum ab antecedente quæstionis dissentaneum, in hac secunda specie locum habere. De cætero, hæc species neque ad particulares quæstiones, ut contracta, neque ad negatas, ut prior species explicati, restringitur; sed ad omnia quæstionum genera concludenda rectè adhibetur.

Restant hujus speciei modi; qui quanquam partim affirmati sunt partim negati, plures tamen non sunt quàm in altera specie, ubi omnes erant solùm negati. Æqualitatis ratio est quòd assumptionis affirmatio, et solius inde propositionis negatio negatorum numerum minuit. Modi igitur hujus speciei sex itidem sunt; tres affirmati, tres item negati; utrique rursum sunt generales, speciales, et proprii.

Primus est affirmatus generalis: ut, "omne justum est utile; omne honestum est justum, omne igitur honestum est utile." Quod Cic. 2 Off. ita concludit: "quicquid justum sit, id etiam utile esse censent: item quod honestum, idem justum: ex quo efficitur, ut quicquid honestum sit, idem sit utile." Propositionis prosyllogismus à testimonio Stoicorum primo in loco ponitur, deinde omnes partes ordine sequuntur. Partes hujus syllogismi sunt axiomata relatæ essentiæ, quæ simplicium axiomatum vim habent.

Secundus modus est negatus generalis: "Timidus non est liber: avarus est timidus; avarus itaque non est liber." Hoc ita concluditur et judicatur ab Horatio, epist. l. 1, 16:

> "Quò melior servo, quò liberior sit avarus,
> In triviis fixum, cùm se demittit ob assem,
> Non video. Nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque: porro
> Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam."

In hoc exemplo duplex est crypsis, inversio partium et prosyllogismus. Primo in loco ponitur conclusio, eaque duabus prosyllogismis illustratur; primò à pari, quod "avarus" non "sit liberior servo:" secundò ab effectis, quod "se demittit ob assem." Tum ponitur assumptio "qui cupiet, metuet quoque." Propositio postremo in loco ponitur,

> "Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam."

Sic Terent. in Eunuch. concludit et judicat: "consilii expers, consilio regi non potest: amor est consilii expers; consilio itaque regi non potest." Syllogismus his verbis sequitur:

> "Here, quæ res in se neque consilium neque modum
> Habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes.
> In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; injuriæ,
> Suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
> Bellum, pax rursum: incerta hæc si tu postules
> Ratione certâ facere, nihilo plus agas,
> Quàm si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias."

In hoc exemplo propositio suo loco est "quæ res in se, &c." Pro assumptione ponitur ejus prosyllogismus variorum amoris adjunctorum quæ consilium impediunt; amor consilii expers est, "quia in amore hæc insunt vitia, &c." Conclusio sequitur "incerta hæc, &c." Cu

jus sententia comparatione parium comprehenditur, ergo si amorem consilio regere vis, " nihilo plus," &c.

Tertius modus est affirmatus specialis: " Consules propter virtutem facti, studiosè remp. tueri debent: Cicero est propter virtutem factus consul; Cicero igitur studiosè remp. tueri debet." Sic orator diligentiam suam, Agr. 2, concludit et judicat: " Nam cùm omnium consulum," ait, " gravis in repub. custodienda, cura ac diligentia debet esse, tum eorum maximè, qui non in incunabulis, sed in campo sunt consules facti. Nulli populo Rom. pro me majores nostri spoponderunt mihi creditum est: à me petere quod debeo, me ipsum appellare debetis. Quemadmodum cùm petebam, nulli me auctores generis mei vobis commendarunt: sic siquid deliquero, nullæ sunt imagines, quæ me à vobis deprecentur. Quare modò ut vita suppetat (quanquam ego sum is qui cam possim ab istorum scelere insidiisque defendere) polliceor vobis, Quirites, bona fide, remp. vigilanti homini, non timido, diligenti, non ignavo, commisistis." Partes hujus syllogismi prosyllogismis ornantur. Propositio à minori illustratur: cujus sententia est comparationis redditio, diversis illustrata: " nam cum omnium consulum gravis, &c. tum eorum maximè:" diversa sunt, " non in incunabulis, sed in campo." Assumptio sequitur, " nulli populi Rom. &c.," quæ iisdem rursus diversis illustratur, et à simili; meis, non majorum meritis; in campò, non in incunabulis: similitudo his verbis continetur; " quemadmodum cùm petebam, &c." Tandem conclusionis sententia sequitur illustrata, primùm testimonio promissi, obligationis vim habentis, " polliceor, &c.;" deinde diverso et disparato; " quare modo, &c." Ergo Cicero erit vigilans, non timidus; diligens, non ignavus.

Aliud exemplum: " quod optatum redierit, gratum est: Lesbia Catullo optata rediit; grata igitur est."

" Si quicquam cupidoque optantique obtigit unquam et
Insperanti, hoc gratum est animo propriè.
Quare hoc est gratum, nobis quoque charius auro,
Quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido.
Restituis cupido atque insperanti ipsa refers te
Nobis; ò lucem candidiore nota!
Quis me uno vivit felicior, aut magis hac quid
Optandum vita dicere quis poterit?"

In hoc exemplo propositio videtur esse composita, simplex tamen est, et syllogismus simplex; quia simplex est dispositio argumenti cum partibus quæstionis. Duplex hic crypsis est, reversio et redundantia. Primo loco est propositio " si quicquam cupido,&c." i. e. quicquid cupido; " si " enim non semper connexi nota est. Assumptio est in quarto et quinto versu, Lesbia Catullo optata rediit. Conclusio est versu tertio illustrata à minori, " quare hoc est gratum et auro charius." Tribus postremis versibus iteratur sententia conclusionis, primùm ab adjuncto tempore, " ò lucem:" deinde à pari, " nemo me felicior, aut magis hac quid, &c."

Quartus modus est negatus specialis: " deceptor amantis puellæ non est laudandus: Demophoon est deceptor amantis puellæ; Demophoon igitur non est laudandus." Phyllis apud Ovidium ita judicat Demophoontem laudandum non esse.

" Fallere credentem non est operosa puellam
Gloria: simplicitas digna favore fuit.
Sum decepta tuis et amans et fœmina verbis;
Dii faciant laudis summa sit ista tuæ."

Propositio suum obtinet locum cum prosyllogismo adjunctæ simplicitatis, ut causæ cur deceptor non sit laudandus. Assumptio sequitur, sum " decepta tuis," &c. Conclusionis sententia imprecatione continetur, " dii faciant, &c."

Quintus modus est affirmatus proprius: ut, " Octavius est hæres Cæsaris: ego sum Octavius; sum igitur hæres Cæsaris."

Sextus modus est negatus proprius: ut, " Antonius non est filius Cæsaris: tu es Antonius; non es igitur filius Cæsaris."

Hujus itaque speciei laus est præ cæteris, quòd omnia quæstionum genera concludat; nempe generales, speciales, vel proprias, easque vel affirmatas vel negatas; et præsertim generales affirmatas: ob quam potissimum causam Aristoteles speciem hanc et reliquis anteposuit, quod primus ejus modus nempe " affirmatus generalis" sit maximè scientificus, post. l. 11, cùm præcepta artium solus demonstret, et reductionem reliquarum ad hanc figuram sive speciem laboriosè et subtiliter excogitavit, verum non sic præstat hæc species cæteris duabus, ut earum idcirco ad hanc reductio cum tanta ut sit, alphabeti vexatione elaboranda fuerit, quandoquidem et reliquæ species non imperfectæ sunt, nec minus necessariò concludunt, id enim syllogismi speciebus commune cunctis est, quæstiones denique illas, quæ ad ipsarum judicium rectè referuntur, interdum aptius concludunt, quàm in hac specie concludi queunt. Meritò itaque Galenus, l. 2, de placit. Hippoc. et Plat. reductionem hanc omnemque ejus supellectilem abecedariam tanquam vanissimæ subtilitatis doctrinam inanem ac futilem post Antipatrum et Chrysippum explodit. Et Keckermannus ipse, in P. Ramum ferè iniquior, reductionem tamen illam quam vocant " per impossibile," ad eos duntaxat refutandos inventam, homines sanè absurdos et rarò admodum repertos, qui utraque præmissa concessa, conclusionem negent, fatetur se potius propter consuetudinem scholarum, quàm propter magnum ejus usum retinuisse. At consuetudo certè gnaviter nugandi ejicienda è scholis potius, quàm retinenda erat.

Tres hic paralogismi refellendi sunt; quorum duo sunt utrique speciei explicatæ communes, propositio nimirum particularis, et conclusio partis non debilioris: utriusque exemplum hoc esse potest: " quoddam animal est rationale: bestia est animal; ergo bestia est rationalis." Et præterea totum medium, nempe " quoddam animal," non assumitur.

Proprius in hac specie paralogismus est argumenti negatio in assumptione: ut, " omnis homo est animal: equus non est homo; ergo equus non est animal."

Hic etiam " solus et unicus" pro negandi particulis habendi sunt; pariterque reddunt assumptionem captiosam: ut, " quicquid est in mea domo, est in oppido: unicus fons est in mea domo; ergo unicus fons est in oppido." Sic, " quicquid est risibile, est animal: solus

homo est risibilis: ergo solus homo est animal." Tam enim hæ particulæ quàm negatio in minore, ostendunt non reciprocum esse majorem; adeòque conclusionem ex majore per minorem, vel generale ex proprio non sequi.

Expendenda porrò hic definitionis verba sunt; quæ non tam assumptionem ipsam quàm argumentum in assumptione affirmatum significant. Cùm enim propositionis antecedens (quod tertium argumentum est) negatione infinita topica duntaxat exprimatur, assumptionis consequens (quod etiam tertium argumentum est) eandem negationem retinere debet; alioqui non sequeretur argumentum affirmatum in assumptione, sed contradictione sublatum. Negatio autem hæc non dicenda est vel assumptionis vel argumenti negatio, sed argumenti infiniti affirmatio: tum enim demum negatur in assumptione argumentum, cùm illius negatio propositionis affirmationi opponitur. Exempli gratia: "qui non est dives, contemnitur. Posthumus non est dives; ergo Posthumus contemnitur." Assumptionem hic non negari probat affirmatio conclusionis: sed perinde est acsi hoc modo argumentaretur: "omnis homo qui non est dives, contemnitur: Posthumus est homo qui non est dives; ergo Posthumus contemnitur." Vel hoc modo: "omnis non dives contemnitur: Posthumus est non dives; ergo contemnitur." Sed hæc ex iis etiam quæ suprà ad definitionem ipsam hujus speciei diximus, puto non esse obscura.

Præterea in quibusdam exemplis, quorum propositio est reciproca, videtur interdum syllogismus iste habere assumptionem negatam; cùm dicendum sit potius, partes propositionis inverti, quæ si in ordinem revocentur, syllogismus erit in prima specie explicati: ut, "Joan. 8, 47. Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit: vos ex Deo non estis; ergo verba Dei non auditis." Propositio invertenda est: "qui verba Dei audit, is ex Deo est: vos non estis ex Deo; ergo verba Dei non auditis."

CAP. XIII.

De Syllogismo connexo primo.

Adhuc simplex Syllogismus fuit.

"Syllogismus compositus est syllogismus ubi tota quæstio est pars altera propositionis affirmatæ et compositæ; argumentum est pars reliqua."

Negat Aristoteles ullam esse syllogismi speciem præter tres figuras; et tamen ipse sæpe utitur composito, qui ad nullam ex tribus figuris referri potest: Verùm usus, optimus magister docet, sæpius in communi hominum sermone ac disputationibus, compositos adhiberi syllogismos, quàm simplices: ut qui multas quæstiones, multa argumenta commodè satis disponant, quæ syllogismi simplices respuunt. Theophrastus etiam et Eudemus, Aristotelis discipuli, quin etiam Stoici, et post eos Cicero et Boëthius, usum præceptorem secuti, compositos non omiserunt. Syllogismus autem compositus dicitur non tam quod ex compositis axiomatis, nam et simplex potest ex compositis, nimirum relatis constare, sed à composita dispositione quæstionis totius cum tertio argumento in propositione; unde assumptio tota etiam assumitur; et conclusio non partim ex propositione partim ex assumptione, sed tota ex propositione deducitur: propositio enim cùm sit composita, duas reliquas syllogismi partes (quæ axiomata simplicia sunt) conjunctionis vinculo conjunctas complectitur: pars illa efficit assumptionem quæ argumentum continet, altera conclusionem. Propositio autem debet esse affirmata, quia negata si esset, composita esse desineret, ipsa enim compositio negatione dissolveretur. Propositionem autem negatam efficit, ut de axiomate composito supra dictum est, non partium sed conjunctionis negatio; ut, "si non est animal, non est homo;" hæc propositio ex omnibus etiam partibus negatis affirmata est; rectè igitur inde assumitur atque concluditur, "at non est animal, ergo neque homo." Sin hoc modo dicerem, "non si non est animal, idcirco non est homo," ex hac negata propositione nihil omnino deduci aut concludi posset. In syllogismis itaque compositis ex ipsa conjunctionis vi deducuntur assumptio et conclusio. Ex duobus enim quæ propositione conjunguntur, aut unum assumitur ut alterum concludatur, aut unum tollitur ut alterum tollatur.

"Tollere autem in syllogismo composito, non est negare, sed specialem contradictionem ponere."

Specialis autem contradictio, ut in axiomate simplici jam diximus, particularis est aut propria. Tollere igitur propositionis partem aliquam in assumptione aut conclusione, est ejus contradictionem particularem aut propriam ponere. Particulari autem generaliter contradici, generali particulariter, ibidem etiam docemur. Exemplis rem planam suo quamque loco faciemus.

Sequitur nunc compositi syllogismi distributio: cujus genera ex propositionum compositione oriuntur: propositiones axiomata composita semper sunt: ex quatuor autem axiomatum compositorum generibus copulatum si affirmatum sit, non habet locum in composito syllogismo; si negatum, æquipollet interdum disjuncto: discretum syllogismi expers est, quia diversa ex quibus constat, nec planè consentiunt, et tamen ita leviter dissentiunt, ut uno posito vel remoto, non tamen sequatur alterum poni vel removeri; aut vim habet connexi.

"Syllogismus itaque compositus est connexus aut disjunctus."

"Syllogismus connexus est syllogismus compositus propositionis connexæ." Vel cujus propositio est axioma connexum.

Cùm autem axiomati connexo affine sit relatum temporis, ut ibidem ostendimus, etiam syllogismi connexi propositio poterit relata esse temporis: nam quantitatis, qualitatis, loci propositiones relatæ in simplicibus syllogismis locum habent; qui in iis propositionibus quæstionis duntaxat consequens cum argumento disponitur. Relatum denique consequentiæ, de quo supra cap. 6, syllogismus idoneus non est.

"Syllogismus connexus est duorum modorum.

"Primus modus syllogismi connexi est, qui assumit antecedens et consequens concludit."

Quo modo Cicero judicat et concludit l. 2, de divinatione: "si dii sunt, divinatio est: sunt autem dii; divinatio est igitur."

Aliud ex 3, Offic. "Atque si etiam hoc natura præscribit, ut homo homini, quicunque sit, ob eam ipsam causam, quòd is homo sit, consultum velit, necesse est secundum eandem naturam, omnium utilitatem esse communem. Quod si ita est, una continemur omnes et eadem lege naturæ. Idque ipsum si ita est, certè violare alterum lege naturæ prohibemur. Verum autem primum; verum igitur et extremum."

Propositio hujus syllogismi est sorites (de quo infrà) trium graduum, "si hoc natura præscribit, ut, &c."

"Frequenter hic non assumitur idem sed majus."

Ut 1 Catil. "Si te parentes odissent, discederes: nunc patria te odit (quæ communis est omnium nostrum parens) multo magis ergo discedes." Sed "majus illud" facile contineri in propositione poterit hoc modo; si propter odium parentum discederes, multo magis propter odium patriæ. "At illud; ergo hoc multo magis."

Simili ratione concluditur etiam majus vel minus: ut Cic. pro Quint. "Etsi vadimonium deseruisset, non debuisses tamen ad extrema jura descendere:" at non deseruit; multò minus ergo debuisti, vel multò magis non debuisti.

"Concludendi modus," ut supradiximus, "hic idem est quando propositio est relata temporis."

Ut, "cùm Paris Œnonem deseret, Xanthus recurrit; Paris Œnonem deseret; Xanthus ergo recurrit."

Sed tamen relata temporis ut et reliqua axiomata composita, id quod supra monuimus, ad syllogismum simplicem pertinebunt quoties non tota quæstio in propositione disponitur: quod quidem semper fit, cùm de certo et definito tempore quæstio est: ut si quæratur an hoc tempore sit æstas, hujusmodi erit syllogismus: "cùm sol est in Cancro, æstas est: at hoc tempore sol est in Cancro; ergo hoc tempore æstas est."

CAP. XIV.

De Syllogismo connexo secundo.

"Secundus modus connexi tollit consequens, ut tollat antecedens."

Hæc enim vis connexi axiomatis est, si consequens non sit, nec esse antecedens. Sic Cicero 4 de Fin., "docent nos," inquit, "dialectici, &c. Si illud, hoc: non autem hoc; igitur ne illud quidem."

Sequuntur exempli: "si ulli rei sapiens assentietur unquam, aliquando etiam opinabitur: nunquam autem opinabitur; nulli igitur rei assentietur." Hic consequens contradictione speciali in assumptione tollitur, "aliquandò, nunquam;" conclusio etiam antecedenti specialiter contradicit; "ulli rei, nulli rei."

Eodem syllogismo Ovid. 2 de Trist. stultitiam suam judicat:

> "Si saperem doctas odissem jure sorores,
> Numina cultori perniciosa suo.
> At nunc (tanta meo comes est insania morbo)
> Saxa memor refero rursus ad icta pedem."

Propositio est, "si saperem, Musas odissem:" cujus prosyllogismus est ab adjuncta pernicie. Assumptio, at non odi; quæ à simili exprimitur, "at nunc saxa memor, &c.," ergo non sapio: cujus conclusionis sententia in parenthesi est; "tanta meo, &c." Atque in hoc exemplo est contradictio propria.

"Hæ duæ syllogismi species sunt omnium usitatissimæ."

Non enim ea solùm argumenta quæ in simplicibus et disjunctis syllogismis disponi non possunt, in connexis facile disponuntur, sed etiam ex iis quæ possunt aliis formis concludi, multa in his speciebus facilius et promptius concluduntur: immo nullum omnino argumentum, quod in syllogismum usum habet, has connexi species respuit.

Præter hos duos connexi syllogismi modos nonnulli duos alios adjiciunt; quorum prior tollit antecedens ut tollat consequens, posterior assumit consequens ut concludat antecedens. In quos modos etsi communis fortè sermo, boni etiam authores nonnunquam incidunt, tamen cum in syllogismo non veritas partium sed necessitas consequentiæ spectetur, tenendum est, vitiosos esse eos modos qui ex veris verum juxta et falsum possunt concludere. Prior ergo hic modus qui tollit antecedens est prioris legitimi modi paralogismus, affinis negatæ assumptioni in secunda specie explicati: ut, "si homo est leo, sentit: non est leo; ergo non sentit." Et hoc: "si Dio est equus, est animal: at non est equus; ergo non est animal. Si orator est, homo est: non est orator; ergo nec homo." Hoc si sic resolvas in secundam speciem explicati, "omnis orator est homo," fallacia patebit. Immo sine ista reductione per se etiam patet: tollit enim antecedens, quod minus est, ut tollat consequens, quod majus est: à minore autem ad majus nulla est hujusmodi consequentia.

Modus posterior, qui assumit consequens ut concludat antecedens, est captio posterioris legitimi modi, affinis paralogismo ex omnibus affirmatis in prima specie explicati: ut, "si homo est leo, sentit: at sentit; ergo est leo." Utrumque hunc paralogismum Aristoteles appellat fallaciam consequentis; quæ toties fit quoties propositio non est reciproca.

Sed est etiam aliud sophisma secundi modi, cùm assumptio non tollit contradictione speciali; id est, quando consequenti vel generali generaliter, vel particulari particulariter contradicit. Generalis contradictionis exemplum est, "si omne animal est irrationale, omnis etiam homo est irrationalis: at nullus homo est irrationalis: nullum ergo animal est irrationale." Particularis hoc: "si homo est rationalis, aliquod animal est rationale: sed aliquod animal non est rationale; ergo nec homo."

CAP. XV.

De Syllogismo disjuncto primo.

"Syllogismus disjunctus est syllogismus compositus propositionis disjunctæ.

"Modi duo sunt." Sic etiam Cic. in Top. et Stoici apud Laërtium.

"Primus tollit unum, et reliquum concludit.

"Ut, aut dies est, aut nox: at dies non est; ergo nox est. Vel, nox non est; dies ergo est."

Ciceronis pro Cluentio judicium tale est: "sed cùm esset hæc illi proposita conditio, ut aut justè pièque accusaret, aut acerbè indignèque moreretur; accusare quoquo modo posset, quàm illo modo mori maluit." Disjunctio clarior sic erit: "aut accusandum aut moriendum: non moriendum; accusandum igitur." In hoc exemplo, ut est apud Cic., est partium inversio, totusque syllogismus in axiomate relato consequentiæ involvitur. Propositio non est absolutè vera, sed ex conditione. Assumptio et conclusio per comparationem minoris ponuntur; ita, ut conclusio præcedat.

Sic idem 2 Phil. ratiocinatur: "nunquamne intelliges tibi statuendum esse, utrum illi qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidæ sint an vindices libertatis? Attende, &c. Nego quicquam esse medium. Confiteor illos nisi liberatores populi Rom. conservatoresque reip. sint, plus quàm sicarios, plus quàm homicidas, plus quàm parricidas esse: siquidem est atrocius patriæ parentem, &c. Si parricidæ, cur honoris causa à te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Rom. semper appellati? Cur, &c. Atque hæc acta per te. Non igitur homicidæ. Sequitur ut liberatores tuo judicio sint; quandoquidem tertium nihil potest esse." Quæstio hic proponitur initio de Cæsaris interfectoribus, "utrum," &c. Propositio proponitur axiomate connexo, "confiteor illos nisi," &c., quod æquipollet disjuncto; "aut vindices sunt libertatis aut plusquam homicidæ:" illustratur enim ea pars disjunctionis à majori: et præcedit prosyllogismus, quo ostenditur disjunctionem hanc esse sine medio, et proinde necessariam. Assumptio sequitur, "non sunt homicidæ;" idque confirmatur prosyllogismo à testimonio et factis ipsius Antonii. Prosyllogismus concluditur in secundo connexo, si parricidæ, cur, &c.? "at hæc acta per te; non igitur homicidæ." Conclusio denique sequitur, "ut liberatores fuerint;" idque repetito propositionis prosyllogismo confirmatur, "quandoquidem tertium sive medium nihil potest esse."

"Si partes disjunctæ propositionis sint duabus plures, judicandi concludendique ars erit eadem."

Quamvis autem disjunctionis partes esse possint sæpenumerò plures quàm duæ, id quod in disparatis accidit, ipsius tamen propositionis duæ tantummodo partes sunt; quarum una est quæstio, altera est argumentum. In hoc modo ubi quæstio semper concluditur, tertium argumentum plura opposita comprehendit, quæ omnia in assumptione tollenda sunt, ut quæstio concludatur: nam oppositorum plura simul affirmari nequeunt, negari plura simul queunt.

Sic Cic. judicat "Rabirium cum consulibus esse oportuisse. Aut enim cum consulibus, aut cum seditiosis, aut latuisse: at nec cum seditiosis fuisse, nec latuisse; fuisse ergo cum consulibus. Pro Rabir. Atqui videmus ait hæc in rerum natura tria fuisse, ut aut cum Saturnino esset, aut cum bonis, aut lateret. Latere autem, mortis erat instar turpissimæ: cum Saturnino esse, furoris et sceleris; virtus et honestas et pudor cum coss. esse cogebat." Propositio per se clara est. Assumptionis partes prosyllogismis illustrantur, primo à simili, deinde ab adjunctis. Conclusio prosyllogismo ab efficiente illustratur.

Notandum est in hoc modo non ita exigi specialem contradictionem, ut in reliquis; neque enim ad consequentiæ necessitatem pertinet in hoc modo, ut in reliquis, sed ad assumptionis solius veritatem. Si ergo assumptio generalem contradictionem ferre potest, per consequentiam licebit uti: ad consequentiæ enim rationem sufficit, alterum quovis modo tolli, ut reliquum concludatur, eademque conclusio erit, sive specialis sive generalis in assumptione contradictio fuerit, in altero verò modo secus erit, ubi contradictio in ipsam conclusionem cadit.

CAP. XVI.

De Syllogismo disjuncto secundo.

"Disjunctus secundus è propositione partibus omnibus affirmata assumit unum et reliquum tollit."

Secundus efficitur, quia minus generalis est primo, utpote proprietatibus quibusdam astrictus, quibus prior immunis erat. Proprietates autem hæ sunt, 1. partium omnium propositionis affirmatio, non totius modò propositionis, id enim syllogismis omnibus compositis commune est; et affirmari quidem propositio vel omnibus negatis partibus potest. 2. Assumptio affirmatur, quoniam in propositione affirmata fuerat. 3. In conclusione semper est negatio, eaque specialis contradictio: in primo quidem conclusio nonnunquam negatur; sed hoc tum sit cùm pars propositionis quæ concluditur negata fuit. Exempli gratia: "aut dies est, aut nox: dies est; ergo nox non est."

"Ejusmodi syllogismus efficitur è propositione copulata negata, quæ negata complexio," vel, quod Græcis idem est, negata copulatio dicitur, "et disjunctionis affirmatæ vim obtinet."

"Non et dies, et nox est: at dies est; non igitur nox est." De hac negata copulatione sic Cic. in Top. "non et hoc, et illud: hoc autem; non igitur illud."

Pertinet autem ad hunc secundum duntaxat modum negata copulatio; quod cum in hujusmodi propositione quævis opposita disponi possint, ex uno eorum negato, nisi in iis qui medio carent, non necessariò alterum affirmatur et concluditur, quod fit in primo modo, sed ex altero affirmato alterum negatur, quæ communis est regula omnium oppositorum, et fit duntaxat in hoc secundo.

Ad sophismata quod attinet horum modorum, primi quidem nullum occurrit. Secundi quæ sunt, ex definitione redarguuntur. Primum est, si aliqua pars propositionis negata erit: ut, "leo aut animal est, aut non est homo; at non est homo, ergo nec animal." Secundum est, si assumptio sit negata; ut in exemplo superiore. Tertium est, si specialis contradictio non erit in conclusione: ut hoc; "aut homo est animal, aut omne animal est irrationale; sed homo est animal, ergo nullum animal est irrationale."

APPENDIX.

De Enthymemate, Dilemmate, et Sorite.

Expositis omnibus cùm simplicis tum compositi syllogismi speciebus, sequitur axiomatis et syllogismi communis affectio, vel potius anomalia, de qua antediximus, crypsis. Quæ in omni cum loquendi usu tum scribendi genere tam frequens est, idque brevitatis plerumque causa, ut nemo ferè syllogismos integros sine crypsi aliqua vel loquatur vel scribat.

Sed quoniam crypsis ejusque triplex modus syllogismorum omnes species afficiunt, ea re dicendi locus de syllogismi crypsibus ante non erat, quàm de syllogismi speciebus cunctis dictum esset.

"Si qua pars syllogismi defuerit, enthymema dicitur."

Ut ab exemplo: "Themistocli licuit urbem relinquere; ergo mihi." Addatur propositio; "quod Themistocli licuit, licet et mihi." Ab inductione: "inventio et dispositio in argumentis versantur; ergo Logica tota." Addatur assumptio; "logica tota est eorum inventio et dispositio."

Hoc etiam perpetuò observandum est, si conclusionis prædicatum deest, deesse majorem; si subjectum, minorem: si utrumque, syllogismi compositi majorem vel potius majoris antecedentem, quæ cum tota quæstione ut cum consequente disponitur; quod indicat plenum syllogismum fore compositum, et antecedens pars enthymematis erit antecedens majoris; totumque enthymema convertetur in majorem propositionem syllogismi connexi: ut "virtus reddit beatos; vitium ergo miseros." In antecedente hujus enthymematis nec antecedens nec consequens quæstionis apparet: totum igitur converte in axioma connexum aut disjunctum, plenum syllogismum compositum esse intelliges; ut, "si virtus reddit beatos, vitium reddit miseros; at illud; hoc igitur. Non est nox; ergo est dies." Totum converte in axioma disjunctum, majorem supplebis, et syllogismum plenum disjunctum conficies: "aut dies est, aut nox; non nox, ergo dies."

"Si quid ad tres illas syllogismi partes accesserit, prosyllogismus dicitur." Est enim ad partem aliquam syllogismi addita probatio.

"Partium etiam ordo sæpe confunditur." Quod utrumque accidit in dilemmate et sorite.

Dilemma est specialis quædam crypsis non syllogismi, sed syllogismorum; à duplici propositione dictum, quam "lemma Stoici" vocant, vulgò "disjunctivus biformis et syllogismus cornutus," quasi cornibus feriens; cujus vis in duobus axiomatis connexis citra syllogismi formam satis manifesta est: ut illud Martialis;

> "Hæc, si displicui, fuerint solatia nobis;
> Hæc fuerint nobis præmia, si placui."

Et illud in evangelio: "si bene locutus sum, cur me cædis? si male, testare de malo." Et reciprocum illud insigne Protagoræ magistri ad Euathlum discipulum, apud Gellium, l. 5, c. 10, et 11: "si contra te lis data erit, merces mihi ex sententia illa debebitur, quia ego vicero; sin vero secundum te judicatum erit, merces mihi ex pacto debebitur, quia tu viceris." Cui contrà Euathlus; "et ego, bone magister, utrovis modo vicero," &c. Hujusmodi est etiam illud apud Aristot. Rhet. 3, 23, "non agendum esse cum populo; quia, si justa dixeris, hominibus invisus eris; si injusta, Deo." Immo agendum esse cum populo: "nam, si injusta dixeris, hominibus gratus eris; si justa, Deo."

Explicatur autem hæc crypsis axiomate disjuncto; tot deinde syllogismis connexis vel etiam categoricis, quot erant disjuncti axiomatis membra: ut illud Biantis consilium de uxore non ducenda: "aut formosam duces, aut deformem; si formosam, communem; si deformem, pœnam: neutrum autem bonum; non est igitur ducenda uxor." Vel categoricè sic; "communis non est ducenda; formosa erit communis; ergo, &c.: pœna non est ducenda; deformis erit pœna; ergo, &c." Sed axioma illud disjunctum partes omnes disjunctas non enumerat: est enim media quæ nec formosa nec deformis est; et neutrius connexi consequens est vera; fieri enim potest, ut nec formosa communis, nec deformis pœna sit futura.

Sorites est syllogismus crypticus multarum propositionum continua serie ita progredientium, ut prædicatum præcedentis propositionis perpetuò sit subjectum sequentis, donec tandem consequens propositionis ultima concludatur de antecedente primæ: ut, "homo est animal; animal est corpus sentiens; corpus sentiens est vivens; vivens est substantia; ergo homo est substantia." Græcè autem sorites, "acervalis Latinè à Cicerone" dicitur; quia minutatim addit, et quasi acervum efficit.

Adhibetur ferè vel ad summum genus de infima specie, vel ad causam primariam, licet remotam, effecto attribuendam; et illud quidem per genera subalterna, ut in exemplo superiore; hoc per causas medias, ut in exemplo sequente: "quos Deus prænovit, eos prædestinavit; quos prædestinavit, eos vocavit; quos vocavit, eos justificavit; quos justificavit, eos glorificavit; ergo, quos prænovit, eos glorificavit."

Utitur autem sorites et subalternis generibus et subordinatis causis quasi tot mediis terminis ad probandum conclusionem; tot nempe quot sunt termini inter subjectum primæ propositionis et prædicatum conclusionis: quot autem termini medii, tot sunt syllogismi.

Est itaque progressio enthymematica syllogismos uno pauciores continens quàm propositiones. Syllogismus principalis habet pro majore propositionem conclusioni proximam; pro minoris termino minore, subjectum conclusionis pro termino majore; subjectum propositionis majoris: ex. gr. "quos justificavit, glori-

ficavit; quos prænovit, justificavit; quos ergo prænovit, glorificavit." Reliqui sunt minorum prosyllogismi, et præcedens quisque probatio sequentis.

Unde intelligitur soritæ crypsis triplex, et defectus, et redundantia, et inversio. Si igitur partium, sive species sive causæ sint, non erit recta subordinatio firmaque connexio, sorites probus non erit: ut, "ex malis moribus existunt bonæ leges; ex bonis legibus salus reip.; ex reip. salute bona omnia; ergo ex moribus malis bona omnia." Hic causæ per se male subordinantur causæ per accidens.

Fallit hic etiam: "Si nullum tempus esset, nox non esset; si nox non esset, dies esset; si dies esset, aliquod tempus esset; ergo, si nullum tempus esset, aliquod tempus esset." Nam si nullum tempus esset, certè nec dies esset: fallit ergo in propositione secunda; quæ non verè continuatur; sed ponit effectum, sublata causa. Cætera sorites vitia habet cum aliis syllogismi speciebus communia.

CAP. XVII.

De Methodo.

"Methodus est dispositio dianoëtica variorum axiomatum homogeneorum pro naturæ suæ claritate præpositorum, unde omnium inter se convenientia judicatur, memoriaque comprehenditur."

Methodi permagnus est in omni vita usus, magna proinde laus. Hanc Plato, in Philebo, esse ait "donum hominibus divinitus datum." Aristoteles etiam "ordinem in maximis bonis" numeravit. Fabius, "Nec mihi," inquit, "errare videntur, qui ipsam rerum naturam stare ordine putant: quo confuso, peritura sunt omnia."

Est autem methodus dispositio variorum axiomatum homogeneorum, i. e. eorum quæ ad eandem rem pertinent, eandemque ad finem referuntur. Homogenea nisi fuerint, subordinata sibi invicem esse non poterunt, adeoque ne ordinata quidem. Itaque arithmeticum in geometria, geometricum in arithmetica, veluti heterogenium et alienum methodus excludit. Pro naturæ autem suæ claritate axiomata quæque præponenda sunt, prout argumenta priora, notiora, illustriora complectuntur. Prima autem præcedant an orta à primis parum refert, cùm utrorumque eadem affectio sit.

"Atque ut spectatur in axiomate veritas aut falsitas, in syllogismo consequentia et inconsequentia; sic in methodo consideratur, ut per se clarius præcedat, obscurius sequatur; omninòque ordo et confusio judicatur. Sic disponetur ex homogeneis axiomatis primo loco absoluta notione primum, secundo secundum, tertio tertium, et ita deinceps."

Prius autem sicut et posterius quinque modis dicimus: tempore, ut senem juvene; natura, ut causam effecto, genus specie; quicquid denique existendi consecutione est prius; i. e. quod alio posito, ponitur; et quo posito, aliud non ponitur, ut unitas binario: nonnunquam etiam ubi consecutio reciproca est, quod simul est tempore, natura tamen est prius, ut sol suo lumine. Bifariam etiam dicitur prius natura; generante scilicet, ut partes toto, simplex composito, media fine; vel intendente, ut totum partibus, compositum simplici, finis mediis. Prius dispositione sive loco dicitur, quod initio est proprius; ut in dicendo, narratio confirmatione. Prius dignitate; ut magistratus cive, aurum argento, virtus auro. Prius denique cognitione, quod cognitu facilius est: idque vel in se, vel nobis: in se quod natura est prius; nobis, quod posterius est, et sensibus objectum: illa perfectior est cognitio, hæc imperfectior.

"Ideòque methodus ab universalibus, ut quæ causas contineant, ad singularia perpetuò progreditur." Adeoque ab antecedentibus omninò et absolutè notioribus ad consequentia ignota declarandum.

Unde intelligitur agi hic de methodo tradendi sive docendi, quæ analytica rectè dicitur, non inveniendi. Methodus n. inveniendi quæ à Platone dicitur "synthetica," procedit à singularibus quæ tempore sunt priora, sensibusque se prius offerunt; quorum inductione generales notiones colliguntur: methodus autem docendi sive inventa et judicata disponendi, de qua hic agitur; contraria via, ut etiam docet Arist. 1 Metaph. c. 1, et 2, procedit ab universalibus, quæ natura sunt priora et notiora; non quo prius aut facilius cognoscantur, sed quòd posteaquam sunt cognita, præcedunt notionis natura et claritate quanto sunt à sensibus remotiora. Sic generales rerum species (ut optici etiam docent) citius in sensus incurrunt: et advenientem aliquem, judico prius animal esse quàm hominem, et hominem quàm Socratem. Atque hanc solam methodum Aristot. passim docuit.

"Sed methodi unitatem exempli doctrinarum et artium præcipuè demonstrant, præcipuèque vindicant.

"Quibus quamvis omnes regulæ generales sint et universales, tamen earum gradus distinguuntur: quantoque unaquæque generalior erit, tanto magis præcedet.

"Generalissima loco et ordine prima erit, quia lumine et notitia prima est.

"Subalternæ consequentur, quia claritate sunt proximæ: utque ex his naturæ notiores præponentur, minus notæ substituentur.

"Tandemque specialissima constituentur.

"Definitio itaque generalissima prima erit;" causas n. continet definitioni consectaria subjungentur, sive proprietatum si quæ sunt et ex definitione per se non patent, explicationis distributio sequetur.

"Quæ si multiplex fuerit, præcedet in partes integras partitio, sequetur divisio in species. Partesque ipsæ et species eodem ordine sunt rursus tractandæ ac definiendæ, quo distributæ fuerint.

"Et transitionum vinculis si longior inter eas intersit explicatio, colligandæ sunt: id n. auditorem reficit ac recreat."

Transitio autem vel perfecta est vel imperfecta. Perfecta, quæ breviter et quid dictum sit et quid sequatur, ostendit: qualis illa hujus libri secundi initio

"adhuc prima artis logicæ pars fuit," &c. Imperfecta est quæ alterutrum duntaxat ostendit vel quid dictum sit, vel quid sequatur: qualis illa l. 1, c. 18, "argumenta simplicia ita fuerunt," &c.

Exemplo sit grammatica. Hujus definitio, ut quæ generalissima sit, ex lege methodi primo loco statuatur; ars scilicet bene loquendi: secundo loco erit grammaticæ partitio, in etymologiam et syntaxin; tum etymologia, quæ de vocibus agit, definiatur; dein voces partes in literis et syllabis, speciesque in vocibus numeri et sine numero subsequantur, exituumque transitiones suis locis collocentur: atque ita omnium etymologiæ partium definitiones, distributiones, colligationes, exempla denique specialissima in singulis disponentur: idemque in syntaxi fiet. Hanc viam omnes artes sibi proposuerunt.

Moderni quidem duplicem methodum instituunt "syntheticam et analyticam: illam scientiis theoreticis tradendis, physicæ puta vel mathematicæ magis accommodatam; qua partes scientiæ ita disponuntur, ut à subjecto contemplationis universali ad particularia, à simplicibus ad composita progressus fiat: sic physica exorditur à corporis naturalis definitione; ad ejus deinde causas vel partes affectionesque generales ad species denique progreditur. Methodum analyticam definiunt, qua ita disponuntur partes scientiæ practicæ ut à notione finis fiat progressus ad notitiam principiorum vel mediorum, ad illum finem assequendum: sic in ethicis à fine, scilicet beatitudine, ad media, nempe virtutes proceditur: Verùm cùm hac utraque methodus una eademque via, à definitione scilicet generalissima, sive illa subjectum sive finem generalem contineat, ad minus generalia, à notioribus ad minus nota, à simplicibus ad composita æque utrobique dividendo progrediatur, non videtur ob diversam in definitione generali, illic subjecti, hic finis mentionem, duplicem esse methodum constituendam; sed unam potius, artium quidem tradendarum, eamque analyticam esse dicendam.

"Atqui methodus non solùm in materia artium et doctrinarum adhibetur, sed in omnibus rebus quas facilè et perspicuè docere volumus.

"Ideoque poetæ, oratores, omnesque omninò scriptores, quoties docendum sibi auditorem proponunt, hanc viam sequi volunt, quamvis non usquequaque ingrediuntur atque insistant."

Sic Virgilius, in Georgicis, distribuit propositam materiam in quatuor partes, ut antedictum est: primoque libro res communes persequitur, ut astrologiam, meteorologiam, deque segetibus et earum cultu disserit, quæ pars operis prima erat, tumque transitio adhibetur initio secundi libri.

"Hactenus arvorum cultus," &c.

Dein scribit generaliter de arboribus, tum specialiter de vitibus. Sic toto opere, generalissimum, primo; subalterna, medio; specialissima, extremo loco ponere studuit.

Eandem Ovidius, in Fastis, dispositionis hujus gratiam sequitur. Proponit initio summam operis.

"Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum," &c.

Mox imploratione facta, partitionem anni statuit. Tum communes differentias interpretatus diei fasti, nefasti, &c. Tandem unumquemque mensem suo loco persequitur, et ordinis hujus à generalibus ad specialia studium suum præfatione indicat.

"Hæc mihi dicta semel, totis hærentia fastis,
Ne seriem rerum scindere cogar, erunt."

"Oratores in prooemio; narratione, confirmatione, peroratione hunc ordinem affectant, eumque artis et naturæ et rei ordinem appellant, et interdum studiosis assectantur."

Ut in Verrem, Cicero primùm proponendo tum partiendo. "Quæstor," inquit, "Cn. Papyrio cos. fuisti abhinc annos quatuordecim, et ex illa die ad hanc diem quæ fecisti, in judicium voco," &c. Propositio hic et definitio summæ rei est, tanquam in hoc judicio generalissima. Partitio sequitur: "hi sunt anni, &c., quare hæc eadem erit quadripartita distributio totius accusationis meæ." Quas partes quatuor earumque partium particulas deinceps suo quamque ordine et loco tractat, et transitionibus copulat; tres primas tertio libro; et sic deinceps.

"Hæc igitur in variis axiomatis homogeneis suo vel syllogismi judicio notis methodus erit, quoties perspicuè res docenda erit."

At cùm delectatione motuve aliquo majore ab oratore quovis aut poeta, ut quibuscum vulgo potissimum res est, ducendus erit auditor, crypsis methodi ferè adhibebitur; homogenea quædam rejicientur, ut definitionum, partitionum, transitionumque lumina. Quædam assumentur heterogenea, velut digressiones à re, et in re commorationes. Et præcipuè rerum ordo invertetur.

Sed oratoribus et poetis sua methodi ratio relinquenda est; vel saltem iis, qui oratoriam et poeticam docent.

PRAXIS LOGICÆ

ANALYTICA EX DOUNAMO.

AD CAPUT TERTIUM RAMIÆ DIALECTICÆ.

"Exemplum primum est causæ procreantis et conservantis ex Ovidii primo de Remed.

"Ergo ubi visus eris nostra medicabilis arte,
Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis.
Hæc, ut ames, faciunt: hæc quæ fecere tuentur;
Hæc sunt jucundi causa, cibusque mali.
Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
Contemptæque jacent & sine luce faces."

In singulis, quæ ad efficientis doctrinam illustrandam afferuntur, exemplis, tria consideranda sunt, efficiens, effectum, efficiendi modus. In hoc exemplo effectum est amor, efficiens est otium, quod amorem efficit duplici modo, tum procreando, tum conservando, ut in secundo disticho poeta docet. Dispositio autem hujus exempli (ut pleniorem ejus analysin instituam) syllogistica est. Quæstio, quam poeta concludendam proponit, hæc est; fugiendum esse otium ei, qui ab amore immunis esse velit: eaque duobus syllogismis concluditur: in priori argumentum tertium ducitur ab effectis quidem otii, amoris verò causa procreante et conservante, hoc modo: amoris procreans et conservans causa vitanda est ei, qui ab amore ipso liber esse velit; otium verò amoris procreans et conservans causa est; otium igitur fugiendum est ei, qui ab amore liber esse velit. Propositio deest. Assumptio in secundo disticho primò simpliciter proponitur, deinde altera ejus pars de conservante per similitudinem cibi illustratur. Conclusio præcedit in primo disticho. Secunda ratio est consectarium ex assumptione prioris syllogismi deductum. Otium est causa procreans et conservans amoris; ergo sublato otio, amor tollitur. Cujus propositio et fundamentum est logicum illud axioma; sublata causa, tollitur effectum, quæ propositio si addatur, plenus erit syllogismus.

Exemplum secundum ibid. ex Æneid. 4.

"Non tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
Perfide; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera tigres."

Hic effectum est Æneas. Causæ efficientes, pater, mater, nutrix; modus autem efficiendi non unus: parentes enim liberos efficiunt procreando, nutrix verò conservando. Disponitur autem hoc exemplum axiomate discreto. Anchises et Venus non sunt Æneæ parentes, ut Didoni placet, sed horrens Caucasus et duræ cautes: Hyrcanæ autem tigres ut nutrices ubera admoverunt.

Exemplum tertium est solitariæ causæ, cap. 4, ex Æneid. 9.

"Me, me adsum, qui feci, in me convertite ferrum:
O Rutuli: mea fraus omnis: nihil iste nec ausus
Nec potuit."——

In hoc exemplo effectum est cædes Rutulorum. Efficiens hujus cædis Nysus. Quod autem ad modum attinet efficiendi, effecit, ut ipse de se ait, solus. Dispositio autem hujus exempli syllogistica est. Qui solus auctor est cædis, is solus est occidendus. Ego verò, inquit, solus auctor cædis sum; ergo, &c. Propositio deest: assumptio continetur versu 2. Mea fraus, i. e. culpa omnis, quam probat remotione sociæ causæ, nihil iste nec ausus est, &c. Conclusio versu 1. Me, me scilicet occidite, in me convertite ferrum, &c.

Ejusdem causæ exemplum aliud, in oratione Ciceronis pro Marcello. "Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrahere ducibus et communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum: et certè in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, sociorum auxilia, classes, commeatus multum juvant: maximam verò partem, quasi suo jure, fortunâ sibi vendicat, et quicquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum. At verò hujus gloriæ, Cæsar, quàm es paulò ante adeptus, socium habes neminem: totum hoc quantumcunque est, quod certè maximum est, totum inquam, est tuum. Nihil tibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit: quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina fortuna in istius se societatem gloriæ non offert: tibi cedit, tuam esse totam ac propriam fatetur." Hoc exemplum continet plenam comparationem à minore ad majus, ad amplificandam Cæsaris laudem clementiæ. In proto exemplum est causarum, quæ cum aliis efficiunt. Effectum est victoria; efficiens imperator, non quidem solus, sed cum aliis, quarum alia principalis est, et imperatori quasi socia fortuna: aliæ adjuvantes et ministræ, cujusmodi quinque recensentur, militum fortitudo, locorum opportunitas, sociorum auxilia, classes, commeatus. In apodosi exemplum habemus solitariæ causæ: effectum est clementia in Marcellum, præstita, cujus causa et quidem sola est ipse Cæsar; eaque illustratur remotione causarum adjuvantium. Scopus Ciceronis est, ut ostendat Cæsarem plus laudis ob clementiam mereri, quàm propter res gestas: idque ostendit ex collatis inter se efficiendi modis, quod nimirum rerum gestarum Cæsar non solus auctor fuerit, clemen-

tiæ verò præstitæ solus. Jam verò efficiens plus laudis vel vituperationis meretur, quæ sola quid facit; quæ verò cum aliis, minus. Sic igitur hæc ratio potest concludi. ' Cujus Cæsar solus auctor est, id plus meretur laudis, quam cujus solus non est auctor. Rerum in bello gestarum solus auctor non est; clementiæ verò in Marcellum præstitæ solus; proinde clementia Cæsaris plus meretur laudis, quàm res in bello gestæ. Hujus syllogismi assumptio tantum in hoc exemplo proponitur; ejusque prior pars enumeratione causarum adjuvantium, posterior remotione earundem illustratur.

Ibidem exemplum causæ instrumentalis primo de Nat. Deor. "Quibus oculis animi intueri potuit vester Plato fabricam illam tanti operis, qua construi à Deo atque ædificari nondum facit? Quæ molitio? quæ ferramenta? qui vectes? quæ machinæ? qui ministri tanti operis fuerunt?" Syllogismus sic sese habet. Qui instrumenta non habuit, is mundum non creavit: Deus instrumenta non habuit; ergo, &c. Hujus syllogismi propositio falsissima deest; conclusio præcedit; assumptio sequitur: eaque per inductionem quandam specierum illustratur. Utraque autem tum assumptio tum conclusio per interrogationem ἐμφατικωτέρον negatur.

PETRI RAMI VITA,

EX

JOANNE THOMA FREIGIO,

RECISIS DIGRESSIONIBUS, DESCRIPTA.

PETRUS Ramus natus est anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto. Ejus avus, ut ipse in præfatione suæ Regiæ Professionis memorat, in Eburonum gente, familia imprimis illustri fuit: sed patria à Carolo, Burgundionum duce, capta et incensa, in Veromanduorum agrum profugus, ac spoliatus, carbonarium facere coactus est: hinc Ramo "carbonarius pater" probri loco objectus: sed pater agricola fuit. Puer vix è cunis egressus, ut ipse in Sheckiano epilogo de se narrat, duplici peste laboravit. Juvenis invita modisque omnibus repugnante fortuna, Lutetiam ad capessendas artes ingenuas venit. Erat statura corporis grandi ac generosa, vultu mitissimo, moribus integerrimis, valetudine firma ac robusta, quam perpetua abstinentia continentiaque et continuo labore etiam firmiorem reddidit. Lutetiæ magisterii titulum suscepturus, problema hoc sumpsit; "quæcunque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commentitia esse." Attoniti novitate atque insolentia problematis examinatores ac magistri, per diem integrum, sed irrito conatu, magistrandum, ut vocant, oppugnarunt. Ex hoc fortuito successu, ansam deinceps scriò et liberè in Aristotelem animadvertendi et inquirendi arripuit. Logicamque imprimis, utpote instrumentum reliquarum artium expolire instituit (ut ipse pluribus persequitur in epilogo, l. 5, Scholarum Dialecticarum) sed annum agens ætatis primum et vigesimum hæc moliri incœperat. Septimo post, primam, ut putatur, Dialecticam et Aristotelicas Animadversiones ad academiam Parisiensem edidit: sequente anno Euclidem Latinè, quam et præfatione commendavit. Ex eo tempore multos adversarios contra se irritavit, et præsertim duos homines, quos Talæus in academia sua dum contentionem totam enarrat, non nominat tamen. Vix, inquit, Aristotelicæ Animadversiones lectæ erant, cùm P. Ramus repentè ad prætorii tribunalis capitalem contentionem per certos homines falso academiæ nomine rapitur, novique criminis accusatur, quòd scilicet, Aristotelem oppugnando, artes enervaret: hac enim oratione Aristotelea actio instituta est. Hinc Aristoteleorum clamoribus agitatus, ad summum Parisiensis curiæ concilium traducitur. Id cum ex adversariorum sententia non procederet, novis artibus à senatu Parisiensi ad regiam cognitionem res defertur: constituuntur judices quinque bini ab utraque parte, quintus à rege nominatur; causam de singulis animadversionum capitibus dicere jubetur Ramus: qui tametsi de quinque judicibus tres infensissimos habebat, tamen ut mandato regio obtemperaret, ad diem constitutam adfuit; scriba unus aderat; qui rationes Rami et judicum sententias exciperet. Biduo magna contentione de dialecticæ artis definitione et partitione, quæ in logici organi libris nullæ essent, concertatum est. Tres Aristotelei judices primo die, contra omnes bene descriptæ artis leges, judica-

runt ad dialecticæ artis perfectionem definitione nihil opus esse. Qui duo judices à Ramo lecti erant, contrà censuerunt. Postridie tres judices Aristotelei vehementer conturbati, de partitione assentiuntur, causamque in aliam diem rejiciunt. Verùm ne non damnaretur Ramus, novum concilium initur, ut ab initio tota disputatio retexatur, judicata pridie, pro nihilo habeatur. Ab ista judicum inconstantia provocat Ramus; sed frustrà; judicium n. sine provocatione tribus illus judicibus datur; condemnantur triumvirali illa sententia non solùm Animadversiones Aristotelicæ, sed Institutiones etiam Dialecticæ: auctori interdicitur, ne in posterum vel docendo vel scribendo, ullam philosophiæ partem attingeret: ludi etiam magno apparatu celebrantur, in quibus Ramus et Ramea Dialectica ludibrio habetur. Ab his difficultatibus unus omnium Carolus Lotharingus Ramum liberavit: Henrico enim regi persuaserat, philosophiam semper liberam esse oportere. Hinc Ramus pristinæ docendi ac scribendi libertati restitutus, per annos quatuor summa in pace studiis operam dedit. Anno ætatis trigesimo primo orationem de studiis philosophiæ et eloquentiæ conjungendis habuit: cum Talæo fratre (sic eum perpetuo vocat) professionis partes ita divisit, ut Talæus matutinis horis philosophiam, ipse pomeridianis eloquentiam doceret: in poetis, oratoribus, philosophis omnisque generis authoribus explicandis, usum dialecticæ demonstravit: id Ramo postea crimini datum est, quòd in philosophico studio non philosophos, sed, contra leges academiæ, pro philosophis poetas explicaret: purgat se Ramus; petitque ut gymnasium suum Præleum per probos et doctos homines invisatur. Sed judex quidam, nobilis adolescens, datus, discipulos Rami indicta causa, condemnat; publicis et scholis et sigillis et tabulis prohibet; omnibus denique academiæ muneribus et præmiis excludit. Ab hac sententia tam nova discipuli Rami ad Julianense philosophorum comitium provocant, et absolvuntur, modò præceptor eorum jurejurando confirmet, libros, academiæ legibus definitos, à se esse prælectos. Confirma Ramus; paulò tamen pòst ab eodem judice adolescente, non discipuli, ut antea, sed magistri eorum oppugnantur: Ramo injungitur, ut in publicis scholis disciplinam suam ipse detestaretur et ejuraret. Is ad superiores academiæ ordines secundò provocat: sed cùm vitandi tumultus causa, scripto se absens, defenderet, adolescens ille judex, etsi duabus appellationibus rejectus, tertiò judicat ac damnat. Quartò provocat Ramus: cùm provocationis diem accusator antevertisset, coactus est Ramus subito in senatum venire: hic iterum Carolus Lotharingus unico præsidio fuit: accusationem cujusdam audiit gravissimam Ramum Academicum nominantis, qui de humanis divinisque legibus dubitaret, qui lubricos D. Augustini locos ad effrænatam atque impiam libertatem suis auditoribus proponeret, et quo facilius incautis animis abuteretur, omnes logicas disputationes tolleret. Contra has calumnias facile se defendit Ramus. Decretum est itaque in senatu, uti Ramus discipulique ejus in pristinum atque integrum statum restituerentur. Ipse anno ætatis trigesimo sexto cùm Blessiis Carolus Lotharingus ad Henricum regem de disciplina Ramea retulisset, in numerum atque ordinem regiorum professorum per literas regias honorificè ad se scriptas, est cooptatus. Gratias itaque et regi Henrico et Carolo Lotharingo publicè egit; sibique persuasit, se à rege in præstantissima reip. parte esse collocatum; sibique adeo dies ac noctes esse summo studio enitendum, ne tanto muneri ac professioni eloquentiæ simul et philosophiæ deesset: unde animos adolescentium tanta audiendi et proficiendi cupiditate inflammavit, ut schola regia, licet ad audiendum amplissima, plerumque tamen auditorum concursum frequentiamque capere minime potuerit. Adversariorum petulantiam summa constantia tulit atque pervicit; symbolumque ejus hoc fuit, "Labor omnia vincit." Anno 1552, cum in Cameracensi schola frequentissimis auditoribus dialecticam suam auspicaretur, inter strepitus, clamores, sibilos nihil commotus, per intervalla clamorum, incredibili constantia perexit et peroravit: qua ejus virtute consternati inimici, in posterum minus ei molestiæ exhibuerunt. In Heidelbergensi etiam academia, principis authoritate ad profitendum adductus, consimiles æmulorum clamores invicto animo pertulit Adversus doctos aliquot homines Goveanum, Gallandium, Perionium, Turnebum, Melancthonum, pari silentio est usus. Viginti annis abstemius fuit, donec sanitatis causa medici vino uti suaserunt: vini enim fastidium ceperat ex quo infans in cellam vinariam clam parentibus irrepens, se tam immodicè ingurgitavit, ut mortuo similis humi reperiretur. Pro lectulo stramentis ad senectutem usque usus est. Cœlebs tota vita permansit. Prælei gymnasii labore (qui ipsi sine ullo publico stipendio erat mandatus) contentus fuit. A discipulis suis oblata munera, quamvis debita, tamen non accepit. Anno 1556, Ciceronianum edidit de optima juventutis instituendæ ratione. Pronuntiationem Latinæ linguæ in academia Parisiensi tunc temporis inquinatissimam, corrigendi author cumprimis fuit, reclamantibus licet Sorbonistis, pravarum omnium consuetudinum propugnatoribus tam obstinatis, ut sacerdotem quendam novatæ pronuntiationis coram senatu Parisiensi insimulatum, quasi ob hæresin, ut aiebant, grammaticam, amplissimis proventibus ecclesiasticis privandum contenderent: et lite quidem superiores videbantur discessuri, nisi P. Ramus cæterique professores regii ad curiam convolantes, judicii tam alieni insolentiam dissuasissent. Verùm illius temporis tam crassa ignorantia fuit, ut libris editis, proditum sit, in ea academia doctores extitisse, qui mordicus defenderent, "ego amat" tam commodam syntaxin esse, quàm "ego amo;" ad eamque pertinaciam comprimendam, authoritate publica opus fuisse. In mathematicis quid effecerit Ramus, Scholæ Mathematicæ aliaque ejus opera testantur. Ea meditantem, belli civilis calamitas interpellavit; acceptis igitur à rege literis, ad regiam Fontisbelaquei bibliothecam profectus, mathematicas prælectiones ad initio plenius et uberius retractavit. Tum in Italiam cogitabat, quo ipsum Bononia honorificè invitarat; vel saltem in Germaniam: sed viis omnibus terror mortis intentatus, rumor etiam Prælei sui indignis modis direpti ac bibliothecæ spoliatæ, ad re-

giam Vincennarum proprius urbem revocarunt. Sed et alia vis etiam gravius urgebat, ut è Vincennis per invia itinera profugiendum esset, et subinde variis in locis delitescendum: in fuga tamen et latebris otium hospitesque sui cupidissimos reperit; in eoque otio Scholas Physicas conscripsit, vel potius inchoavit. Erumpente rursus bello civili, in optimatum castra profugit: eo tumultu post sex menses sedato, reversus, nihil in bibliotheca præter inania reperit scrinia; mathematicas tantùm commentationes Resnerus (qui Parisiis permansit) direptoribus commodùm eripuit. Impendente jam tertium civili bello, impetravit à rege Carolo ad invisendas exteras academias annuam dimissionem, quasi legationem liberam. In extremis regni finibus, vix militum quorundam manus, nisi prolato in medium diplomate regio, effugisset. Ter dimissus, ter repetitus, tandem velocitate summa eo pervenit, ubi sicariis licentia nequaquam parcat. Adventus ejus in Germaniam bonorum ac doctorum omnium singulari humanitate et gratulatione exceptus est. Argentorati Joannes Sturmius, ejus academiæ author simul et rector, peramanter eum accepit deinde academia toto adjunctis etiam quibusdam ad ampliorem gratulationem comitibus et baronibus, liberalissimè tractavit: quo die, denique, nobilissimæ nuptiæ in eo loco celebrabantur, in prytaneum summus urbis magistratus, publicæ gratulationis gratia cum Sturmio eum adduxit. Bernam prætericns, tantùm vidit, nec tamen sine consulis Stegeri honorifica liberalitate, atque Halleri, Aretii, aliorumque doctissimorum hominum amica gratulatione discessit. Tiguri, Henricus Bullengerus simulatque in urbem ingressus est Ramus, gratulator primus affuit, cœnamque ei apparavit, eruditissimis convivarum, Josiæ Simleri, Rodolphi Gualteri, Lodovici Lavalteri sermonibus longè gratissimam. Postridie cùm ab eodem Bullingero in aulam publicam deduceretur, miratus quid sibi vellet in eum locum frequentissimus civium cujusque ordinis conventus, quæsivit ex eo, ecquæ illic etiam, ut Argentinæ, nobiles nuptiæ celebrarentur. Cui Bullingerus, tibi, inquit, nostra civitas nuptias illas celebrat. Præbuit ei Heidelberga amicum Ursinum, Olevitanum, hospitem etiam Immanuelem Tremellium, fautorem denique ipsum Electorem Palatinum, qui discedentem Ramum, aurea imagine sua donavit. Inde Francofurtum pergens, à primariis aliquot civibus honorificè est acceptus: deinde Noribergam ad præstantissimos opifices et mechanicos aliosque viros doctos et præsertim Joachimum Camerarium, profectus est: hic jurisconsultorum collegio mandatum à senatu est, ut P. Ramo convivium publico urbis nomine instruerent. Inde Augustam perexit ubi urbis consul primarius eum liberalissimè tractavit, adhibitis in convivium eruditis variæ doctrinæ convivis, sed imprimis Hieronimo Wolfio, et Tichone Bracheo, cum quo post prandium in suburbanum consulis deductus, varios sermones de studiis mathematicis habuit. Rumore tandem restitutæ pacis revocatus, Lausannam contendit: hic a viris doctis exoratus, logicam ἀκρόασιν dies aliquot maximo concursu exhibuit. Geneva cum doctissimis hominibus tum de cœteris liberalibus studiis, tum de logicis collocutio illi assidua fuit, maximè cum Francisco de Cretensi et Andrea Melvino, Scoto. Cum aliis multis eruditissimis viris, in Italia Commandino et Papio, in Anglia Dio et Acontio, in Germania Chytreo, aliisque permultis amicitiam per literas jaxantè coluerat. Nobiles et inclytæ civitates eum magnis et honorificis muneribus, et sexcentorum coronatorum oblato stipendio appetiverunt. Joannes electus rex Pannoni amplissimo stipendio Albæ Juliæ regendam academiam illi obtulit. Cracoviam liberalissimè, immo in Italiam mille ducatorum stipendio Bononiam invitatus, patriam tamen deserere noluit: itaque Carolus ix, petitum undique calumniis domi, invidorùmque morsibus, non solùm præsenti ope sublevavit, sed honore auxit et amplificabit, eique vacationem à laboribus concessit. Tandem, anno 1572, in illa Parisiensi Christianorum ac civium internecione, indignissime periit. Necis causam sunt qui in æmulos ejus conferant: plerique eandem quæ ceteris ea nocte trucidatis fuisse existimant. Legatum annuum mathematico professori in Parisiensi academia luculentum testamento reliquit.

THE SECOND

DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

AGAINST AN ANONYMOUS LIBEL

ENTITLED

"THE ROYAL BLOOD CRYING TO HEAVEN FOR VENGEANCE ON THE ENGLISH PARRICIDES."

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN,

BY ROBERT FELLOWES, A.M. OXON.

A GRATEFUL recollection of the divine goodness, is the first of human obligations; and extraordinary favours demand more solemn and devout acknowledgments; with such acknowledgments I feel it my duty to begin this work. First, because I was born at a time, when the virtue of my fellow-citizens, far exceeding that of their progenitors in greatness of soul and vigour of enterprize, having invoked heaven to witness the justice of their cause, and been clearly governed by its directions, has succeeded in delivering the commonwealth from the most grievous tyranny, and religion from the most ignominious degradation. And next, because when there suddenly arose many who, as is usual with the vulgar, basely calumniated the most illustrious achievements, and when one eminent above the rest, inflated with literary pride, and the zealous applauses of his partizans, had in a scandalous publication, which was particularly levelled against me, nefariously undertaken to plead the cause of despotism, I who was neither deemed unequal to so renowned an adversary, nor to so great a subject, was particularly selected by the deliverers of our country, and by the general suffrage of the public, openly to vindicate the rights of the English nation, and consequently of liberty itself. Lastly, because in a matter of so much moment, and which excited such ardent expectations, I did not disappoint the hopes nor the opinions of my fellow-citizens; while men of learning and eminence abroad honoured me with unmingled approbation; while I obtained such a victory over my opponent, that notwithstanding his unparalleled assurance, he was obliged to quit the field with his courage broken and his reputation lost; and for the three years which he lived afterwards, much as he menaced and furiously as he raved, he gave me no further trouble, except that he procured the paltry aid of some despicable hirelings, and suborned some of his silly and extravagant admirers, to support him under the weight of the unexpected and recent disgrace which he had experienced. This will immediately appear. Such are the signal favours which I ascribe to the divine beneficence, and which I thought it right devoutly to commemorate, not only that I might discharge a debt of gratitude, but particularly because they seem auspicious to the success of my present undertaking. For who is there, who does not identify the honour of his country with his own? And what can conduce more to the beauty or glory of one's country, than the recovery, not only of its civil but its religious liberty? And what nation or state ever obtained both, by more successful or more valorous exertion? For fortitude is seen resplendent, not only in the field of battle and amid the clash of arms, but displays its energy under every difficulty and against every assailant. Those Greeks and Romans, who are the objects of our admiration, employed hardly any other virtue in the extirpation of tyrants, than that love of liberty which made them prompt in seizing the sword, and gave them strength to use it. With facility they accomplished the undertaking, amid the general shout of praise and joy; nor did they engage in the attempt so much, as an enterprize of perilous and doubtful issue, as in a contest the most glorious in which virtue could be signalized; which infallibly led to present recompence; which bound their brows with wreaths of laurel, and consigned their memories to immortal fame. For as yet, tyrants were not beheld with a superstitious reverence; as yet they were not regarded with tenderness and complacency, as the vicegerents or deputies of Christ, as they have suddenly professed to be; as yet

the vulgar, stupified by the subtle casuistry of the priest, had not degenerated into a state of barbarism, more gross than that which disgraces the most senseless natives of Hindostan. For these make mischievous demons, whose malice they cannot resist, the objects of their religious adoration; while those elevate impotent tyrants, in order to shield them from destruction, into the rank of gods; and to their own cost, consecrate the pests of the human race. But against this dark array of long received opinions, superstitions, obloquy, and fears, which some dread even more than the enemy himself, the English had to contend; and all this, under the light of better information, and favoured by an impulse from above, they overcame with such singular enthusiasm and bravery, that, great as were the numbers engaged in the contest, the grandeur of conception, and loftiness of spirit which were universally displayed, merited for each individual more than a mediocrity of fame; and Britain, which was formerly styled the hot-bed of tyranny, will hereafter deserve to be celebrated for endless ages, as a soil most genial to the growth of liberty. During the mighty struggle, no anarchy, no licentiousness was seen; no illusions of glory, no extravagant emulation of the antients inflamed them with a thirst for ideal liberty; but the rectitude of their lives, and the sobriety of their habits, taught them the only true and safe road to real liberty; and they took up arms only to defend the sanctity of the laws, and the rights of conscience. Relying on the divine assistance, they used every honourable exertion to break the yoke of slavery; of the praise of which, though I claim no share to myself, yet I can easily repel any charge which may be adduced against me, either of want of courage, or want of zeal. For though I did not participate in the toils or dangers of the war, yet I was at the same time engaged in a service not less hazardous to myself, and more beneficial to my fellow-citizens; nor, in the adverse turns of our affairs, did I ever betray any symptoms of pusillanimity and dejection; or shew myself more afraid than became me, of malice or of death: For since from my youth I was devoted to the pursuits of literature, and my mind had always been stronger than my body, I did not court the labours of a camp, in which any common person would have been of more service than myself, but resorted to that employment in which my exertions were likely to be of most avail. Thus, with the better part of my frame, I contributed as much as possible to the good of my country, and to the success of the glorious cause in which we were engaged; and I thought, that if God willed the success of such glorious atchievements, it was equally agreeable to his will, that there should be others by whom those atchievements should be recorded with dignity and elegance; and that the truth, which had been defended by arms, should also be defended by reason; which is the best and only legitimate means of defending it. Hence, while I applaud those who were victorious in the field, I will not complain of the province which was assigned me; but rather congratulate myself upon it, and thank the author of all good for having placed me in a station, which may be an object of envy to others, rather than of regret to myself. I am far from wishing to make any vain or arrogant comparisons, or to speak ostentatiously of myself, but, in a cause so great and glorious, and particularly on an occasion when I am called by the general suffrage to defend the very defenders of that cause; I can hardly refrain from assuming a more lofty, and swelling tone, than the simplicity of an exordium may seem to justify: and much as I may be surpassed in the powers of eloquence, and copiousness of diction, by the illustrious orators of antiquity; yet the subject of which I treat, was never surpassed in any age, in dignity or in interest. It has excited such general and such ardent expectation, that I imagine myself not in the forum or on the rostra, surrounded only by the people of Athens or of Rome; but about to address in this as I did in my former defence, the whole collective body of people, cities, states, and councils of the wise and eminent, through the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe. I seem to survey as from a towering height, the far extended tracts of sea and land, and innumerable crowds of spectators, betraying in their looks the liveliest interest, and sensations the most congenial with my own. Here I behold the stout and manly prowess of the Germans, disdaining servitude; there the generous and lively impetuosity of the French; on this side, the calm and stately valour of the Spaniard; on that, the composed and wary magnanimity of the Italian. Of all the lovers of liberty and virtue, the magnanimous and the wise, in whatever quarter they may be found, some secretly favour, others openly approve; some greet me with congratulations and applause; others, who had long been proof against conviction, at last yield themselves captive to the force of truth. Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine, that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian ocean, I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost; and that the people of this island are transporting to other countries a plant of more beneficial qualities, and more noble growth, than that which Triptolemus is reported to have carried from region to region; that they are disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities, kingdoms, and nations. Nor shall I approach unknown, nor perhaps unloved, if it be told that I am the same person who engaged in single combat that fierce advocate of despotism; till then reputed invincible in the opinion of many, and in his own conceit; who insolently challenged us and our armies to the combat; but whom, while I repelled his virulence, I silenced with his own weapons; and over whom, if I may trust to the opinions of impartial judges, I gained a complete and glorious victory. That this is the plain unvarnished fact appears from this; that, after the most noble queen of Sweden, than whom there neither is nor ever was a personage more attached to literature and to learned men, had invited Salmasius or Salmasia (for to which sex he belonged is a matter of uncertainty) to her court, where he was received with great distinction, my defence suddenly surprized him in the

midst of his security. It was generally read, and by the queen among the rest, who, attentive to the dignity of her station, let the stranger experience no diminution of her former kindness and munificence. But, with respect to the rest, if I may assert what has been often told, and was matter of public notoriety, such a change was instantly effected in the public sentiment, that he, who but yesterday flourished in the highest degree of favour, seemed to day to wither in neglect; and soon after receiving permission to depart, he left it doubtful among many, whether he were more honoured when he came, or more disgraced when he went away; and even in other places it is clear, that it occasioned no small loss to his reputation; and all this I have mentioned, not from any futile motives of vanity or ostentation, but that I might clearly show, as I proposed in the beginning, what momentous reasons I had for commencing this work with an effusion of gratitude to the Father of the universe. Such a preface was most honourable and appropriate, in which I might prove, by an enumeration of particulars, that I had not been without my share of human misery; but that I had, at the same time, experienced singular marks of the divine regard; that in topics of the highest concern, the most connected with the exigencies of my country, and the most beneficial to civil and religious liberty; the supreme wisdom and beneficence had invigorated and enlarged my faculties, to defend the dearest interests, not merely of one people, but of the whole human race, against the enemies of human liberty; as it were in a full concourse of all the nations on the earth: And I again invoke the same Almighty Being, that I may still be able with the same integrity, the same diligence, and the same success, to defend those actions which have been so gloriously atchieved; while I vindicate the authors as well as myself, whose name has been associated with theirs, not so much for the sake of honour as disgrace, from unmerited ignominy and reproach; but if there are any, who think that it would have been better to have passed over these in silent contempt, I should agree with them, if they had been dispersed only among those who were thoroughly acquainted with our principles and our conduct; but, how were strangers to discover the false assertions of our adversaries? When proper pains have been taken to make the vindication as extensive as the calumny, I think that they will cease to think ill of us, and that he will be ashamed of the falsehoods which he has promulgated; but, if he be past the feeling of shame, we may then well leave him to contempt. I should sooner have prepared an answer to his invective, if he had not entrenched himself in unfounded rumours and frequent denunciations that Salmasius was labouring at the anvil, and fabricating new libels against us, which would soon make their appearance; by which he obtained only a short delay of vengeance and of punishment; for I thought it right to reserve my whole strength unimpaired against the more potent adversary. But the conflict between me and Salmasius is now finally terminated by his death; and I will not write against the dead; nor will I reproach him with the loss of life as he did me with the loss of sight; though there are some, who impute his death to the penetrating severity of my strictures, which he rendered only the more sharp by his endeavours to resist. When he saw the work which he had in hand proceed slowly on, the time of reply elapsed, the public curiosity subsided, his fame marred, and his reputation lost; the favour of the princes, whose cause he had so ill-defended, alienated, he was destroyed after three years of grief rather by the force of depression than disease. However this may be, if I must wage even a posthumous war with an enemy whose strength I so well know, whose most vigorous and impetuous attacks I so easily sustained, there seems no reason why I should dread the languid exertions of his dying hour.

But now, at last, let us come to this thing, whatever it may be, that provokes us to the combat; though I hear, indeed, the cry not of the royal blood, as the title pretends, but that of some skulking and drivelling miscreant. Well, I beseech, who are you? a man, or nobody at all? Certainly one of the dregs of men, for even slaves are not without a name. Shall I always have to contend with anonymous scribblers? though they would willingly indeed pass for kings' men, but I much doubt whether they can make kings believe that they are. The followers and friends of kings are not ashamed of kings. How then are these the friends of kings? They make no contributions; they more willingly receive them; they will not even lend their names to the support of the royal cause. What then? they support it by their pen; but even this service they have not sufficient liberality to render gratuitously to their kings; nor have they the courage to affix their names to their productions. But though, O anonymous Sirs! I might plead the example of your Claudius, who composed a plausible work concerning the rights of kings, but without having respect enough either for me or for the subject to put his name to the production, I should think it scandalous to undertake the discussion of so weighty a subject, while I concealed my name. What I, in a republic, openly attempt against kings, why do you in a monarchy, and under the patronage of kings, not dare to do except clandestinely and by stealth? Why do you, trembling with apprehension in the midst of security, and seeking darkness in the midst of light, depreciate the power and the majesty of sovereigns by a cowardice, which must excite both hatred and distrust? Do you suspect that you have no protection in the power of kings? But surely, thus skulking in obscurity and prowling in disguise, you seem to have come not so much as advocates to maintain the right of kings as thieves to rob the treasury. What I am, I ingenuously profess to be. The prerogative which I deny to kings, I would persist in denying in any legitimate monarchy; for no sovereign could injure me without first condemning himself by a confession of his despotism. If I inveigh against tyrants, what is this to kings? whom I am far from associating with tyrants. As much as an honest man differs from a rogue, so much I contend that a king differs from a tyrant. Whence it is clear, that a tyrant is so far from

being a king, that he is always in direct opposition to a king. And he who peruses the records of history, will find that more kings have been subverted by tyrants than by their subjects. He, therefore, who would authorise the destruction of tyrants, does not authorise the destruction of kings, but of the most inveterate enemies to kings. But that right, which you concede to kings, the right of doing what they please, is not justice, but injustice, ruin and despair. By that envenomed present you yourselves destroy those, whom you extol as if they were above the reach of danger and oppression; and you quite obliterate the difference between a king and a tyrant, if you invest both with the same arbitrary power. For, if a king does not exercise that power, (and no king will exercise it as long as he is not a tyrant,) the power must be ascribed, not to the king, but to the individual. For, what can be imagined more absurd than that regal prerogative, which, if any one uses, as often as he wishes to act the king, so often he ceases to be an honest man; and as often as he chooses to be an honest man, so often he must evince that he is not a king? Can any more bitter reproach be cast upon kings? He who maintains this prerogative, must himself be a monster of injustice and iniquity; for how can there be a worse person than him, who must himself first verify the exaggerated picture of atrocity which he delineates? But if every good man, as an ancient sect of philosophers magnificently taught, is a king, it follows that every bad one is, according to his capacity, a tyrant; nor does the name of tyrant signify any thing soaring or illustrious, but the meanest reptile on the earth; for in proportion as he is great, he is contemptible and abject. Others are vicious only for themselves: but tyrants are vicious, not only for themselves, but are even involuntarily obliged to participate in the crimes of their importunate menials and favourites, and to entrust certain portions of their despotism to the vilest of their dependants. Tyrants are thus the most abject of slaves, for they are the servants of those who are themselves in servitude. This name therefore may be rightly applied to the most insignificant pugilist of tyranny, or even to this brawler; who, why he should strenuously clamour for the interests of despotism, will sufficiently appear from what has been said already, and what will be said in the sequel; as also why this hireling chooses to conceal his name. Treading in the steps of Salmasius, he has prostituted his cry for the royal blood, and either blushing for the disgrace of his erudition, or the flagitiousness of his life, it is not strange that he should wish to be concealed; or perhaps he is watching an opportunity, wherever he may scent some richer odours of emolument, to desert the cause of kings, and transfer his services to some future republic. This was the manner of Salmasius, who, captivated by the love of gain, apostatised, even when sinking in years, from the orthodox to the episcopalians, from the popular party to the royalists. Thou brawler, then, from the stews, who thou art thou in vain endeavourest to conceal; believe me, you will be dragged to light, nor will the helmet of Pluto any longer serve you for a disguise. And you will swear downright, as long as you live, either that I am not blind, or that I was quicksighted enough to detect you in the labyrinth of imposture. Attend then, while I relate who he is, from whom descended, by what expectations he was led, or by what blandishments soothed to advocate the royal cause.

There is one More, part Frenchman and part Scot, so that one country, or one people, cannot be quite overwhelmed with the whole infamy of his extraction; an unprincipled miscreant, and proved not only by the general testimony of his enemies, but even by that of his dearest friends, whom he has alienated by his insincerity, to be a monster of perfidy, falsehood, ingratitude, and malevolence, the perpetual slanderer, not only of men, but of women, whose chastity he is no more accustomed to regard than their reputation. To pass over the more obscure transactions of his youth, he first made his appearance as a teacher of the Greek language at Geneva; where he could not divest himself either of the knave or fool; but where, even while secretly conscious, though perhaps not yet publicly convicted of so many enormities, he had the audacity to solicit the office of pastor in the church, and to profane the character by his crimes. But his debaucheries, his pride, and the general profligacies of his conduct, could not long escape the censure of the Presbyters; after being condemned for many heresies, which he basely recanted, and to which he still as impiously adhered, he was at last openly found guilty of adultery. He had conceived a violent passion for the maid-servant of his host, and even after she was married to another, did not cease to solicit the gratification of his lust. The neighbours often observed them together in close converse under a shed in the garden. But you will say this might have no reference to any criminal amours; he might have conversed upon horticulture, and have read lectures on the art, to the untutored and curious girl; he might one while have praised the beauty of the parterres, or regretted the absence of shade; he might have inserted a mulberry in a fig, and thence have rapidly raised a progeny of sycamores; a cooling bower; and might then have taught the art of grafting to the fair. All this and more he might, no doubt, have done. But all this would not satisfy the Presbyters, who passed sentence on him as an adulterer, and judged him unworthy of the ecclesiastical functions. The heads of those, and other accusations of the like kind, are still preserved in the public library at Geneva. But, even after this had become matter of public notoriety, he was invited, at the instance of Salmasius, to officiate in the French church at Middleburgh. This gave great offence to Spanheim, a man of singular erudition and integrity; who was well acquainted with his character at Geneva, though at last, but not without the most violent opposition, he succeeded in obtaining letters testimonial from the Genevese, but these only on the condition that he should leave the place, and couched in expressions rather bordering on censure than on praise. As soon

as he arrived in Holland, he went to pay his respects to Salmasius; where he immediately cast his libidinous looks on his wife's maid, whose name was Pontia; for the fellow's lust is always inflamed by cooks and waiting-maids; hence he began to pay assiduous court to Salmasius, and, as often as he had opportunity, to Pontia. I know not whether Salmasius, taken by the busy attentions and unintermitted adulation of More, or More thinking that it would favour his purpose of meeting Pontia, which first caused their conversation to turn on the answer of Milton to Salmasius. But, however this might be, More undertook to defend Salmasius, and Salmasius promises to obtain for More the divinity-chair in that city. Besides this, More promises himself other sweets in his clandestine amour with Pontia; for, under pretext of consulting Salmasius in the prosecution of this work, he had free admission to the house at all hours of the night or day. And, as formerly Pyramus was changed into a mulberry tree, so More* seems suddenly transformed into Pyramus; but in proportion as he was more criminal, so he was more fortunate than that youth. He had no occasion to seek for a chink in the wall; he had every facility of carrying on his intrigue with his Thisbe under the same roof. He promises her marriage; and, under the lure of this promise, violates her chastity. O shame! a minister of the gospel abuses the confidence of friendship to commit this atrocious crime. From this amour no common prodigy accrued; for both man and woman suffered the pains of parturition: Pontia conceived a morill,† which long afforded employment to the natural disquisitions of Salmasius; More, the barren and windy egg; from which issued that flatulent cry of the royal blood. The sight of this egg indeed, at first, caused our monarchy-men, who were famishing in Belgium, to lick their chops; but the shell was no sooner broken, than they loathed the addle and putrid contents; for More, not a little elated with his conception, and thinking that he had obliged the whole Orange faction, had begun to anticipate a new accession of professorships and chairs, when he deserted his poor pregnant Pontia, as beneath his notice, to indigence and misfortune. She complained to the synod and the magistrates, of the injuries and the treachery which she had experienced. Thus the matter was brought to light, and afforded subject for merriment and observation in almost all places and companies. Hence some ingenious person wrote this distich,

> Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,
> Quis bene moratam morigeramque negat? ‡
>
> O Pontia, teeming with More's Gallic seed,
> You have been *Mor'd* enough, and no *more* need.

Pontia alone was not seen to smile; but she gained nothing by complaint; for the cry of the royal blood soon overwhelmed the clamour about the rape, and the cries of the ruined fair. Salmasius deeply resented the injury and insult which were thus offered to himself and his family; and the derision to which he was exposed by his courteous and admiring friend; and perhaps this misfortune, added to his other mishaps in the royal cause, might have contributed to accelerate his end. But on this hereafter. In the mean time, Salmasius, with the fate of Salmasia, (for the fable is as appropriate as the name,) little thinking that in More he had got an hermaphrodite associate, as incapable of parturition as of procreation, without knowing what he had begot for him in the house, fondles the fruit of his travail, the book in which he was styled Great; justly perhaps in his own opinion, but very unfitly and ridiculously in that of other people. He hastens to the printer; and, in vain endeavouring to keep possession of the fame which was vanishing from his grasp, he anxiously attends as a midwife the public delivery of those praises, or rather vile flatteries, which he had so rapaciously sought this fellow and others to bestow. For this purpose Flaccus seemed the most proper person that could be found; him he readily persuades, not only to print the book, which nobody would have blamed, but also publicly to profess himself the author of a letter to Charles, filled with the most calumnious aspersions against me, whom he had never known. But when I shew, as I can from good authority, how he has acted towards others, it will be the less astonishing why he should so readily be prevailed on to commence such a wanton and unprovoked attack upon me; and with so little consideration, to father another's extravagance of slander and invective. Flaccus, whose country is unknown, was an itinerant bookseller, a notorious prodigal and cheat; for a long time he carried on a clandestine trade in London; from which city, after practising innumerable frauds, he ran away in debt. He afterwards lived at Paris, during the whole reign of James, an object of distrust and a monster of extortion. From this place he made his escape; and now does not dare to approach within many miles; at present he makes his appearance as a regenerated bookseller at the Hague, ready to perform any nefarious and dirty work to which he may be invited. And as a proof how little he cares what he says or what he does, there is nothing so sacred which a trifling bribe would not tempt him to betray; and I shall bring forward his own confession to shew that his virulence against me was not prompted, as might be supposed, by any zeal for the public good. When he found that what I had written against Salmasius had a considerable sale, he writes to some of my friends to persuade me to let any future publication of mine issue from his press; and promises a great degree of elegance in the typographical execution. I replied, that I had, at that time, no work by me ready for the press. But lo! he, who had lately made me such an officious proffer of his services, soon appears, not only as the printer, but the (suborned) author of a most scandalous libel upon my character. My friends express their indignation; he replies with unabashed effrontery, that he is quite astonished at their simplicity and ignorance of the world, in supposing that he should suffer any notions of right or wrong to disturb his cal-

* Morus, the Latin name for mulberry.
† A little More, or mulberry.

‡ It is impossible to give a literally exact rendering of this; I have played upon the name as well as I could in English.—R. F.

culations of profit and his speculations of gain: that he had received that letter from Salmasius together with the book; that he begged him to publish it on his own account, in the way he had done; and that, if Milton or any other person thought fit to write an answer, he should have no hesitation in printing it, if they would employ him in the business. This was nothing else than to say that he would readily publish an invective against Salmasius, or King Charles; for the reply could relate to no other persons. It is needless to say more. I have unmasked the man; I proceed to others; for he is not the only one who has served to embellish this tragic cry of the royal blood. Here then are the actors in the drama. The brawling prolocutor, the profligate Flaccus, or, if you had rather, Salmasius, habited in the mask and cloak of Flaccus, two poetasters drunk with stale beer, and More famed for adultery and rape. A marvellous company of tragedians! and an honest set for me to engage! But as such a cause was not likely to procure adversaries of a different stamp; let us now proceed to the attack of the individuals, such as they are; only first premising that, if any one think my refutation wanting in gravity, he should recollect, that I have not to contend with a weighty foe, but only a merry-andrew host; and that in such a work, instead of labouring to give it throughout the highest polish of elegance, it was right to consider what diction might be most appropriate to such a crew.

The Royal Blood crying to heaven for vengeance on the English parricides.

Your narrative, O More, would have had a greater appearance of truth, if you had first shewn that his blood was not justly shed. But as in the first dawn of the reformation, the monks, from their dearth of argument, had recourse to spectres and other impositions, so you, when nothing else will stand you in any stead, call in the aid of voices which were never heard, and superstitious tricks that have long been out of date. You would not readily give any of us credit for having heard a voice from heaven; but I could with little difficulty believe that you did actually hear a voice from hell. Yet, I beseech you, who heard this cry of the royal blood? Yourself? Mere trash; for first you never hear any thing good.* But that cry which mounts to heaven, if any but God hear, it can only be the upright and the pure; who, themselves, unstained with crimes, may well denounce the divine vengeance against the guilty. But how could you possibly hear it? or, as a catamite, would you write a satire against lust? For you seem, at the same time, to have fabricated this miraculous cry to heaven and to have consummated your amour with Pontia. There are not only many impediments in your sense, but many evil incrustations about your heart, which would for ever prevent such cries from reaching your ears; and if nothing else did, the many cries which are continually ascending to heaven against your own enormities would be sufficient for the purpose. The voice of that harlot, whom you debauched in the garden, and who complains that you, her religious teacher, was the author of her seduction demands vengeance against you. Vengeance is demanded against you by the husband, whose nuptial bed you defiled; it is demanded by Pontia, to whom you perjured your nuptial vow; it is demanded by that little innocent whom you caused to be born in shame, and then left to perish without support.—All these different cries for vengeance on your guilty head are continually ascending to the throne of God; which if you do not hear, it is certain that the cry of the royal blood you could never have heard. Thus your book, instead of the royal blood crying to heaven, might more fitly be entitled "More's lascivious neighing for his Pontia." Of that tiresome and addle epistle, which follows, part is devoted to Charles, part to Milton, to exalt the one, and to vilify the other. Take a specimen from the beginning: "The dominions of Charles," he says, "were thrown into the sacrilegious hands of parricides and Deicides." I shall not stay to consider whether this rant be the product of Salmasius, of More, or of Flaccus. But this, which makes others laugh, may well make Charles rave; for a little after he says that "no one was more devoted to the interests of Charles." What truly! was there no one more devoted to his interests than you, who offered to publish and to circulate the invectives of his enemies? How wretched and forlorn must be the situation of Charles, if a scoundrel of a printer dare to rank himself among his most confidential friends? Wretched indeed must he be, if the perfidious Flaccus equal his dearest friends in fidelity and affection! But could the fellow have spoken any thing either more arrogantly of himself, or more contemptuously of the king and the king's friends? Nor is it less ridiculous that a low-lived mechanic should be brought upon the stage to philosophise on the principles of government, and the virtues of kings; and to speak in a tone as lofty as even Salmasius or More. But indeed on this as well as other occasions I have discovered evident indications that Salmasius, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his reading, was a man of puerile judgment, and without any knowledge of the world; for though he must have read that the chief magistrates, in the well-arranged government of Sparta, were always wont to ascribe to some virtuous citizen the merit of every good saying which the worthless and the profligate might occasionally pronounce, he has shewn himself so utterly ignorant of all that is called propriety, as to ascribe to the vilest of men, sentiments which could become only the good and wise. Keep up your spirits, Charles; for the old rogue Flaccus, whose faith in providence is so great, tells you not to be depressed. Do not succumb under so many sufferings. Flaccus, the most unprincipled prodigal, who so soon lost all that he ever had, tells you not to despond when all is lost. Make the best of your ill-starred fortune. And can you help making the best of it when he advises, who, for so many years, by every species of peculation and iniquity, has been wont to subsist on the fortunes of others?

* Latin, male audis. There is a play upon the words.

"Drink deep of wisdom, for you are plunged in wisdom's pool." So counsels, so directs jolly Flaccus, the unrivalled preceptor of kings, who, seizing the leathern flaggon with his ink-smeared hands, drinks among his fellow workmen a huge draught to the success of your philosophy. This dares Flaccus, your incomparable partizan, who signs his name to admonitions, which Salmasius, which More, and your other advocates, have too little courage, or too much pride, to own. For, as often as you have any need of admonition or defence, they are always anonymously wise or brave; and at another's hazard rather than their own. Let this fellow therefore, whoever he may be, cease to make a barren boast of his vigorous and animated eloquence; for the author truly "fears to divulge his name, which has become so renowned by the exertions of his genius." But he had not the courage, even in that work which was to avenge the royal blood, to prefix a dedication to Charles without the vicarious aid of Flaccus, in whose words he was contented to say that, "if it might be permitted, he would dedicate the book to his majesty without a name." Thus having done with Charles, he next puts himself in a menacing posture against me. "After this proœmium" the wonderful "Salmasius will make the trumpet blow a deadly blast." You announce a new kind of harmony; for to the terrors of that loud-sounding instrument no symphony bears so close a resemblance as that which is produced by accumulated flatulency. But I advise Salmasius not to raise the notes of this trumpet to too high a pitch; for, the louder the tones, the more he will expose himself to a slap on the chops; which, while both his cheeks ring, will give a delightful flow to his well-proportioned melodies. You chatter on, "who has not his equal, nor near his equal, in the whole literary and scientific world." What assurance! Ye men of erudition, scattered over the world, can you think it possible that a preference over you all should be given to a grammatical louse, whose only treasure of merit, and hope of fame, consisted in a glossary; and who would at last be found to deserve nothing but contempt, if a comparison were instituted between him and men really learned. But this would not be affirmed by any except the lowest driveller, more destitute of understanding than even Flaccus himself. "And who has now employed in the service of your majesty, a stupendous mass of erudition, illuminated by a genius quite divine." If you recollect what I said above, that Salmasius took this letter, which was either written by himself or one of his creatures, to the printer, and intreated the servile artificer to affix his own name to the publication, you will discover the indisputable marks of a mind truly grovelling and contemptible; basely wooing a panegyrick on itself, and sedulously procuring, even from a fool, an unbounded prodigality of praise. "An incomparable and immortal work, which it is fruitless to revile, and in which it must astonish even the regular practitioners of the law, how a Frenchman should so soon bring himself to understand and to explain the English history, the laws, statutes, records, &c." Indeed how little he understood our laws, and how much he spoke at random on the subject, we have produced abundant evidence to shew. "But he will soon, in another impression which he is preparing against the rebels, stop the mouths of revilers, and chastise Milton according to his deserts." You, therefore, as that little avant courier of a fish, run before the Salmasian whale, which threatens an attack upon our coast; we sharpen our harpoons to elicit any oil or gall which his impetuous vengeance may contain. In the mean time we admire the more than Pythagorean tenderness of this prodigy of a man, who compassionating animals, and particularly fish, to whose flesh even Lent shews no indulgence, destined so many volumes to the decent apparelling of myriads of poor sprats and herrings, and bequeathed by will a paper coat to each.

> Rejoice, ye herrings, and ye ocean fry,
> Who, in cold winter, shiver in the sea;
> The knight, Salmasius, pitying your hard lot,
> Bounteous intends your nakedness to clothe.
> And, lavish of his paper, is preparing
> Chartaceous jackets to invest you all.
> Jackets resplendent with his arms and fame,
> Exultingly parade the fishy mart,
> And sing his praise with checquered livery,
> That well might serve to grace the letter'd store
> Of those, who pick their noses and ne'er read.

This I wrote on the long expected edition of his far-famed work; in printing which he was strenuously engaged, while you, sir, were polluting his house by your scandalous amour with Pontia. And Salmasius appears to have long and industriously applied himself to the execution; for, only a few days before his death, when a learned person, from whom I received the information, sent to ask him when he would publish the second part of his argument against the supremacy of the Pope; he replied, that he should not return to that work till he had completed his labours against Milton. Thus I was preferred before the Pope; and that supremacy which he denied to him in the church, he gratuitously bestowed on me in his resentment. Thus I seem to have furnished a timely succour against his subversion of the papacy; and to have saved the Roman capital from the irruption of a second Catiline, not indeed like the Consul Tully, by the fasces of office, or the premonitions of a dream, but by very different means. Surely many cardinals' caps will be due to me on this account; and I fear lest the Roman Pontiff, by the transfer of a title, which lately belonged to our kings, should salute me with the appellation of Defender of the Faith. You see under what a cloud of disgrace Salmasius laboured to depress me. But ought he to have relinquished a post of honourable exertion to mingle in foreign controversies, or to have deserted the service of the church for political and external discussions, in which he had no knowledge and no concern? Ought he to have made a truce with the Pope? and, what was most base of all, after the utmost bitterness of hostility, to have sought a reconciliation with the Bishops? Let us now come to the charges which were brought against myself. Is there any thing reprehensible in my manners or my conduct? Surely

nothing. What no one, not totally divested of all generous sensibility, would have done, he reproaches me with want of beauty and loss of sight.

A monster huge and hideous, void of sight.

I certainly never supposed that I should have been obliged to enter into a competition for beauty with the Cyclops; but he immediately corrects himself, and says, "though not indeed huge, for there cannot be a more spare, shrivelled, and bloodless form." It is of no moment to say any thing of personal appearance, yet lest (as the Spanish vulgar, implicitly confiding in the relations of their priests, believe of heretics) any one, from the representations of my enemies, should be led to imagine that I have either the head of a dog, or the horn of a rhinoceros, I will say something on the subject, that I may have an opportunity of paying my grateful acknowledgements to the Deity, and of refuting the most shameless lies. I do not believe that I was ever once noted for deformity, by any one who ever saw me; but the praise of beauty I am not anxious to obtain. My stature certainly is not tall; but it rather approaches the middle than the diminutive. Yet what if it were diminutive, when so many men, illustrious both in peace and war, have been the same? And how can that be called diminutive, which is great enough for every virtuous achievement? Nor, though very thin, was I ever deficient in courage or in strength; and I was wont constantly to exercise myself in the use of the sword, as long as it comported with my habits and my years. Armed with this weapon, as I usually was, I should have thought myself quite a match for any one, though much stronger than myself; and I felt perfectly secure against the assault of any open enemy. At this moment I have the same courage, the same strength, though not the same eyes; yet so little do they betray any external appearance of injury, that they are as unclouded and bright as the eyes of those who most distinctly see. In this instance alone I am a dissembler against my will. My face, which is said to indicate a total privation of blood, is of a complexion entirely opposite to the pale and the cadaverous; so that, though I am more than forty years old, there is scarcely any one to whom I do not appear ten years younger than I am; and the smoothness of my skin is not, in the least, affected by the wrinkles of age. If there be one particle of falsehood in this relation, I should deservedly incur the ridicule of many thousands of my countrymen, and even many foreigners to whom I am personally known. But if he, in a matter so foreign to his purpose, shall be found to have asserted so many shameless and gratuitous falsehoods, you may the more readily estimate the quantity of his veracity on other topics. Thus much necessity compelled me to assert concerning my personal appearance. Respecting yours, though I have been informed that it is most insignificant and contemptible, a perfect mirror of the worthlessness of your character and the malevolence of your heart, I say nothing, and no one will be anxious that any thing should be said. I wish that I could with equal facility refute what this barbarous opponent has said of my blindness; but I cannot do it; and I must submit to the affliction. It is not so wretched to be blind, as it is not to be capable of enduring blindness. But why should I not endure a misfortune, which it behoves every one to be prepared to endure if it should happen; which may, in the common course of things, happen to any man; and which has been known to happen to the most distinguished and virtuous persons in history. Shall I mention those wise and ancient bards, whose misfortunes the gods are said to have compensated by superior endowments, and whom men so much revered, that they chose rather to impute their want of sight to the injustice of heaven than to their own want of innocence or virtue? What is reported of the Augur Tiregias is well known; of whom Apollonius sung thus in his Argonauts;

> To men he dar'd the will divine disclose,
> Nor fear'd what Jove might in his wrath impose.
> The gods assigned him age, without decay,
> But snatch'd the blessing of his sight away.

But God himself is truth; in propagating which, as men display a greater integrity and zeal, they approach nearer to the similitude of God, and possess a greater portion of his love. We cannot suppose the Deity envious of truth, or unwilling that it should be freely communicated to mankind. The loss of sight, therefore, which this inspired sage, who was so eager in promoting knowledge among men, sustained, cannot be considered as a judicial punishment. Or shall I mention those worthies who were as distinguished for wisdom in the cabinet, as for valour in the field? And first, Timoleon of Corinth, who delivered his city and all Sicily from the yoke of slavery; than whom there never lived, in any age, a more virtuous man, or a more incorrupt statesman: Next Appius Claudius, whose discreet counsels in the senate, though they could not restore sight to his own eyes, saved Italy from the formidable inroads of Pyrrhus: then Cæcilius Metellus the high priest, who lost his sight, while he saved, not only the city, but the palladium, the protection of the city, and the most sacred relics, from the destruction of the flames. On other occasions Providence has indeed given conspicuous proofs of its regard for such singular exertions of patriotism and virtue; what, therefore, happened to so great and so good a man, I can hardly place in the catalogue of misfortunes. Why should I mention others of later times, as Dandolo of Venice, the incomparable Doge; or Boemar Zisca, the bravest of generals, and the champion of the cross; or Jerome Zanchius, and some other theologians of the highest reputation? For it is evident that the Patriarch Isaac, than whom no man ever enjoyed more of the divine regard, lived blind for many years; and perhaps also his son Jacob, who was equally an object of the divine benevolence. And in short, did not our Saviour himself clearly declare that that poor man whom he restored to sight, had not been born blind, either on account of his own sins or those of his progenitors? And

with respect to myself, though I have accurately examined my conduct, and scrutinized my soul, I call thee, O God, the searcher of hearts, to witness, that I am not conscious, either in the more early or in the later periods of my life, of having committed any enormity, which might deservedly have marked me out as a fit object for such a calamitous visitation. But since my enemies boast that this affliction is only a retribution for the transgressions of my pen, I again invoke the Almighty to witness, that I never, at any time, wrote any thing which I did not think agreeable to truth, to justice, and to piety. This was my persuasion then, and I feel the same persuasion now. Nor was I ever prompted to such exertions by the influence of ambition, by the lust of lucre or of praise; it was only by the conviction of duty and the feeling of patriotism, a disinterested passion for the extension of civil and religious liberty. Thus, therefore, when I was publickly solicited to write a reply to the defence of the royal cause, when I had to contend with the pressure of sickness, and with the apprehension of soon losing the sight of my remaining eye, and when my medical attendants clearly announced, that if I did engage in the work, it would be irreparably lost, their premonitions caused no hesitation and inspired no dismay. I would not have listened to the voice even of Esculapius himself from the shrine of Epidauris, in preference to the suggestions of the heavenly monitor within my breast; my resolution was unshaken, though the alternative was either the loss of my sight, or the desertion of my duty; and I called to mind those two destinies, which the oracle of Delphi announced to the son of Thetis.

> Two fates may lead me to the realms of night;
> If staying here, around Troy's wall I fight,
> To my dear home no more must I return;
> But lasting glory will adorn my urn.
> But, if I withdraw from the martial strife,
> Short is my fame, but long will be my life. Il. ix.

I considered that many had purchased a less good by a greater evil, the meed of glory by the loss of life; but that I might procure great good by little suffering; that though I am blind, I might still discharge the most honourable duties, the performance of which, as it is something more durable than glory, ought to be an object of superior admiration and esteem; I resolved, therefore, to make the short interval of sight, which was left me to enjoy, as beneficial as possible to the public interest. Thus it is clear, by what motives I was governed in the measures which I took, and the losses which I sustained. Let then the calumniators of the divine goodness cease to revile, or to make me the object of their superstitious imaginations. Let them consider, that my situation, such as it is, is neither an object of my shame or my regret, that my resolutions are too firm to be shaken, that I am not depressed by any sense of the divine displeasure; that, on the other hand, in the most momentous periods, I have had full experience of the divine favour and protection; and that, in the solace and the strength which have been infused into me from above, I have been enabled to do the will of God; that I may oftener think on what he has bestowed, than on what he has withheld; that, in short, I am unwilling to exchange my consciousness of rectitude with that of any other person; and that I feel the recollection a treasured store of tranquillity and delight. But, if the choice were necessary, I would, Sir, prefer my blindness to yours; yours is a cloud spread over the mind, which darkens both the light of reason and of conscience; mine keeps from my view only the coloured surfaces of things, while it leaves me at liberty to contemplate the beauty and stability of virtue and of truth. How many things are there besides, which I would not willingly see; how many which I must see against my will; and how few which I feel any anxiety to see! There is, as the apostle has remarked, a way to strength through weakness. Let me then be the most feeble creature alive, as long as that feebleness serves to invigorate the energies of my rational and immortal spirit; as long as in that obscurity, in which I am enveloped, the light of the divine presence more clearly shines; then, in the proportion as I am weak, I shall be invincibly strong; and in proportion as I am blind, I shall more clearly see. O! that I may thus be perfected by feebleness, and irradiated by obscurity! And indeed, in my blindness, I enjoy in no inconsiderable degree the favour of the Deity; who regards me with more tenderness and compassion in proportion as I am able to behold nothing but himself. Alas! for him who insults me, who maligns and merits public execration! For the divine law not only shields me from injury, but almost renders me too sacred to attack; not indeed so much from the privation of my sight, as from the overshadowing of those heavenly wings, which seem to have occasioned this obscurity; and which, when occasioned, he is wont to illuminate with an interior light, more precious and more pure. To this I ascribe the more tender assiduities of my friends, their soothing attentions, their kind visits, their reverential observances; among whom there are some with whom I may interchange the Pyladean and Thesian dialogue of inseparable friends.

> Orest. Proceed, and be rudder of my feet, by shewing me the most endearing love.
>
> Eurip. in Orest.

And in another place,

> Lend your hand to your devoted friend,
> Throw your arm round my neck, and I will conduct you on the way.

This extraordinary kindness which I experience, cannot be any fortuitous combination; and friends, such as mine, do not suppose that all the virtues of a man are contained in his eyes. Nor do the persons of principal distinction in the commonwealth suffer me to be bereaved of comfort, when they see me bereaved of sight, amid the exertions which I made, the zeal which I shewed, and the dangers which I run for the liberty which I love. But, soberly reflecting on the casualties of human life, they shew me favour and indulgence as to a soldier who has served his time; and kindly con-

cede to me an exemption from care and toil. They do not strip me of the badges of honour which I have once worn; they do not deprive me of the places of public trust to which I have been appointed; they do not abridge my salary or emoluments; which, though I may not do so much to deserve as I did formerly, they are too considerate and too kind to take away; and in short they honour me as much, as the Athenians did those whom they determined to support at the public expence in the Prytaneum. Thus, while both God and man unite in solacing me under the weight of my affliction, let no one lament my loss of sight in so honourable a cause. And let me not indulge in unavailing grief; or want the courage either to despise the revilers of my blindness, or the forbearance easily to pardon the offence. I return to you, Sir, whoever you may be, who, with a remarkable inconsistency, seem to consider me at one time as a giant, and at another as a dwarf. You end with expressing your wish, that the United Provinces may with as much ease, and as much success, put an end to this war, as Salmasius will put an end to Milton. To which wish, if I were cheerfully to assent, I think that I should not omen ill, nor ill implore for our success, or for the English interest.

But lo! again a dissonant and hissing cry! It seems as if a flock of geese were passing through the air. I now perceive what it is; the cry has no tragic tones; the chorus makes its appearance; when lo! two poetasters, if two there be, as diverse in colour as in form. Shall I call it a Sphinx, or that poetical monster of Horace, with a woman's head and an ass's neck, covered with motley plumes, and made up of limbs taken from every species of animals? Yes, that is the very thing! It is surely some rhapsodist or other, dressed out in scraps of verses with poetic rags; though it is uncertain whether there be one or two; for there is not the mention of a name. True poets are the objects of my reverence and my love; and the constant sources of my delight. I know that the most of them, from the earliest times to those of Buchanan, have been the strenuous enemies of despotism; but these pedlars and milliners of verse, who can bear? They applaud and they revile as it may happen, as gain, or passion, or the bottle may incite, without choice, discrimination, judgment, or moderation, princes and plebeians, the literate and illiterate, honest men and knaves. They heap together such a motley, indigested, and putrid mass of adulation, that it would be better to be prosecuted with contempt, than loaded with such praise. And he, whom they revile, should think it no small honour, that he has incurred the displeasure of such absurd and foolish miscreants. I doubt whether the first, if there be two, be a poet or a mason; for he so bedaubs the face of Salmasius, that he hardly leaves the space of a hair without a coating of plaster. He represents the giant-warring hero, riding in his triumphal car, brandishing the spear, the cestus, and all the foppery of war, attended by all the learned who walk on foot, but at an awful distance behind his chariot; since he is feigned to "have been commissioned by the Deity to heal the distractions of the world, and with an impenetrable shield, to protect kings in the possession of their rights, and in the splendour of their sovereignty." Salmasius must surely have been doating in a state of second infancy, when he could be so much taken by this encomium, as to cause it immediately to be published to the world. The poet must have been a miserable drudge, and without any feeling of propriety, to lavish such a prodigality of praise on a grammarian; a race of men who have been always thought to act as a sort of subordinate and menial part to the bard. The other does not make verses, but is stark mad; himself more raving than all the enthusiasts, who are the objects of his furious invective. As if he were the hangman in the employ of Salmasius, like the son of Dama, he invokes the Horatii and Cadmus; then, intoxicated with hellebore, he disgorges a whole cistern of abuse, which an index to Plautus shows him where to pilfer from the mouths of mountebanks and slaves. You would suppose, that his language was rather Oscan than Latin; or that he was croaking like the frog of a slimy pool. Then to shew you how much he is a master of iambics, he makes two false quantities in a single word; making one syllable long, where it ought to be short, and another short, where it ought to be long.

Hi trucidato rege per horrendum nefas.

Take away, O ass! those panniers of airy nothingness; and speak, if you can, three words that have an affinity to common sense; if it be possible for the tumid pumpkin of your skull to discover for a moment any thing like the reality of intellect. In the mean time, I abandon the pedagogue to the rods of his scholars. Do you go on to revile me as worse than Cromwell, since you cannot pay me a higher compliment. But shall I call you a friend, a fool, or an insidious foe? Friend you cannot be, for your language is that of an enemy. How then could you be such an egregious fool, as, in the orgasms of your virulence, to assign me the post of pre-eminence above so great a personage? For do you not perceive, or do you think me too dull to discern, that the violence of your hostility only serves to augment the splendor of my patriotism; and that the topics of my panegyric must be as numerous as your subjects of reproach. If I am most the object of your aversion, it is because you have most felt the force of my blows; because I have been the greatest obstacle in the way of your success. This proves that I have deserved well of my country; for the testimony of an enemy, however suspicious on other occasions, may be safely trusted with respect to his own sensations of resentment. Do you not remember that the poet, in the context which ensued between Ajax and Ulysses, for the arms of Achilles, leaves the matter according to the opinion of Nestor, to the decision, not of their Grecian friends, but of their Trojan foes.

To the cool Trojans let us leave the cause.

And a little after,

What sober justice dictates they'll decree,
From love and ev'ry partial bias free;

For all the Greeks alike incur their hate,
Alike the authors of their ruin'd state.

Thus says Q. Calaber. You must therefore be insidiously studious to oppress me with the public indignation; and thus you corrupt and pervert the open and manly vigour of an enemy, by the treacherous and inveterate indignity of your disposition; and you shew yourself, not only the worst of men, but the basest of enemies. But, good Sir, I will by no means frustrate your endeavours: for, though I may wish to rival Ulysses in the merits of his patriotism, I am yet no competitor for the arms of Achilles. I am not solicitous for an Elysium painted on a shield, which others may see me brandish in the contest; but I desire to bear upon my shoulders a real not a painted weight, of which I may feel the pressure, but which may be imperceptible to others. For since I cherish no private rancour, nor hostility against any man, nor any man that I know of against me, I am well contented, for the sake of the public interest, to be so much aspersed and so much reviled. Nor, while I sustain the greatest weight of the disgrace, do I complain because I have the smallest share of the profit or the praise; for I am content to do what is virtuous, for the sake of the action itself, without any sinister expectations. Let others look to that; but do you, Sir, know, that my hands were never soiled with the guilt of peculation; and that I never was even a shilling the richer by those exertions, which you most vehemently traduce. Here More again begins, and in his second epistle assigns the reasons for his writing; to whom? Why, truly, More, the perpetrator of adultery and rape, addresses "the lover of Christianity." You promise, Sir, a most pious epistle; but now for the reasons why you wrote. "That the anxious and attentive nations of Europe, and particularly the members of the reformed religion in France, might be made acquainted with the parricide and the parricides," &c. The French, and even the protestants themselves, were up in arms against the established laws; what they would have done farther if they had met with as much success as we have, cannot be known; but certainly their kings, if we may trust the accounts of those transactions, feared as much from them as ours did from us; nor could they help doing it, when they considered the tone of their manifestos, and the violence of their threats. Let them not therefore, whatever you may pretend, boast too much for themselves, nor judge too illiberally of us. He proceeds, "Indeed I have been in such habits of intimacy with persons of the first character in England." Those who are the best in his eyes, will be found the worst in those of other people. "That I do not hesitate to assert, that I am intimately acquainted with the vices, the principles, and the lives of those monsters in the shape of men." I thought that you had had acquaintance with none but bawds and whores; but you also thoroughly know what monsters are. "My English friends readily prevailed upon me to suppress my name," and this was discreetly done; for they thus hoped to derive more advantage from the effrontery of your assertions, and less harm from the profligacy of your character. They knew you well, they remembered your honest custody of the fruit in the garden; and that, even when become a shorn and polished priest, you could not keep your hands off Pontia. And surely not without reason; for if the word carnifex be derived, a conficiendâ carne, why may not you, by doing for Pontia, from a priest become a Pontifex. Though they could not but know this, and you could not be ignorant of it, yet, with an impiety that merits execration, and an assurance that surpasses belief, you openly assert, that you were studious only to vindicate the glory of God; and, at the same time, you inveigh against the hypocrisy of others, when there never was a more notorious mercenary, or unprincipled hypocrite, than yourself. In narrating the series of transactions, you say that you have derived great assistance from other writers, and particularly from the exposure of the late disturbances in England. Surely, Sir, you must be very deficient in discretion and capacity; when after so much parade and noise, you bring forward nothing of your own, but can deduce against us only some writers among the royalists, who may justly be suspected; but without an implicit reliance in whose veracity you cannot proceed a step. If there be occasion, we will refute those writers, and set aside one confutation by another; we will not answer them by you, but you by them. What you have produced of your own, you will find it difficult to defend; which, while it indicates a mind utterly void of all religious principles, every good man will shudder while he reads. "The love of God, and a lively sense of the insult that has been offered to his holy name, compels me to lift up my suppliant hands to heaven." Hide, O hide those hands, so foully stained with lust and rapine; nor, with hands such as those, attempt to touch the throne of God, with which you have so often polluted the rites of his religion, and the altars of his worship. The divine vengeance which you so lavishly imprecate on others, you will find at last that you have been invoking on yourself. Hitherto we have had only the prelude to the cry, but (now it is going to occupy the principal and almost sole part in the drama) it swells the cheek and strains the jaws in the act of mounting to heaven; whither, if it ascend, it will resound most effectually against the brawling More. "Since the majesty of kings has in all ages been held sacred," &c. You attack me, Sir, with much common-place abuse, and many malicious observations which are quite irrelevant to the purpose; for the murder of a king, and the punishment of a tyrant, are not the same thing; but do differ, and will for ever differ, as long as sense and reason, justice and equity, the knowledge of right and wrong, shall prevail among men. But enough, and more than enough, has been said on this subject; nor shall I suffer you, who have in vain assaulted me with so many senseless imprecations, at last to bring about my end with a plethory of disgust? You then say some fine things on patience and on virtue. But,

You talk on virtue, while on vice you pore,
And preach most chaste discourses while you whore.

You say that "all the protestants, particularly those in the Low Countries and France, are struck with horror at the crime which we have committed;" and immediately after, that "good men would every where think and speak differently on the subject." That you should be at variance with yourself is a matter of little moment; but what follows is of a more shocking and atrocious cast. You say that "the wickedness of the Jews, who crucified Christ, was nothing compared with ours, whether you regard the intentions of the parties, or the effects of the crime." Maniac; do you, a minister of Jesus, think so lightly of his crucifixion, as to have the audacity to assert, that the destruction of any king, whatever might be the intentions, or the effect, is equally atrocious? The Jews had the clearest and most convincing proofs that Jesus was the Son of God; but how could we possibly be led to believe, that Charles was not a tyrant? To diminish the enormity of the guilt, you very absurdly make mention of the effect; but I always observe, that the royalists, in proportion to their bigotry, are ready to depreciate the sufferings of Christ, in order to exalt those of their king; yet as they assert, that we ought principally to obey him for Christ's sake, they shew that they cherish no sincere regard either for Christ or for the king; and that they make their irrational and superstitious devotion to kings, only a pretext to conceal their ambitious, their sinister and interested, views. "Salmasius, therefore, that great sovereign of literature, advanced to the combat!" Cease, Sir, I beseech you, to disgust us with the application of such an epithet as "great" to Salmasius; which you may repeat a thousand times, without ever persuading any one that Salmasius was great; though you may, that More was little; a worthless scribbler, who, quite ignorant of propriety, lavished the appellation of great without any fitness or discrimination. To grammarians and critics, who are principally occupied in editing the works of others, or in correcting the errors of copyists, we willingly concede the palm of industry and erudition; but we never bestow on them the sirname of great. He alone is worthy of the appellation, who either does great things, or teaches how they may be done, or describes them with a suitable majesty when they have been done; but those only are great things, which tend to render life more happy, which increase the innocent enjoyments and comforts of existence, or which pave the way to a state of future bliss more permanent and more pure. But has Salmasius done any thing like this? Nothing at all; what, that is great, has he ever either taught or related? unless perhaps you except his writings against the bishops, and the supremacy of the pope; the merit of which he entirely effaced by his subsequent recantations; by the habits of his life, and his vindications of episcopacy. He, therefore, cannot fitly be termed a great writer, who either never wrote any thing great, or who basely recanted the best work that he ever wrote. He is welcome for me, to be "the sovereign of literature," and of the A, B, C; but you are not content with having him the "sovereign of literature," but must exalt him to be "the patron of kings;" and a patron well fitted to adorn such a station of sublimity. You have certainly shewn yourself very solicitous to promote the honour of kings, when in addition to their other illustrious titles, you would subjoin that of "the clients of Claud Salmasius." On this condition, O sovereigns of the world, you may be released from every restraint upon your power; if you will but do homage to Salmasius the grammarian, and make your sceptres bend beneath his rod. "To him kings will be indebted, as long as the world lasts, for the vindication of their honour, and the existence of their power." Attend, ye sovereigns! he who composes for you his beggarly defence, and who defends what no one attacked, has the arrogance to impute to himself the continuance of your dignity and your power. Such has been the effect of provoking this insolent grammarian from his cabinet of worms and moths, to support the cause of kings. "To whom the altar will be as much indebted as the throne;" not indeed for the protection, but for the scandalous desertion of its interests. Now, you lavish your panegyric in the defence of the royal cause; "you admire the genius, the erudition, the boundless diversity of matter, the intimate acquaintance with sacred and profane usages and laws, the impetuous volubility of diction, the limpid eloquence, which characterise that golden work." Though I contend that the work is deficient in all these qualities; (for what has Salmasius to do with eloquence?) yet that it was a truly golden composition, I am willing a hundred times to acknowledge; for it cost Charles as many guineas, without mentioning the sums which the author received from the Prince of Orange. "The great man never appeared more mighty in his strength; Salmasius was never more himself." He was truly so great that he burst; for we have seen how great he was in his former work; and shall perhaps see in what he may have left behind him on the same subject. I do not deny that Salmasius, on the first appearance of his book, was the general topic of conversation, and that he was in high favour with the royalists; that he was invited by the most august queen of Sweden, and received the most munificent presents; and, in short, that in the whole dispute, every circumstance was favourable to Salmasius and hostile to me. Men in general entertained the highest opinion of his erudition, the celebrity of which, he had been accumulating for many years, by many voluminous and massy publications, not indeed of any practical utility, but relating to the most abtruse discussions, and crammed with quotations from the most illustrious authors. Nothing is so apt as this to excite the astonishment of the literary vulgar. Who I was, no one in that country had ever known; his work had excited an impatient curiosity, which was increased by the magnitude of the subject. I had no means of exciting a similar interest, or a like ardour of expectation. Many indeed endeavoured to dissuade me from engaging with such a veteran; some from envy, lest I should, at any rate, gather some glory from the conflict with so mighty an adversary; others from fear, lest my defeat should

prove injurious to myself, and to the cause which I had undertaken to defend. Salmasius was invigorated and cheered by the specious plausibility of his subject, by the inveterate prejudices, or rather rooted superstitions, of the vulgar, in favour of kingly power. All these were adverse to my undertaking, and impediments to my success; and it is the less surprising, that my answer, on its first appearance, should be less eagerly read, except by those who were anxious to learn, who had the inconsiderate audacity to enter the lists with Salmasius. But the work soon excited general approbation and delight; the author was lost sight of in the blaze of truth; and Salmasius, who had so lately been towering on the pinnacle of distinction, stripped of the mask which he had worn, soon dwindled into insignificance and contempt; from which, as long as he lived, he could never afterwards emerge, or recover his former consequence. But your penetrating mind, O! Serene queen of Sweden, soon detected his imposture; and, with a magnanimity almost above human, you taught sovereigns and the world to prefer truth to the interested clamours of faction. For though the splendor of his erudition, and the celebrity which he had acquired in the defence of the royal cause, had induced you to honour him with many marks of distinction, yet, when my answer appeared, which you perused with singular equanimity, you perceived that he had been convicted of the most palpable effrontery and misrepresentation; that he had betrayed the utmost indiscretion and intemperance, that he had uttered many falsehoods, many inconsistencies and contradictions. On this account, as it is said, you had him called into your presence; but when he was unable to vindicate himself, you were so visibly offended, that from that time, you neither shewed him the same attentions, nor held his talents nor his learning in the same esteem; and, what was entirely unexpected, you manifested a disposition to favour his adversary. You denied that what I had written against tyrants, could have any reference to you; whence, in your own breast you enjoyed the sweets, and among others the fame, of a good conscience. For, since the whole tenor of your conduct sufficiently proves, that you are no tyrant, this unreserved expression of your sentiments makes it still more clear, that you are not even conscious to yourself of being one. How happy am I beyond my utmost expectations! (for to the praise of eloquence, except as far as eloquence consists in the force of truth, I lay no claim,) that, when the critical exigences of my country demanded that I should undertake the arduous and invidious task of impugning the rights of kings, I should meet with so illustrious, so truly a royal evidence to my integrity, and to this truth, that I had not written a word against kings, but only against tyrants, the spots and the pests of royalty! But you, O Augusta, possessed not only so much magnanimity, but were so irradiated by the glorious beams of wisdom and of virtue, that you not only read with patience, with incredible impartiality, with a serene complacency of countenance, what might seem to be levelled against your rights and dignity; but expressed such an opinion of the defender of those rights, as may well be considered an adjudication of the palm of victory to his opponent. You, O queen! will for ever be the object of my homage, my veneration, and my love; for it was your greatness of soul, so honourable to yourself and so auspicious to me, which served to efface the unfavourable impression against me at other courts, and to rescue me from the evil surmises of other sovereigns. What a high and favourable opinion must foreigners conceive, and your own subjects for ever entertain, of your impartiality and justice, when, in a matter which so nearly interested the fate of sovereigns and the rights of your crown, they saw you sit down to the discussion, with as much equanimity and composure, as you would to determine a dispute between two private individuals. It was not in vain that you made such large collections of books, and so many monuments of learning; not indeed, that they could contribute much to your instruction, but because they so well teach your subjects to appreciate the merits of your reign, and the rare excellence of your virtue and your wisdom. For the Divinity himself seems to have inspired you with a love of wisdom, and a thirst for improvement, beyond what any books ever could have produced. It excites our astonishment to see a force of intellect so truly divine, a particle of celestial flame so resplendently pure, in a region so remote; of which an atmosphere, so darkened with clouds, and so chilled with frosts, could not extinguish the light, nor repress the operations. The rocky and barren soil, which is often as unfavourable to the growth of genius as of plants, has not impeded the maturation of your faculties; and that country, so rich in metallic ore, which appears like a cruel step-mother to others, seems to have been a fostering parent to you; and after the most strenuous attempts to have at last produced a progeny of pure gold. I would invoke you, Christina! as the only child of the renowned and victorious Adolphus, if your merit did not as much eclipse his, as wisdom excels strength, and the arts of peace the havoc of war. Henceforth, the queen of the south will not be alone renowned in history; for there is a queen of the north, who would not only be worthy to appear in the court of the wise king of the Jews, or any king of equal wisdom; but to whose court others may from all parts repair, to behold so fair a heroine, so bright a pattern of all the royal virtues; and to the crown of whose praise this may well be added, that neither in her conduct nor her appearance, is there any of the forbidding reserve, or the ostentatious parade, of royalty. She herself seems the least conscious of her own attributes of sovereignty; and her thoughts are always fixed on something greater and more sublime than the glitter of a crown. In this respect, her example may well make innumerable kings hide their diminished heads. She may, if such is the fatality of the Swedish nation, abdicate the sovereignty, but she can never lay aside the queen; for her reign has proved, that she is fit to govern, not only Sweden, but the world.

This tribute of praise, to so highly meritorious a queen, there is, I trust, no one who will not applaud;

and which if others did not pay, I could not have withheld, without the imputation of the most heinous ingratitude. For, whether it be owing to the benign aspects of the planets, or to the secret sympathies and affinities of things, I cannot too much extol my good fortune, in having found, in a region so remote, a patron so impartial and so kind, whom of all I least expected, but of all the most desired. But now we will return, from this digression, to a quite different theme. You say, that "we were thrown into the most furious commotion on hearing of the royal defence, and that we looked around for some servile pedagogue, who might employ his venal pen in the vindication of the parricides." This is the mere effusion of your spite; for you must recollect, that, when the royalists were in search of a hawker for their lies, and a retailer of their malice, they applied to the grammarian Salmasius, who if he were not a menial, could never resist a bribe; who not only readily sold them his present work, but his good intentions for the future. And you must remember, that when Salmasius was anxiously ruminating, how he might re-establish his ruined character, and obliterate his shame, he was, by a certain retributive fatality, directed to you, who were then not officiating as a minister at Geneva, from which place you had been expelled, but as a worshipper of Priapus, of whose lascivious rites you made his house the shrine. Hence, nauseating those praises, which you had bestowed with so much extravagance, and which he had purchased with so much disgrace, his friendship was converted into the most inveterate hostility, and he cursed his panegyrist even in his dying hour. "They fixed upon one John Milton, a great hero truly, to oppose Salmasius." I did not know that I was a hero, though you perchance may be the progeny of some frail heroine, for you are nothing but a compound of iniquity. When I consider the good of the commonwealth, I may indeed lament, that I alone was selected to defend the people of England, though I could not readily have endured an associate in the fame. You say, that it is a matter of uncertainty who and whence I am. The same uncertainty attached to Homer and Demosthenes. Indeed, I had been early taught to hold my tongue and to say nothing; which Salmasius never could; and I accordingly buried those things within my breast, which if I had pleased to disclose, I could then have obtained as much celebrity as I now possess. But I was not eager to hasten the tardy steps of fame; nor willing to appear in public till a proper opportunity offered. For I did not regard the fame of any thing so much, as the proper time for the execution. Hence it happened, that I had not long been known to many, before Salmasius begun to know himself. "Whether he be a man or a worm!" Truly, I would rather be a worm in the way that David expresses it, ("I am a worm and no man,") than that my bosom, like yours, should be the seat of a never-dying worm. You say, that "the fellow, having been expelled from the university of Cambridge, on account of his atrocities, had fled his country in disgrace and travelled into Italy." Hence we may discern what little reliance can be placed on the veracity of those, from whom you derived your information; for all, who know me, know, that in this place, both you and they have uttered the most abominable falsehoods; as I shall soon make more fully appear. But, when I was expelled from Cambridge, why should I rather travel into Italy, than into France or Holland? where you, though a minister of the Gospel, and yet so vile a miscreant, not only enjoy impunity, but, to the great scandal of the church, pollute the pulpit and the altar by your presence. But why, Sir, into Italy? Was it that, like another Saturn, I might find a hiding-place in Latium? No, it was because I well knew, and have since experienced, that Italy, instead of being, as you suppose, the general receptacle of vice, was the seat of civilization and the hospitable domicile of every species of erudition. "When he returned, he wrote his book on divorce." I wrote nothing more than what Bucer on the Kingdom of Christ, Fagius on Deuteronomy, and Erasmus on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which was more particularly designed for the instruction of the English, had written before me, for the most useful purposes and with the most disinterested views. Why what was not reprehensible in them, should constitute a charge of criminality against me, I cannot understand; though I regret that I published this work in English; for then it would not have been exposed to the view of those common readers, who are wont to be as ignorant of their own blessings, as they are insensible to others' sufferings. But shall you, base miscreant, set up a cry about divorce, who, having debauched Pontia, under the most solemn assurances of marriage, afterwards divorced her in a manner the most unprincipled and inhuman? And yet this servant of Salmasius is said to have been an Englishwoman, and a staunch royalist; so that you seem to have wooed her as a piece of royalty, and to have deserted her as the image of a republic (res publica), though you were the author of her degradation to that state of publicity, and, after having allured her from the service of Salmasius, reduced her to the condition of a public prostitute. In this manner, devotedly attached as you are to royalty, you are said to have founded many republics (res publicas) in one city, or to have undertaken the management of their concerns, after they have been founded by others. Such have been your divorces, or rather diversions, after which you proceed, as a ruffian, to attack my character. You now return to the invention of fresh lies. "When the conspirators were debating on the capital punishment of the king, he wrote to them, and, while they were wavering and irresolute, brought them over to determine on his death." But I neither wrote to them, nor could I have influenced the execution; for they had previously determined on the measure, without consulting me. But I will say more on this subject hereafter, as also on the publication of the Iconoclast. The fellow, (shall I call him a man, or only the excrement of a man,) next proceeding from his adulteries with servant maids and scullions, to the adulteration of the truth, endeavoured, by artfully fabricating a series of lies, to render me infa

mous abroad. I must therefore crave the indulgence of the reader, if I have said already, or shall say hereafter, more of myself than I wish to say; that, if I cannot prevent the blindness of my eyes, the oblivion or the defamation of my name, I may at least rescue my life from that species of obscurity, which is the associate of unprincipled depravity. This it will be necessary for me to do on more accounts than one; first, that so many good and learned men among the neighbouring nations, who read my works, may not be induced by this fellow's calumnies, to alter the favourable opinion which they have formed of me; but may be persuaded that I am not one who ever disgraced beauty of sentiment by deformity of conduct, or the maxims of a free-man by the actions of a slave; and that the whole tenour of my life has, by the grace of God, hitherto been unsullied by enormity or crime. Next that those illustrious worthies, who are the objects of my praise, may know that nothing could afflict me with more shame than to have any vices of mine diminish the force or lessen the value of my panegyric upon them; and lastly, that the people of England, whom fate, or duty, or their own virtues, have incited me to defend, may be convinced from the purity and integrity of my life, that my defence, if it do not redound to their honour, can never be considered as their disgrace. I will now mention who and whence I am. I was born at London, of an honest family; my father was distinguished by the undeviating integrity of his life; my mother by the esteem in which she was held, and the alms which she bestowed. My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that, from twelve years of age, I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed before midnight. This primarily led to my loss of sight. My eyes were naturally weak, and I was subject to frequent head-achs; which, however, could not chill the ardour of my curiosity, or retard the progress of my improvement. My father had me daily instructed in the grammar school, and by other masters at home. He then, after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge. Here I passed seven years in the usual course of instruction and study, with the approbation of the good, and without any stain upon my character, till I took the degree of Master of Arts. After this I did not, as this miscreant feigns, run away into Italy, but of my own accord retired to my father's house, whither I was accompanied by the regrets of most of the fellows of the college, who shewed me no common marks of friendship and esteem. On my father's estate, where he had determined to pass the remainder of his days, I enjoyed an interval of uninterrupted leisure, which I entirely devoted to the perusal of the Greek and Latin classics; though I occasionally visited the metropolis, either for the sake of purchasing books, or of learning something new in mathematics or in music, in which I, at that time, found a source of pleasure and amusement. In this manner I spent five years till my mother's death, I then became anxious to visit foreign parts, and particularly Italy. My father gave me his permission, and I left home with one servant. On my departure the celebrated Henry Wootton, who had been King James's ambassador at Venice, gave me a signal proof of his regard, in an elegant letter which he wrote, breathing not only the warmest friendship, but containing some maxims of conduct which I found very useful in my travels. The noble Thomas Scudamore, King Charles's ambassador, to whom I carried letters of recommendation, received me most courteously at Paris. His lordship gave me a card of introduction to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the queen of Sweden to the French court; whose acquaintance I anxiously desired, and to whose house I was accompanied by some of his lordship's friends. A few days after, when I set out for Italy, he gave me letters to the English merchants on my route, that they might shew me any civilities in their power. Taking ship at Nice, I arrived at Genoa, and afterwards visited Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. In the latter city, which I have always more particularly esteemed for the elegance of its dialect, its genius, and its taste, I stopped about two months; when I contracted an intimacy with many persons of rank and learning; and was a constant attendant at their literary parties; a practice which prevails there, and tends so much to the diffusion of knowledge and the preservation of friendship. No time will ever abolish the agreeable recollections which I cherish of Jacob Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Frescobaldo, Cultellero, Bonomatthai, Clementillo, Francisco, and many others. From Florence I went to Siena, thence to Rome, where, after I had spent about two months in viewing the antiquities of that renowned city, where I experienced the most friendly attentions from Lucas Holstein, and other learned and ingenious men, I continued my route to Naples. There I was introduced by a certain recluse, with whom I had travelled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the illustrious poet, inscribed his book on friendship. During my stay, he gave me singular proofs of his regard; he himself conducted me round the city and to the palace of the viceroy; and more than once paid me a visit at my lodgings. On my departure he gravely apologized for not having shewn me more civility, which he said he had been restrained from doing, because I had spoken with so little reserve on matters of religion. When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received, of the civil commotions in England, made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow citizens were fighting for liberty at home. While I was on my way back to Rome, some merchants informed me that the English jesuits had formed a plot against me if I returned to Rome, because I had spoken too freely on religion; for it was a rule which I laid down to myself in those places, never to be the first to begin any conversation on religion; but if any questions were put to me concerning my faith, to declare it without

any reserve or fear. I nevertheless returned to Rome. I took no steps to conceal either my person or my character; and for about the space of two months, I again openly defended, as I had done before, the reformed religion in the very metropolis of popery. By the favour of God, I got safe back to Florence, where I was received with as much affection as if I had returned to my native country. There I stopped as many months as I had done before, except that I made an excursion for a few days to Lucca; and crossing the Apennines, passed through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice. After I had spent a month in surveying the curiosities of this city, and had put on board a ship the books which I had collected in Italy, I proceeded through Verona and Milan, and along the Leman lake to Geneva. The mention of this city brings to my recollection the slandering More, and makes me again call the Deity to witness, that in all those places, in which vice meets with so little discouragement, and is practised with so little shame, I never once deviated from the paths of integrity and virtue, and perpetually reflected that, though my conduct might escape the notice of men, it could not elude the inspection of God. At Geneva I held daily conferences with John Deodati, the learned Professor of Theology. Then pursuing my former route through France, I returned to my native country, after an absence of one year and about three months; at the time when Charles, having broken the peace, was renewing what is called the episcopal war with the Scots; in which the royalists being routed in the first encounter, and the English being universally and justly disaffected, the necessity of his affairs at last obliged him to convene a parliament. As soon as I was able, I hired a spacious house in the city for myself and my books; where I again with rapture renewed my literary pursuits, and where I calmly awaited the issue of the contest, which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence, and to the courage of the people. The vigour of the parliament had begun to humble the pride of the bishops. As long as the liberty of speech was no longer subject to controul, all mouths began to be opened against the bishops; some complained of the vices of the individuals, others of those of the order. They said that it was unjust that they alone should differ from the model of other reformed churches; that the government of the church should be according to the pattern of other churches, and particularly the word of God. This awakened all my attention and my zeal —I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic; and as I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that if I ever wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the church, and to so many of my fellow Christians, in a crisis of so much danger; I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object. I accordingly wrote two books to a friend concerning the reformation of the church of England. Afterwards, when two bishops of superior distinction vindicated their privileges against some principal ministers, I thought that on those topics, to the consideration of which I was led solely by my love of truth, and my reverence for Christianity, I should not probably write worse than those, who were contending only for their own emoluments and usurpations. I therefore answered the one in two books, of which the first is inscribed, Concerning Prelatical Episcopacy, and the other Concerning the Mode of Ecclesiastical Government; and I replied to the other in some Animadversions, and soon after in an Apology. On this occasion it was supposed that I brought a timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents; and from that time I was actively employed in refuting any answers that appeared. When the bishops could no longer resist the multitude of their assailants, I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects; to the promotion of real and substantial liberty; which is rather to be sought from within than from without; and whose existence depends, not so much on the terror of the sword, as on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life. When, therefore, I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life; religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active in obtaining the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or the domestic species. As this seemed to involve three material questions, the conditions of the conjugal tie, the education of the children, and the free publication of the thoughts, I made them objects of distinct consideration. I explained my sentiments, not only concerning the solemnization of the marriage, but the dissolution, if circumstances rendered it necessary; and I drew my arguments from the divine law, which Christ did not abolish, or publish another more grievous than that of Moses. I stated my own opinions, and those of others, concerning the exclusive exception of fornication, which our illustrious Selden has since, in his Hebrew Wife, more copiously discussed: for he in vain makes a vaunt of liberty in the senate or in the forum, who languishes under the vilest servitude, to an inferior at home. On this subject, therefore, I published some books which were more particularly necessary at that time, when man and wife were often the most inveterate foes, when the man often staid to take care of his children at home, while the mother of the family was seen in the camp of the enemy, threatening death and destruction to her husband. I then discussed the principles of education in a summary manner, but sufficiently copious for those who attend seriously to the subject; than which nothing can be more necessary to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown. Lastly, I wrote my Areopagitica, in order to deliver the press

from the restraints with which it was encumbered; that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what to be suppressed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work, which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition. On the last species of civil liberty, I said nothing; because I saw that sufficient attention was paid to it by the magistrates; nor did I write any thing on the prerogative of the crown, till the king, voted an enemy by the parliament, and vanquished in the field, was summoned before the tribunal which condemned him to lose his head. But when, at length, some presbyterian ministers, who had formerly been the most bitter enemies to Charles, became jealous of the growth of the Independents, and of their ascendancy in the parliament, most tumultuously clamoured against the sentence, and did all in their power to prevent the execution, though they were not angry, so much on account of the act itself, as because it was not the act of their party; and when they dared to affirm, that the doctrine of the protestants, and of all the reformed churches, was abhorrent to such an atrocious proceeding against kings; I thought, that it became me to oppose such a glaring falsehood; and accordingly, without any immediate or personal application to Charles, I shewed, in an abstract consideration of the question, what might lawfully be done against tyrants; and in support of what I advanced, produced the opinions of the most celebrated divines; while I vehemently inveighed against the egregious ignorance or effrontery of men, who professed better things, and from whom better things might have been expected. That book did not make its appearance till after the death of Charles; and was written rather to reconcile the minds of the people to the event, than to discuss the legitimacy of that particular sentence which concerned the magistrates, and which was already executed. Such were the fruits of my private studies, which I gratuitously presented to the church and to the state; and for which I was recompensed by nothing but impunity; though the actions themselves procured me peace of conscience, and the approbation of the good; while I exercised that freedom of discussion which I loved. Others, without labour or desert, got possession of honours and emoluments; but no one ever knew me, either soliciting any thing myself, or through the medium of my friends; ever beheld me in a supplicating posture at the doors of the senate, or the levees of the great. I usually kept myself secluded at home, where my own property, part of which had been withheld during the civil commotions, and part of which had been absorbed in the oppressive contributions which I had to sustain, afforded me a scanty subsistence. When I was released from these engagements, and thought that I was about to enjoy an interval of uninterrupted ease, I turned my thoughts to a continued history of my country, from the earliest times to the present period. I had already finished four books, when after the subversion of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic, I was surprised by an invitation from the council of state, who desired my services in the office for foreign affairs. A book appeared soon after, which was ascribed to the king, and contained the most invidious charges against the parliament. I was ordered to answer it; and opposed the Iconoclast to his Icon. I did not insult over fallen majesty as is pretended; I only preferred Queen Truth to King Charles. The charge of insult, which I saw that the malevolent would urge, I was at some pains to remove in the beginning of the work; and as often as possible in other places. Salmasius then appeared, to whom they were not, as More says, long in looking about for an opponent, but immediately appointed me, who happened at the time to be present in the council. I have thus, Sir, given some account of myself, in order to stop your mouth, and to remove any prejudices which your falsehoods and misrepresentations might cause even good men to entertain against me. I tell thee then, thou mass of corruption, to hold thy peace; for the more you malign, the more you will compel me to confute; which will only serve to render your iniquity more glaring, and my integrity more manifest. I had reproved Salmasius, because he was a foreigner, for meddling with our affairs; but you exclaim "that the defence intimately concerns those who are not English." Why? you say, that "the English may be supposed to be governed more by the spirit of party; but that the French will naturally pay more attention to the measures than the men." To which I retort, as before, that no remote foreigner, as you are, would have interfered in the distractions of our country, if he were not influenced by the most sinister considerations. I have already proved, that Salmasius was bribed; it is evident, that you obtained the professional chair through the interest of Salmasius, and the Orange faction; and what is worse, you were debauching Pontia, at the same moment that you were defaming the parliament. But the reason which you assign, why foreigners are the best judges in this business, is quite ridiculous; for if the English are carried away by party zeal, you, who make them your only guides, must certainly be infected by their antipathies. And if the English deserve no credit in their own cause, you must deserve much less, who have no knowledge whatever of our affairs, except what you derive from them, who, according to your own confession, ought not to be believed. Here again you launch out into the praises of the great Salmasius; great he certainly was, whom you employed as a sort of pimp, to procure his servant girl. You praise him nevertheless; but he saw reason to curse you before his death; and a thousand times blamed himself for not giving more credit to the account of your atrocities, which he had received from Spanheim, a venerable divine. You are now worked into a fury, and assert, that Salmasius had long lost the use of his reason. You demand the first post in clamour and in rage, and yet assign the precedence in obloquy and abuse to Salmasius; "not because he is violent in his language, but because he is Salmasius."

O trifler! you, I suppose, learned this casuistry when you courted Pontia. Hence your clamour is taught to quibble and to whine; hence, foaming with menace, "you shall experience at last," you say, "O base brutes, what my pen can do." Shall we dread you, O libidinous adulterer, or your pen, which is an object of dread only to cooks and chambermaids? For if any one should hold up only his finger when he detects you in your criminal amours, you would think it well if you escaped without your back being broken, or your body dismembered. "I am not so foolish," you say, "as to attempt the execution of a work, that was begun by Salmasius," but such a work, if he had not been void of understanding, he would never have attempted; you therefore seem jocosely to give the preference to Salmasius over yourself in want of brains. But you say, that "it is your province to invoke the vengeance of heaven on the murderers of the king;" which may be done by persons without any great share of erudition. Cry, shout, and brawl; continue to act the hypocrite, mouth religion, and practise lust. This God of vengeance whom you implore, will, believe me, one day arise in wrath, when he will begin with exterminating you, who are the servant of the devil, and the disgrace and pest of the reformed religion. To many, who blame the bitter invectives of Salmasius, you reply, that "this was the right way to deal with parricides, and such monsters of deformity." I am obliged to you for thus teaching me in what manner yourself and your associate friends ought to be treated; and for furnishing me with so fair a pretext for severity. Now since you have no argument to produce, and the rights of kings, with whatever shew of argument, had been already defended by Salmasius, your contumely and your rage evaporate in some miserable tales, some of which you have new-modelled from Salmasius, and interpolated others from that most confutable "confutation" of some anonymous scribbler who deserted not only his country but his name; and to the principal points of which, as I have already replied in my Iconoclast and my answers to Salmasius, no further reply can be necessary. Shall I always be compelled to go the same round, and answer every tautology of slanderous abuse? I will not do it; nor will I so misemploy my labour or my time. If any one think that his prostituted cries, his venal lamentations and frivolous declamation, deserve any credit, he is welcome for me to think so; for I have nothing to fear from such precipitate credulity. But I will just touch on a few of his points of attack, which may serve as a specimen of the rest, and give some insight into the character of the man and of the work. After having babbled a good deal of his exotic ignorance about the incorporation of the House of Commons and the House of Peers in one assembly, (a measure which no one in his senses would disapprove,) he says, that "this equality, introduced into the state, would naturally lead to the introduction of the same into the church; for episcopacy still remained, and if this be not downright anabaptism, I don't know what is." Who would have expected this from a Gallic minister and divine? I should hardly think that he knew what baptism is, who did not know what anabaptism is, if this were not. But if we will call things by their proper names, equality in the state is not anabaptism, but democracy, a far more ancient thing; and equality in the church is the practice of the apostles. But "episcopacy still remained." We confess that it did; and Geneva still remained, though that city had consulted the interests of religion, in expelling both her bishop and her lawful chief; and why should we be condemned for what they are approved? But you wish, Sir, to take vengeance upon the Genevese, by whom it is uncertain whether you were dismissed with ignominy, or openly excommunicated on account of your impieties. It is clear that you, with your friend Salmasius, apostatised from this evangelical form of church-government, and took refuge among the episcopalians. "Then," you say, "the republic passed into the hands of our levelling crew, so that it is evident that the same spirit prevailed at that time, which in the eighth year had perpetrated the impious murder of the king. Therefore the same spirit, as it seems, constituted your ministers, and perpetrated the parricide." Go on, as you have begun, to eructate the rage of your apostacy. You say that "there were not more than three petitions which demanded the punishment of the king." This is notoriously false. Those who have written an account of these transactions, mention not only three petitions of the kind, but many from different counties and from the armies in the course of one month; and three were presented in one day. You know how deliberately the matter was discussed in the senate, and that the people, suspecting them of too much lenity, resorted to petitioning, in order to put an end to their delays. How many thousands were there of the same opinion, who considered it to be either officious or superfluous to instigate the determination of the senate? I was one of these, though I made no secret of my sentiments. But suppose that the high rank of the accused had awed every tongue into silence, ought the parliament to have abstained from a decision, or have awaited the assent of the people, on which depended the issue of such momentous deliberations? For the supreme council of the nation was appointed by the people to curb the despotism of the king: and if on his capture, after the savage war which he had made, they had referred the question of his punishment to the decision of the people, and if they had acquitted him, what would those, who had so courageously restored our liberties, seem to have done, but to have furnished the king with the means of effecting their own destruction? Or if, after having been invested with full power to act as they thought best on the most momentous points, they should be compelled to refer to the multitude a question which far exceeded their capacity, and which they, conscious of their ignorance, had previously referred to the determination of the senate, where could this alternation of references and appeals have stopped? Where could we have found a place of rest in this turbulent eddy? How could we have procured any stability amid so much inconstancy, any security amid so much distraction? What if they had demanded the res-

toration of Charles to the crown? And such was the drift of some menaces, rather than petitions, which were presented by a few seditious persons, whose hatred one while, and whose compassion another, was wont to be equally senseless and malicious. Were we to make any account of these? "Who," as you say, "in order to set on foot a conference with the king, flocked from all parts of the country to the doors of the parliament-house, where many of them were put to death by the soldiery, according to the order of the senators. Some inhabitants of Surry, either incited by the malicious suggestions of others, or by their own disorderly inclinations, paraded the city with a petition, in a state of tumult and intoxication. They proceeded in a body to assail the doors of the house; they beat off the guard, and, without the smallest provocation, killed one man who was stationed at the door. Hence they were deservedly driven by violence; and two or three of their number were slain, breathing the fumes of intemperance more than the love of liberty." You every where concede, that "the Independents were superior, not in numbers, but in discipline and in courage." Hence I contend that they well deserved the superiority which they acquired; for nothing is more agreeable to the order of nature, or more for the interest of mankind, than that the less should yield to the greater, not in numbers, but in wisdom and in virtue. Those who excel in prudence, in experience, in industry and courage, however few they may be, will in my opinion finally constitute the majority, and every where have the ascendant. You intersperse many remarks on Cromwell, which I shall examine below; the rest I have replied to in my answer to Salmasius. Nor do you omit to mention the trial of the king, though your great rhetorician had made that the theme of his miserable declamation. You say that the peers, that is, in a great measure the pageants and courtiers of the king, were averse to the trial. I have shewn in the other work the futility of this remark. "Then that the judges were erased, because they had given it as their opinion, that a king of England could not, by the law of England, be put upon his trial." I know not what they then answered; I only know what they approve and vindicate. It is no uncommon, though a disreputable thing, for judges to be swayed by fear. "An obscure and insolent scoundrel was accordingly placed at the head of the base and iniquitous commission." It is not surprising that you, who are contaminated by so many vices and crimes, who are a compound of whatever is most impure and vile, whose conscience has become a sort of fungus utterly devoid of sensibility, who are so notorious for atheism, for sacrilege and cruelty, should dare to vent your calumnies on the most worthy and illustrious names. But, though your abuse is the highest praise, yet I will never seem to abandon the excellent personage, the friend whom I most revere, to the torrent of your defamation. I will vindicate him from the unprincipled and intemperate obloquy of the fugitives and the Mores, which he would never have incurred, if he had not shewn so much zeal for the good of the commonwealth. John Bradshaw (a name, which will be repeated with applause wherever liberty is cherished or is known) was sprung from a noble family.* All his early life he sedulously employed in making himself acquainted with the laws of his country; he then practised with singular success and reputation at the bar; he shewed himself an intrepid and unwearied advocate for the liberties of the people: he took an active part in the most momentous affairs of the state, and occasionally discharged the functions of a judge with the most inviolable integrity. At last when he was intreated by the parliament to preside in the trial of the king, he did not refuse the dangerous office. To a profound knowledge of the law, he added the most comprehensive views, the most generous sentiments, manners the most obliging and the most pure. Hence he discharged that office with a propriety almost without a parallel; he inspired both respect and awe; and, though menaced by the daggers of so many assassins, he conducted himself with so much consistency and gravity, with so much presence of mind and so much dignity of demeanour, that he seems to have been purposely destined by Providence for that part which he so nobly acted on the theatre of the world. And his glory is as much exalted above that of all other tyrannicides, as it is both more humane, more just, and more strikingly grand, judicially to condemn a tyrant, than to put him to death without a trial. In other respects, there was no forbidding austerity, no moroseness in his manner; he was courteous and benign; but the great character, which he then sustained, he with perfect consistency still sustains, so that you would suppose that, not only then, but in every future period of his life, he was sitting in judgment upon the king. In the public business his activity is unwearied; and he alone is equal to a host. At home his hospitality is as splendid as his fortune will permit; in his friendships there is the most inflexible fidelity; and no one more readily discerns merit, or more liberally rewards it. Men of piety and learning, ingenious persons in all professions, those who have been distinguished by their courage or their misfortunes, are free to participate his bounty; and if they want not his bounty, they are sure to share his friendship and esteem. He never ceases to extol the merits of others, or to conceal his own; and no one was ever more ready to accept the excuses, or to pardon the hostility, of his political opponents. If he undertake to plead the cause of the oppressed, to solicit the favour or deprecate the resentment of the powerful, to reprove the public ingratitude towards any particular individual, his address and his perseverance are beyond all praise. On such occasions no one could desire a patron or a friend more able, more zealous, or more eloquent. No menace could divert him from his purpose; no intimidation on the one hand, and no promise of emolument or promotion on the other, could alter the serenity of his countenance, or shake the firmness of his soul. By these virtues, which endeared him to his friends and commanded the respect even of his enemies, he, Sir, has acquired a name, which, while you and such

as you are mouldering in oblivion, will flourish in every age and in every country in the world. But I must proceed; the king was condemned to lose his head. "Against this atrocity almost all the pulpits in London thundered out their censures." We are not to be so easily scared by that thunder upon wood. We remember the fate of Salmoneus, and trust that these persons will one day see cause to repent of their fulminating temerity. These were the very persons, who so lately, and with such vehemence, fulminated their censures against pluralists and non-residents. But some of these persons having grasped three, and others four, of the livings, from which they had fulminated the episcopal clergy, they hence became non-residents themselves, guilty of the very sin against which they had inveighed, and the victims of their own fulminating rage. Nor have they any longer a spark of shame; they are now grown zealous abettors of the divine right of tythes; and truly as their thirst for tythes is so insatiable, they should be quite gorged with the commodity, and ordered to have, not only a tenth part of the fruits of the earth, but of the waves of the sea. They were the first to counsel a war of extermination against the king; but when the king was made prisoner, after having been convicted, according to their own repeated declarations, as the author of so much misery and bloodshed, they affected to compassionate his situation. Thus, in their pulpits, as in an auction room, they retail what wares and trumpery they please to the people; and what is worse, they reclaim what they have already sold. But "the Scots demanded that the king should be restored to them, and mention the promises of the parliament, when they delivered up the king to the English." But I can prove, from the confession of the Scots themselves, that no such promise was given when the king was delivered up; and it would have been disgraceful for the English to have entered into any such stipulations with the Scotch troops, who were mercenaries in their pay. Why? Because the answer of the parliament to the representations of the Scotch, which was published on the fifteenth of March, clearly denies, that any assurances whatever were given respecting the treatment of the king; for they would have disdained to have submitted to such limitations of their right. But "they demanded that the king should be restored to them." These tender-hearted persons, I suppose, were melted with compassion, and could no longer endure the regrets of royalty; though on several occasions, in which the subject had been discussed in parliament, they had unanimously agreed that the king might be deprived of his crown for three principal reasons; the despotism of his government, his alienation of the royal domains, and the desertion of his subjects. In the parliament, which was held at Perth, it was asked, Is the king, who is evidently an enemy to the saints, to be excommunicated from the society of the faithful? But before they could come to any decision on this question, Montrose advanced with his troops and dispersed the convention. The same persons, in their answer to General Cromwell, 1650, confess that he was justly punished, but that there was an informality in the proceedings, because they had no share in the commission which condemned him. This transaction, therefore, which was so atrocious, without their participation, would have been highly patriotic with it; as if the distinctions of right and wrong, of justice and injustice, depend on their arbitrary disposition, or their capricious inclinations. If the king had been restored to them, would he have experienced greater clemency and moderation? But "the Scotch Delegates had first brought this answer from the English Parliament, that they were unwilling to alter the form of the English Government; though they afterwards answered that they had changed their former determination, and would adopt such measures as the public interest seemed to require:" and this answer was discreet and wise. What do you infer from hence? "This change of sentiment," you say, "was contrary to every engagement, to every stipulation, and to common sense." To such common sense as yours it may be adverse, who do not know the difference between a gratuitous promise and a solemn and positive engagement. The English freely state to the Scots, what they were under no obligation to do, the sentiments which they then entertained respecting the future form of their government; but the safety of the state soon persuaded them to embrace a different policy, if they would not violate the solemn assurances which they had given to the people. And which, do you think, was most binding on their consciences; their gratuitous reply to the Scotch Delegates, concerning the future form of their constitution, or the necessary oath which they had taken, the solemn engagement into which they had entered with the people, to establish the liberties of their country? But that a parliament or a senate may alter their resolutions according to circumstances, as you deem whatever I assert to be mere anabaptistical extravagance, I shall endeavour to shew you from the authority of Cicero in his oration for Plancius. "We should all stand, as it were, in some circular section of the commonwealth; in which since it is liable to a rotatory motion, we should choose that position to which the public interest seems to direct us: and this immediately, for I do not think it a mark of inconstancy to accommodate our measures, as we do the course which we steer at sea, to the winds and storms of the political horizon. It is a maxim, which I have found justified by observation, by experience, and by books, by the examples of the wisest and most illustrious characters in this and in other countries, "that the same men are not always bound to defend the same opinions, but only such as the circumstances of the country, the current of popular opinion, and the preservation of peace, seem to render necessary." Such were the sentiments of Tully; though you, Sir, would rather prefer those of Hortensius; such were the sentiments of those ages in which political wisdom flourished most; and which I deem it wise in the anabaptists to adopt. I could mention many other practices which are condemned as anabaptistical by these stripling teachers, and their chief Salmasius, who must be regarded as an illiterate

dunce, if we look to things rather than to words. But you say that "the high and mighty chiefs of the United States of Holland most strenuously laboured, though to no purpose, both by supplications and by the offer of a ransom, to save the sacred life of the king." Thus to wish to buy off justice was the same as not to will the safety of the king; but they soon learned that we were not all merchants, and that the parliament of England was not a venal crew. With respect to the condemnation of the king, you say that "in order that the sufferings of Charles might be more nearly assimilated to those of Christ, he was exposed to the redoubled mockery of the soldiery." The sufferings of Christ were indeed more like those of malefactors, than the sufferings of Charles were like those of Christ; though many comparisons of this kind were hawked about by those who were zealous in forging any lie, or devising any imposture that might tend to excite the popular indignation. But suppose that some of the common soldiers did behave with a little too much insolence, that consideration does not constitute the demerit of the execution. I never before heard, nor did I ever meet with any person who had heard, that "a person, who implored God to have mercy on the king as he was passing to the scaffold, was instantly put to death in the presence of the monarch." I caused inquiries on the subject to be made of the officer who had the command of the guard during the whole time of the execution, and who hardly ever lost sight of the king's person for a moment; and he positively declared that he had never heard this before, and that he knew it to be utterly destitute of foundation. Hence we may learn what credit is due to your narrative in other particulars; for you will be found not to discover much more veracity in your endeavours to procure affection and respect for Charles after his death, than in your exertions to make us objects of general and unmerited detestation. You say that "on the fatal scaffold, the king was heard twice to sigh out to the bishop of London, remember! remember!" The judges were all in anxiety to know what the words, so emphatically repeated, meant; the bishop, according to your account, was sent for, and with a menace ordered to declare to what the reiterated admonition might allude. He, at first, with a preconcerted dissimulation, pleaded his sense of delicacy, and refused to divulge the secret. When they became more impatient, he at last disclosed, as if by constraint, and under the influence of fear, what he would not for the world have had unknown. "The king," said he, "ordered me, if I could gain access to his son, to inform him that it was the last injunction of his dying father, that, if he were ever restored to his power and crown, he should pardon you, the authors of his death. This was what his majesty again and again commanded me to remember." Which shall I say? that the king discovered most piety, or the bishop most deceit? who with so little difficulty consented to disclose a secret, which on the very scaffold was so mysteriously entrusted to him, for the purpose of disclosure? But O! model of taciturnity! Charles had long since left this injunction, among others, to his son, in his "Icon Basilicon," a book which was evidently written for this express purpose, that this secret, which had been so ostentatiously enveloped in obscurity, might be divulged with the utmost dispatch, and circulated with the utmost diligence. But I clearly see that you are determined to obtrude upon the ignorant some paragon of perfection, if not quite like Charles Stuart, at least some hyperborean and fabled hero, decorated with all the shewy varnish of imposture; and that you tricked out this fiction, and embellished it with the effusions of sensibility, in order to entrap the attention of the populace. But though I do not deny but that one or two of the commissioners might perhaps have briefly interrogated the bishop on this subject, I do not find that he was either purposely called before them, or deliberately and scrupulously interrogated, as if it were a matter of their general solicitude and care. But let us grant that Charles, on the scaffold, did deliver to the bishop these dying injunctions to his son to pardon the authors of his death; what did he do more than others have done in similar situations? How few persons are there about to die upon a scaffold, and to close for ever the tragedy of life, when they must forcibly feel the vanity of every thing human, who would not do the same; who would not, when on the point of leaving the stage of life, cheerfully lay aside their animosities, their resentments, their aversions, or, at least, pretend to do it, in order to excite compassion, or to leave behind them an opinion of their innocence? That Charles acted the hypocrite on this occasion, and that he never did sincerely, and from his heart, deliver any injunction to his son to pardon the authors of his death, or that his private were at variance with his public admonitions, may be proved by arguments of no small weight. For otherwise the son, who, in other respects was sufficiently obsequious to his father, would doubtlessly have obeyed this his most momentous and dying injunction, so religiously conveyed to him by the bishop. But how did he obey it, when two of our ambassadors, the one in Holland and the other in Spain, neither of whom had any share in the destruction of the king, were put to death by his orders or his influence? And has he not indeed more than once openly declared in his public memorials, that nothing should induce him to pardon the murderers of his father? Consider, therefore, whether this narrative of yours be likely to be true, which, the more it commends the father, reviles the son. Next, digressing from your purpose, you not only make the royal blood invoke the vengeance of heaven, but the people clamour against the parliament. You forget your own enormities at home, to engage in foreign considerations, in which you have no concern. Vile wretch, would the people ever employ you to plead their cause, whose breath is steaming with the effluvia of venereal putrescence? You ascribe to the people the clamours of fugitives and profligates; and, like a juggler on a stage, you imitate the shrieks and cries of the most hideous brutes. Who denies that there may be times, in which the vicious may constitute the majority of the

citizens, who would rather follow Catiline or Antony, than the more virtuous part of the senate? But are not good citizens on this account to oppose the bad with vigour and decision? Ought they not to be less deterred by the smallness of their numbers, than they are animated by the goodness of their cause? Your beautiful scrap of declamation for the people of England, that it may not perish beyond recovery, I would advise you to insert in the Annals of Volusius; we do not want the savoury effusions of such a lecherous rhetorician. Next we are called to account for our injuries to the church. "The army is a Hydra-headed monster of accumulated heresies." Those who speak the truth, acknowledge that our army excels all others, not only in courage, but in virtue and in piety. Other camps are the scenes of gambling, swearing, riot, and debauchery; in ours, the troops employ what leisure they have in searching the Scriptures and hearing the word; nor is there one, who thinks it more honourable to vanquish the enemy than to propagate the truth; and they not only carry on a military warfare against their enemies, but an evangelical one against themselves. And indeed if we consider the proper objects of war, what employment can be more becoming soldiers, who are raised to defend the laws, to be the support of our political and religious institutions? Ought they not then to be less conspicuous for ferocity than for the civil and the softer virtues, and to consider it as their true and proper destination, not merely to sow the seeds of strife, and reap the harvest of destruction, but to procure peace and security for the whole human race? If there be any, who either from the mistakes of others, or the infirmities of their own minds, deviate from these noble ends, we ought not to punish them with the sword, but rather labour to reform them by reason, by admonition, by pious supplications to God, to whom alone it belongs to dispel all the errors of the mind, and to impart to whom he will the celestial light of truth. We approve no heresies which are truly such; we do not even tolerate some; we wish them extirpated, but by those means which are best suited to the purpose; by reason and instruction, the only safe remedies for disorders of the mind; and not by the knife or the scourge, as if they were seated in the body. You say that "we have done another and equal injury to the temporal property of the church." Ask the protestants of Holland, and even of Upper Germany, whether they ever spared the possessions of the church, against whom the Austrian Prince, as often as he makes war, hardly ever seeks for any other pretext than the restitution of the ecclesiastical domains. But that property did not belong to the church so much as the ecclesiastics, who, in this sense, might most justly be denominated churchmen; indeed they might have been more fully termed wolves than any thing else; but could there be any impiety in applying to the necessary exigencies of a war which they themselves had occasioned, and which we had no other resource for carrying on, the property of these wolves, or rather the accumulated ravages of so many ages of ignorance and superstition? But it was expected that the wealth which was ravished from the bishops would be distributed among the parochial clergy. They expected, I know, and they desired, that the whole should be diffused among them; for there is no abyss so deep which it is not more easy to fill, than it is to satiate the rapacity of the clergy. In other places there may be an incompetent provision for the clergy; but ours have an abundant maintenance; they ought to be called sheep rather than shepherds; they themselves are fed more than they feed others; every thing is fat around them, so that even their heads seem to swim in fat. They are stuffed with tythes in a way disapproved by the rest of the reformed churches; and they have so little trust in God, that they choose to extort a maintenance, rather by judicial force, and magisterial authority, than to owe it to divine providence, or the gratitude and benevolence of their congregations. And, besides all this, they are so frequently entertained by their pious auditors of both sexes, that they hardly know what it is to dine or sup at home. Hence they luxuriate in superfluities, rather than languish in want; their wives and children vie with the wives and children of the rich in luxury and refinement; and to have increased this tendency to prodigality, by an addition to their revenue, would have been the same as to infuse new poison into the church; a sort of pestilential malady, the introduction of which a voice from heaven lamented under Constantine. We have next to give an account of our enormities towards God, which principally concern our trust in the divine assistance, our prayers and fasts. But, vile miscreant! I will refute you out of your own mouth; and retort upon you that text of the apostle, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?" Before our own master let us stand or fall. I will add also that saying of the prophet, "When I afflict my soul with fasting, this is turned to my reproach." The rest of your delirious effusions on this subject, which no one will take the trouble to read twice, I should do wrong to detail. Nor are those things more to the purpose, which you brawl out concerning our successes. Beware, Sir, beware, lest, after your Pontian toils, you should swell into a polypus of corpulency; and we need be under apprehensions, lest as the great Salmasius lately did, you should chill the baths. On the nature of success I will say a few words. Success neither proves a cause to be good, nor indicates it to be bad; and we demand that our cause should not be judged by the event, but the event by the cause. You now enter on political discussions, the injuries which we have done to all kings, and to all people. What injuries? for we never intended any; the affairs of our own government alone occupied our attention, we neglected those of others; we do not envy the good that may have accrued from our example, and we can ascribe the evil only to the abuse or misapplication of our principles. But, what kings or people ever appointed you to proclaim their injuries? Indeed others have heard their orators and ambassadors in the senate, and I have often heard them in the council, not only not complaining of any grievances, but voluntarily suing for our friendship and alliance. In the name of their kings and

princes, they have often congratulated us on the state of our affairs, praying for the stability of our government and the continuance of our prosperity. This was not the language of hostility or hatred, as you assert; and you must either necessarily be convicted of falsehood, at which you never stick, or kings themselves of an insincerity and dissimulation, the most humiliating and most base. But you object to our confession, that we had set a salutary example to all people, and a formidable one to all tyrants. This is surely as heinous a crime as if any one were to say,

Advis'd, learn justice, and revere the gods.

Could any thing be uttered more pernicious? This was the language of Cromwell to the Scots after the battle of Dunbar. And worthy indeed was it of him and of that noble victory. "The infamous pages of Milton abound with the same noisome ingredients." You always associate me with some illustrious colleague; and, on this occasion, you make me his equal, if not his superior; so that I might on this account think myself most honoured by you, if any thing honourable could proceed from you. "But those pages," you say, "were burnt at Paris by the hands of the common hangman, and by the orders of the parliament." I find that this was by no means done by the senate, but by one of the city officers, of what description I know not, but at the instigation of the clergy, those indolent vermin, who saw at a distance the fate which menaced, and which, I pray, may one day overtake their gluttony and extravagance. Do you imagine that we, in our turn, could not have burnt Salmasius's defence of the king? I could myself easily have obtained this permission from the magistrates, if I had thought that it merited any thing but contempt. You, in your endeavours to extinguish one fire by another, have only erected an Herculean pile, from which I shall rise with more lustre and renown; we with more discretion, did not think it right to communicate any animating heat to the icy chilliness of the royal vindication. But I wonder that the Thoulousians should have become so degenerate, that a defence of religion and of liberty should be burnt in a city, in which, under the Counts of Raymond, religion and liberty were formerly so nobly defended. "And I wish," you say, "that the writer had been burned as well." Is this your disposition, slave? But you have taken good care that I should not indulge a similar wish towards you; for you have been long wasting in blacker flames. Your conscience is scorched by the flames of adultery and rape, and of those perjuries, by the help of which you debauched an unsuspecting girl, to whom you promised marriage, and then abandoned to despair. You are writhing under the flames of that mercenary passion, which impelled you, though covered with crimes, to lust after the functions of the priesthood, and to pollute the consecrated elements with your incestuous touch. While you are acting the hypocrite, you utter the most horrid imprecations against hypocrisy; and every sentence of condemnation only serves to condemn yourself. Such are the atrocities, such the infamy, with which you are all on fire; these are the infuriated flames, by which you are tormented night and day; and you suffer a punishment, than which even your bitterest foe could not invoke one more severe. In the mean time, not one hair of my head is singed by the conflagrations which you kindle; but those affronts are balanced by much delight, and many sweets. One tribunal perhaps, or a single Parisian executioner, under some unlucky bias, burnt my book; but nevertheless, how many good and wise men through all France read it, cherished and admired it? How many, through the spacious tracts of Germany, the domicile of freedom, and wherever any traces of freedom yet remain? Moreover Greece itself, and Athens, the eye of Greece, mingles its applause in the voice of its noble Philyras. And this I can truly say, that, as soon as my defence appeared, and had begun to excite the public curiosity, there was no public functionary of any prince or state then in the city, who did not congratulate me when we accidentally met, who did not desire my company at his house or visit me at mine. But it would be wrong not to mention you, O Adrian Paul, the honour and the ornament of Holland, who, dispatched on a splendid embassy to us, though I had never the pleasure of seeing you, sent me frequent assurances of your extraordinary predilection and regard. This it often delights me to recollect, and which could never have happened without the special appointment of the Deity, that royalty itself courteously favoured me, who had apparently written against kings; and afforded to my integrity and veracity, a testimony next to the divine. For, why should I fear to say this, when I consider how zealously and how highly all persons extol that illustrious queen? Nor do I think, that he who was the wisest of the Athenians, and with whom I by no means wish to compare myself, was more honoured by the testimony of the Pythian oracle, than I am by the approbation of such a queen. If this had happened to me, when a young man, and orators might have taken the same liberties as poets, I should not have hesitated to prefer my fate to that of some of the gods themselves; for, while they contended for the prize of beauty or harmony before a human judge, I, in the most glorious of all contests, had the palm of victory adjudged to me by the voice of an immortal. Thus honoured and caressed, no one but a common hangman would dare to treat me with disrespect; and such an one has both done it and caused it to be done. Here you take great pains, as Salmasius had done before, to prevent us from justifying our struggles for liberty by the example of the Dutch; but the same answer will serve for both. They are mistaken who think that we want any example to direct us. We often found it necessary to cherish and support, but never to rival, the Dutch in their struggles for liberty. If any extraordinary courage in the defence of liberty be requisite, we are wont, not to follow others, but to go before them and to lead the way. But you also employ the most paltry oratory, and the most flimsy arguments, to induce the French to go to war with us.

"The spirit of the French," you say, "will never deign to receive our ambassadors." It has deigned, which is much more, voluntarily to send ambassadors three or four times to us. The French, therefore, are as noble minded as usual; but you are degenerate and spurious, and your politics betray as much ignorance as falsehood. Hence you attempt to demonstrate that "the negotiation of the United States was purposely protracted, because they wished neither to treat with us, nor to go to war with us." But it certainly behoves their High Mightinesses not to suffer their counsels to be thus exposed, and, I may say, traduced by a Genevese fugitive; who, if they suffer him any longer to remain among them, will not only debauch their women but their counsels. For they profess the most unfeigned amity; and have lately renewed a peace with us, of which it is the wish of all good men that it may be perpetual. "It was pleasant," he says, "to see how those ruffian ambassadors," he means the English, "had to contend with the mockery and the menace of the English royalists, but chiefly of the Dutch." If we had not thoroughly known to whom the murder of our former ambassador, Dorislaus, and the affronts which were offered to our two other ambassadors are to be ascribed, we might well exclaim, lo! a slanderous informant, who falsely accuses the very persons by whose bounty he is fed! Will you any longer, O Batavians! cherish and support a man, who, not contented with practising the most infamous debaucheries in the church, wishes to introduce the most sanguinary butchery into the state; who not only exposes you to violate the laws of nations, but falsely imputes to you the guilt of such violations?

The last head of his accusations is, "our injuries to the reformed churches." But how our injuries towards them, rather than theirs towards us? For if you recur to examples, and turn over the annals of history from the Waldenses and the Thoulousians to the famine of Rochelle, you will find that we, of all churches, have been the last to take up arms against tyranny; but the first "to bring the tyrant to a scaffold." Truly, because we were the first who had it in our power; and I think that they hardly know what they would have done if they had experienced similar opportunities. Indeed I am of opinion, that he against whom we wage war, must necessarily, and as long as we have any use of reason, be judged an enemy; but it has always been as lawful to put an enemy to death, as to attack him with the sword. Since then a tyrant is not only our enemy, but the public enemy of mankind; he may certainly be put to death with as much justice on the scaffold, as he is opposed with arms in the field. Nor is this only my opinion, or one of recent date; for common sense has long since dictated the same to others. Hence Tully, in his oration for Rabirius, declares, "If it were criminal to put Saturninus to death, arms could not, without a crime, have been taken up against Saturninus; but if you allow the justice of taking up arms against him, you must allow the justice of putting him to death." I have said a good deal on this subject at other times and in other places, and the thing is clear enough in itself; from which you may conjecture what the French would have done if they had the power. I add, moreover, that those who oppose a tyrant in the field, do all in their power to put him to death; indeed, whatever sophistry they may use, they have already morally put him to death. But this doctrine is not to be imputed to us more than to the French, whom you wish to exempt from the imputation. For whence issued that work of "Franco Gallia," except from Gaul, or "the defence against tyranny?" A book which is commonly ascribed to Beza. Whence others, which Thaunus mentions? But, as if I were the only author of the doctrine, you say, "Milton makes a pother about that, whose raving spirit I would have chastised as it deserves." You would have chastised, miscreant? You, whose atrocious proceedings, if the church of Middleburgh, which was disgraced by your impieties, had punished as they deserved, it would long since have committed you to the keeping of the devil; and if the civil power had rewarded you according to your desert, you would long ago have expiated your adulteries on a gibbet. And the hour of expiation seems on the point of arriving; for, as I hear, the church of Middleburgh, awakening to a right sense of your enormities and of its own disgrace, has expelled such a priest of lechery from her communion, and devoted you to perdition. Hence, the magistrates of Amsterdam have excluded you from the pulpit, that pious ears may no longer be scandalized, by hearing the sounds of your profligate effrontery in the bosom of the sanctuary. Your Greek professorship is now all that is left you; and this you will soon lose, except one single letter, of which you will not be the professor, but the pupil, pensile from the top [5]. Nor do I omen this in rage; I express only the truth; for I am so far from being offended with such revilers as you, that I would always wish for such persons to revile me; and I esteem it a mark of the divine benevolence, that those, who have most bitterly inveighed against me, have usually been persons whose abuse is praise, and whose praise is infamy. But what served to restrain the irruption of such impotence of rage? "Unless," you say, "I have been fearful of encroaching on the province of the great Salmasius, to whom I relinquish the undivided praise of victory over his great antagonist." Since indeed you now profess to consider me great, as well as him, you will find the difficulties of your undertaking increased, particularly since his death; though I feel very little solicitude about the victory, as long as truth prevails. In the mean time you exclaim, that "we are converting parricide into an article of faith, to which they secretly desire, though they do not openly dare to ascribe, the unanimous consent of the reformed churches; and Milton says, that it was the doctrine of the greatest theologians, who were the principal authors of the reformation." It was, I say; as I have more fully shewn in the tenure of kings and magistrates, and in other places. But now we are become scrupulous about doing what has been so often done. In that work, I have cited passages from Luther, Zuin-

glius, Calvin, Bucer, Martyr, Paræus, and lastly, from that Knox, who you say alone countenances the doctrine which all the reformed churches at that time, and particularly those of France, condemned. And he himself affirms, as I have there explained, that he derived the doctrine from Calvin and other eminent theologians of that time, with whom he was in habits of familiarity and friendship. And in the same work you will find the same opinions supported by the authorities of some of our more pure and disinterested divines, during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. You conclude your work with a prolix effusion of your devotional abominations to the Deity. You dare to lift up your adulterous eyes and your obdurate heart to heaven! I will throw no impediments in your way, but leave you to yourself; for your impiety is great beyond the possibility of increase. I now return, as I promised, to produce the principal accusations against Cromwell, that I may show what little consideration particulars deserve, when the whole taken together is so frivolous and absurd. "He declared in the presence of many witnesses, that it was his intention to subvert every monarchy, and exterminate every king." We have often seen before what credit is due to your assertions; perhaps one of the emigrants ascribed this saying to Cromwell. Of the many witnesses, you do not mention the name of a single one; but aspersions, so destitute of proof, must be destitute of permanence. Cromwell was never found to be boastful of his actual exploits: and much less is he wont to employ any ostentatiousness of promise or arrogance of menace respecting atchievements which were never performed, and the performance of which would be so difficult. Those, therefore, who furnished you with this piece of information, must have been liars rather from a spontaneous impulse or a constitutional propensity, than from deliberate intention, or they would never have invented a saying so contrary to his character and disposition. But the kings, whose trembling apprehensions and vigilant precautions you labour to excite, instead of accommodating their policy to the opinions which may be casually uttered in the street, had better enter on the consideration of the subject in a manner more suitable to its dignity, and more likely to throw light upon their interests. Another accusation is, that Cromwell had persuaded "the king secretly to withdraw himself into the Isle of Wight." It is well known that the affairs of Charles were often rendered desperate in other ways, and thrice by flight; first, when he fled from London to York, next, when he took refuge among the Scotch in the pay of England, and lastly, when he retired to the Isle of Wight. But "Cromwell persuaded this last measure." This is to be sure beyond all possibility of doubt; but I wonder that the royalists should lavish such an abundance of praise respecting the prudence of Charles, who seems scarce ever to have had a will of his own. For whether he was among his friends or his enemies, in the court or in the camp, he was generally the mere puppet of others; at one time of his wife, at another of his bishops, now of his nobles, then of his troops, and last of all, of the enemy. And he seems, for the most part, to have followed the worst counsels, and those too of the worst advisers. Charles is the victim of persuasion, Charles the dupe of imposition, Charles the pageant of delusion; he is intimidated by fear or dazzled by hope; and carried about here and there, the common prey of every faction, whether they be friends or foes. Let them either erase these facts from their writings, or cease to extol the sagacity of Charles. Though therefore a superior degree of penetration is an honourable distinction, yet when a country is torn with factions, it is not without its inconveniencies; and the most discreet and cautious are most exposed to the calumnies of opposite factions. This often proved an obstacle in the way of Cromwell. Hence the presbyterians, and hence the enemy, impute every harsh treatment which they experience, not to the parliament but to Cromwell alone. They do not even hesitate to ascribe their own indiscretions and miscarriages to the fraud and treachery of Cromwell; against him every invective is levelled, and every censure passed. Indeed the flight of Charles to the Isle of Wight, which took place while Cromwell was at a distance, and was so sudden and unexpected, that he acquainted by letter every member then in the metropolis with the extraordinary occurrence. But this was the state of the case. The king, alarmed by the clamours of the whole army, which, neither softened by his intreaties nor his promises, had begun to demand his punishment, he determined to make his escape in the night with two trusty followers. But more determined to fly, than rightly knowing where to fly, he was induced, either by the ignorance or the cowardice of his attendants, to surrender himself to Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, whence he thought that he might easily be conveyed by ship into France or Holland. This is what I have learned concerning the king's flight to the Isle of Wight, from those who possessed the readiest means of obtaining information. This is also one of the criminal charges; that "the English under Cromwell procured a great victory over the Scots." Not "procured," Sir, but, without any solecism, gloriously atchieved. But consider how sanguinary that battle must have been, the mere idea of which excited such trembling apprehensions, that you could not mention it without striking your head against Priscian's pate. But let us see what was the great crime in Cromwell in having gained such a complete victory over the Scots, who were menacing England with invasion, with the loss of her independence. "During this confusion, while Cromwell is absent with his army:" yes, while he was engaged in subduing an enemy, who had marched into the very heart of the kingdom, and menaced the safety of the parliament: while he was employed in reducing the revolted Welsh to their obedience, whom he vanquished wherever he could overtake, and dispersed wherever he could find; the presbyterians "began to conceive a disgust against Cromwell." Here you speak the truth. While he is repelling the common enemy at the hazard of his life, and bravely defending their interests abroad, they are conspiring to ruin his reputation at home, and suborn

one Huntington to take away his life. Does not this atrocious instance of ingratitude excite our abhorrence and our rage? By their instigation a mob of worthless people, reeking from the taverns and the stews, besieges the doors of the parliament, and (O indignity) compels them by clamour and intimidation, to vote such measures as they chose to dictate. And we should now have seen our Camillus, on his return from Scotland, after all his triumphs, and all his toils, either driven into exile, or put to an ignominious death, if General Fairfax had not openly remonstrated against the disgrace of his invincible lieutenant; if the whole army, which had itself experienced a good deal of ill-treatment, had not interposed to prevent such atrocious proceedings. Entering the metropolis, they quelled the citizens without much difficulty; they deservedly expelled from the senate those members who favoured the hostile Scotch; the rest, delivered from the insolence of the rabble, broke off the conference which had begun with the king in the Isle of Wight, contrary to the express orders of the parliament. But Huntington the accuser was left to himself; and at last, struck with remorse, solicited the forgiveness of Cromwell, and confessed by whom he had been suborned. These are the principal charges, except those to which I have replied above, which are brought forward against this noble deliverer of his country. Of how little force they are, is very apparent. But, in speaking of such a man, who has merited so well of his country, I should do nothing, if I only exculpated him from crimes; particularly since it not only so nearly concerns the country, but even myself, who am so closely implicated in the same disgrace, to evince to all nations, and as far as I can, to all ages, the excellence of his character, and the splendour of his renown. Oliver Cromwell was sprung from a line of illustrious ancestors, who were distinguished for the civil functions which they sustained under the monarchy, and still more for the part which they took in restoring and establishing true religion in this country. In the vigour and maturity of his life, which he passed in retirement, he was conspicuous for nothing more than for the strictness of his religious habits and the innocence of his life; and he had tacitly cherished in his breast that flame of piety which was afterwards to stand him in so much stead on the greatest occasions, and in the most critical exigencies. In the last parliament which was called by the king, he was elected to represent his native town; when he soon became distinguished by the justness of his opinions, and the vigour and decision of his counsels. When the sword was drawn, he offered his services, and was appointed to a troop of horse, whose numbers were soon increased by the pious and the good, who flocked from all quarters to his standard; and in a short time he almost surpassed the greatest generals in the magnitude and the rapidity of his atchievements. Nor is this surprising; for he was a soldier disciplined to perfection in the knowledge of himself. He had either extinguished, or by habit had learned to subdue, the whole host of vain hopes, fears, and passions, which infest the soul. He first acquired the government of himself, and over himself acquired the most signal victories; so that on the first day he took the field against the external enemy, he was a veteran in arms, consummately practised in the toils and exigencies of war. It is not possible for me in the narrow limits in which I circumscribe myself on this occasion, to enumerate the many towns which he has taken, the many battles which he has won. The whole surface of the British empire has been the scene of his exploits, and the theatre of his triumphs; which alone would furnish ample materials for a history, and want a copiousness of narration not inferior to the magnitude and diversity of the transactions. This alone seems to be a sufficient proof of his extraordinary and almost supernatural virtue, that by the vigour of his genius, or the excellence of his discipline, adapted, not more to the necessities of war, than to the precepts of Christianity, the good and the brave were from all quarters attracted to his camp, not only as to the best school of military talents, but of piety and virtue; and that during the whole war, and the occasional intervals of peace, amid so many vicissitudes of faction and of events, he retained and still retains the obedience of his troops, not by largesses or indulgence, but by his sole authority, and the regularity of his pay. In this instance his fame may rival that of Cyrus, of Epaminondas, or any of the great generals of antiquity. Hence he collected an army as numerous and as well equipped as any one ever did in so short a time; which was uniformly obedient to his orders, and dear to the affections of the citizens; which was formidable to the enemy in the field, but never cruel to those who laid down their arms; which committed no lawless ravages on the persons or the property of the inhabitants; who, when they compared their conduct with the turbulence, the intemperance, the impiety, and the debauchery of the royalists, were wont to salute them as friends, and to consider them as guests. They were a stay to the good, a terror to the evil, and the warmest advocates for every exertion of piety and virtue. Nor would it be right to pass over the name of Fairfax, who united the utmost fortitude with the utmost courage; and the spotless innocence of whose life seemed to point him out as the peculiar favourite of heaven. Justly indeed may you be excited to receive this wreath of praise; though you have retired as much as possible from the world, and seek those shades of privacy which were the delight of Scipio. Nor was it only the enemy whom you subdued; but you have triumphed over that flame of ambition and that lust of glory, which are wont to make the best and the greatest of men their slaves. The purity of your virtues and the splendour of your actions consecrate those sweets of ease which you enjoy; and which constitute the wished-for haven of the toils of man. Such was the ease which, when the heroes of antiquity possessed, after a life of exertion and glory, not greater than yours, the poets, in despair of finding ideas or expressions better suited to the subject, feigned that they were received into heaven, and invited to recline at the tables of the gods. But whether it were your health, which I principally

believe, or any other motive which caused you to retire, of this I am convinced, that nothing could have induced you to relinquish the service of your country, if you had not known that in your successor liberty would meet with a protector, and England with a stay to its safety, and a pillar to its glory. For, while you, O Cromwell, are left among us, he hardly shews a proper confidence in the Supreme, who distrusts the security of England; when he sees that you are in so special a manner the favoured object of the divine regard. But there was another department of the war, which was destined for your exclusive exertions.

Without entering into any length of detail, I will, if possible, describe some of the most memorable actions, with as much brevity as you performed them with celerity. After the loss of all Ireland, with the exception of one city, you in one battle immediately discomfited the forces of the rebels: and were busily employed in settling the country, when you were suddenly recalled to the war in Scotland. Hence you proceeded with unwearied diligence against the Scots, who were on the point of making an irruption into England with the king in their train: and in about the space of one year you entirely subdued, and added to the English dominion, that kingdom which all our monarchs, during a period of 800 years, had in vain struggled to subject. In one battle you almost annihilated the remainder of their forces, who, in a fit of desperation, had made a sudden incursion into England, then almost destitute of garrisons, and got as far as Worcester; where you came up with them by forced marches, and captured almost the whole of their nobility. A profound peace ensued; when we found, though indeed not then for the first time, that you was as wise in the cabinet as valiant in the field. It was your constant endeavour in the senate either to induce them to adhere to those treaties which they had entered into with the enemy, or speedily to adjust others which promised to be beneficial to the country. But when you saw that the business was artfully procrastinated, that every one was more intent on his own selfish interest than on the public good, that the people complained of the disappointments which they had experienced, and the fallacious promises by which they had been gulled, that they were the dupes of a few overbearing individuals, you put an end to their domination. A new parliament is summoned: and the right of election given to those to whom it was expedient. They meet; but do nothing; and, after having wearied themselves by their mutual dissensions, and fully exposed their incapacity to the observation of the country, they consent to a voluntary dissolution. In this state of desolation, to which we were reduced, you, O Cromwell! alone remained to conduct the government, and to save the country. We all willingly yield the palm of sovereignty to your unrivalled ability and virtue, except the few among us, who, either ambitious of honours which they have not the capacity to sustain, or who envy those which are conferred on one more worthy than themselves, or else who do not know that nothing in the world is more pleasing to God, more agreeable to reason, more politically just, or more generally useful, than that the supreme power should be vested in the best and the wisest of men. Such, O Cromwell, all acknowledge you to be; such are the services which you have rendered, as the leader of our councils, the general of our armies, and the father of your country. For this is the tender appellation by which all the good among us salute you from the very soul. Other names you neither have nor could endure; and you deservedly reject that pomp of title which attracts the gaze and admiration of the multitude. For what is a title but a certain definite mode of dignity; but actions such as yours surpass, not only the bounds of our admiration, but our titles; and like the points of pyramids, which are lost in the clouds, they soar above the possibilities of titular commendation. But since, though it be not fit, it may be expedient, that the highest pitch of virtue should be circumscribed within the bounds of some human appellation, you endured to receive, for the public good, a title most like to that of the father of your country; not to exalt, but rather to bring you nearer to the level of ordinary men; the title of king was unworthy the transcendent majesty of your character. For if you had been captivated by a name over which, as a private man, you had so completely triumphed and crumbled into dust, you would have been doing the same thing as if, after having subdued some idolatrous nation by the help of the true God, you should afterwards fall down and worship the gods which you had vanquished. Do you then, Sir, continue your course with the same unrivalled magnanimity; it sits well upon you;—to you our country owes its liberties, nor can you sustain a character at once more momentous and more august than that of the author, the guardian, and the preserver of our liberties; and hence you have not only eclipsed the atchievements of all our kings, but even those which have been fabled of our heroes. Often reflect what a dear pledge the beloved land of your nativity has entrusted to your care; and that liberty which she once expected only from the chosen flower of her talents and her virtues, she now expects from you only, and by you only hopes to obtain. Revere the fond expectations which we cherish, the solicitudes of your anxious country; revere the looks and the wounds of your brave companions in arms, who, under your banners, have so strenuously fought for liberty; revere the shades of those who perished in the contest; revere also the opinions and the hopes which foreign states entertain concerning us, who promise to themselves so many advantages from that liberty, which we have so bravely acquired, from the establishment of that new government, which has begun to shed its splendour on the world, which, if it be suffered to vanish like a dream, would involve us in the deepest abyss of shame; and lastly revere yourself; and, after having endured so many sufferings and encountered so many perils for the sake of liberty, do not suffer it, now it is obtained, either to be violated by yourself, or in any one instance impaired by others. You cannot be truly free unless

we are free too; for such is the nature of things, that he, who entrenches on the liberty of others, is the first to lose his own and become a slave. But, if you, who have hitherto been the patron and tutelary genius of liberty, if you, who are exceeded by no one in justice, in piety, and goodness, should hereafter invade that liberty, which you have defended, your conduct must be fatally operative, not only against the cause of liberty, but the general interests of piety and virtue. Your integrity and virtue will appear to have evaporated, your faith in religion to have been small; your character with posterity will dwindle into insignificance, by which a most destructive blow will be levelled against the happiness of mankind. The work which you have undertaken is of incalculable moment, which will thoroughly sift and expose every principle and sensation of your heart, which will fully display the vigour and genius of your character, which will evince whether you really possess those great qualities of piety, fidelity, justice, and self-denial, which made us believe that you were elevated by the special direction of the Deity to the highest pinnacle of power. At once wisely and discreetly to hold the sceptre over three powerful nations, to persuade people to relinquish inveterate and corrupt for new and more beneficial maxims and institutions, to penetrate into the remotest parts of the country, to have the mind present and operative in every quarter, to watch against surprise, to provide against danger, to reject the blandishments of pleasure and the pomp of power;—these are exertions compared with which the labour of war is mere pastime; which will require every energy and employ every faculty that you possess; which demand a man supported from above, and almost instructed by immediate inspiration. These and more than these are, no doubt, the objects which occupy your attention and engross your soul; as well as the means by which you may accomplish these important ends, and render our liberty at once more ample and more secure. And this you can, in my opinion, in no other way so readily effect, as by associating in your councils the companions of your dangers and your toils; men of exemplary modesty, integrity, and courage; whose hearts have not been hardened in cruelty and rendered insensible to pity by the sight of so much ravage and so much death, but whom it has rather inspired with the love of justice, with a respect for religion, and with the feeling of compassion, and who are more zealously interested in the preservation of liberty, in proportion as they have encountered more perils in its defence. They are not strangers or foreigners, a hireling rout scraped together from the dregs of the people, but for the most part, men of the better conditions in life, of families not disgraced if not ennobled, of fortunes either ample or moderate; and what if some among them are recommended by their poverty? for it was not the lust of ravage which brought them into the field; it was the calamitous aspect of the times, which, in the most critical circumstances, and often amid the most disastrous turns of fortune, roused them to attempt the deliverance of their country from the fangs of despotism. They were men prepared, not only to debate, but to fight; not only to argue in the senate, but to engage the enemy in the field. But unless we will continually cherish indefinite and illusory expectations, I see not in whom we can place any confidence, if not in these men and such as these. We have the surest and most indubitable pledge of their fidelity in this, that they have already exposed themselves to death in the service of their country; of their piety in this, that they have been always wont to ascribe the whole glory of their successes to the favour of the Deity, whose help they have so suppliantly implored, and so conspicuously obtained; of their justice in this, that they even brought the king to trial, and when his guilt was proved, refused to save his life; of their moderation in our own uniform experience of its effects, and because, if by any outrage, they should disturb the peace which they have procured, they themselves will be the first to feel the miseries which it will occasion, the first to meet the havoc of the sword, and the first again to risk their lives for all these comforts and distinctions which they have so happily acquired; and lastly, of their fortitude in this, that there is no instance of any people who ever recovered their liberty with so much courage and success; and therefore let us not suppose, that there can be any persons who will be more zealous in preserving it. I now feel myself irresistibly compelled to commemorate the names of some of those who have most conspicuously signalized themselves in these times: and first thine, O Fleetwood! whom I have known from a boy, to the present blooming maturity of your military fame, to have been inferior to none in humanity, in gentleness, in benignity of disposition, whose intrepidity in the combat, and whose clemency in victory, have been acknowledged even by the enemy: next thine, O Lambert! who, with a mere handful of men, checked the progress, and sustained the attack, of the Duke of Hamilton, who was attended by the whole flower and vigour of the Scottish youth: next thine, O Desborough! and thine, O Hawley! who wast always conspicuous in the heat of the combat, and the thickest of the fight; thine, O Overton! who hast been most endeared to me now for so many years by the similitude of our studies, the suavity of your manners, and the more than fraternal sympathy of our hearts; you, who, in the memorable battle of Marston Moor, when our left wing was put to the rout, were beheld with admiration, making head against the enemy with your infantry and repelling his attack, amid the thickest of the carnage; and lastly you, who in the Scotch war, when under the auspices of Cromwell, occupied the coast of Fife, opened a passage beyond Stirling, and made the Scotch of the west, and of the north, and even the remotest Orkneys, confess your humanity, and submit to your power. Besides these, I will mention some as celebrated for their political wisdom and their civil virtues, whom you, Sir, have admitted into your councils, and who are known to me by friendship or by fame. Whitlocke, Pickering, Strickland, Sydenham, Sydney, (a name indissolubly attached to the interests of liberty,) Montacute, Laurence, both of highly cultivated minds

and polished taste; besides many other citizens of singular merit, some of whom were distinguished by their exertions in the senate, and others in the field. To these men, whose talents are so splendid, and whose worth has been so thoroughly tried, you would without doubt do right to trust the protection of our liberties; nor would it be easy to say to whom they might more safely be entrusted. Then, if you leave the church to its own government, and relieve yourself and the other public functionaries from a charge so onerous, and so incompatible with your functions; and will no longer suffer two powers, so different as the civil and the ecclesiastical, to commit fornication together, and by their mutual and delusive aids in appearance to strengthen, but in reality to weaken and finally to subvert, each other; if you shall remove all power of persecution out of the church, (but persecution will never cease, so long as ~ bribed to preach the gospel by a mercenary s forcibly extorted, rather than gratuit- d, which serves only to poison religion ,le truth,) you will then effectually have oney-changers out of the temple, who do truckle with doves but with the dove itself, pirit of the Most High. Then, since there in a republic men who have the same itch ng a multiplicity of laws, as some poetasters r making many verses, and since laws are worse in proportion as they are more numerous, shall not enact so many new laws as you abolish hich do not operate so much as warnings against s impediments in the way of good; and if you tain only those which are necessary, which do ound the distinctions of good and evil, which, y prevent the frauds of the wicked, do not pro- innocent freedoms of the good, which punish ithout interdicting those things which are ly on account of the abuses to which they ionally be exposed. For the intention of heck the commission of vice, but liberty is ool of virtue, and affords the strongest en- ts to the practice. Then if you make a ion for the education of our youth than has made, if you prevent the promiscuous in- ne docile and the indocile, of the idle and t the public cost, but reserve the rewards the learned, and of merit for the meri- ou permit the free discussion of truth zard to the author, or any subjection to n individual, which is the best way to urish and knowledge abound, the cen- learned, the envy, the pusillanimity, or ich measures the discoveries of others, degree of wisdom, by the measure of will be prevented from doling out in- cording to their own arbitrary choice. not dread to hear any truth, or any it may be, but if you shall least of ho think that they can never be f others depend on their caprice, with so much zeal and ve- only the bodies but the minds P

of men, who labour to introduce into the state the worst of all tyrannies, the tyranny of their own depraved habits and pernicious opinions; you will always be dear to those, who think not merely that their own sect or faction, but that all citizens of all descriptions, should enjoy equal rights and equal laws. If there be any one who thinks that this is not liberty enough, he appears to me to be rather inflamed with the lust of ambition, or of anarchy, than with the love of a genuine and well regulated liberty; and particularly since the circumstances of the country, which has been so convulsed by the storms of faction, which are yet hardly still, do not permit us to adopt a more perfect or desirable form of government.

For it is of no little consequence, O citizens, by what principles you are governed, either in acquiring liberty, or in retaining it when acquired. And unless that liberty, which is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, which alone is the fruit of piety, of justice, of temperance and unadulterated virtue, shall have taken deep root in your minds and hearts, there will not long be wanting one who will snatch from you by treachery what you have acquired by arms. War has made many great whom peace makes small. If after being released from the toils of war, you neglect the arts of peace, if your peace and your liberty be a state of warfare, if war be your only virtue, the summit of your praise, you will, believe me, soon find peace the most adverse to your interests. Your peace will be only a more distressing war; and that which you imagined liberty will prove the worst of slavery. Unless by the means of piety, not frothy and loquacious, but operative, unadulterated, and sincere, you clear the horizon of the mind from those mists of superstition, which arise from the ignorance of true religion, you will always have those who will bend your necks to the yoke as if you were brutes, who notwithstanding all your triumphs will put you up to the highest bidder, as if you were mere booty made in war: and will find an exuberant source of wealth in your ignorance and superstition. Unless you will subjugate the propensity to avarice, to ambition, and sensuality, and expel all luxury from yourselves and from your families, you will find that you have cherished a more stubborn and intractable despot at home, than you ever encountered in the field; and even your very bowels will be continually teeming with an intolerable progeny of tyrants. Let these be the first enemies whom you subdue; this constitutes the campaign of peace; these are triumphs, difficult indeed, but bloodless; and far more honourable than those trophies, which are purchased only by slaughter and by rapine. Unless you are victors in this service, it is in vain that you have been victorious over the despotic enemy in the field. For if you think that it is a more grand, a more beneficial, or a more wise policy, to invent subtle expedients for increasing the revenue, to multiply our naval and military force, to rival in craft the ambassadors of foreign states, to form skilful treaties and alliances, than to administer unpolluted justice to the people, to redress the injured, and to succour the distressed, and

speedily to restore to every one his own, you are involved in a cloud of error; and too late will you perceive, when the illusion of those mighty benefits has vanished, that in neglecting these, which you now think inferior considerations, you have only been precipitating your own ruin and despair. The fidelity of enemies and allies is frail and perishing, unless it be cemented by the principles of justice; that wealth and those honours, which most covet, readily change masters; they forsake the idle, and repair where virtue, where industry, where patience flourish most. Thus nation precipitates the downfall of nation; thus the more sound part of one people subverts the more corrupt; thus you obtained the ascendant over the royalists. If you plunge into the same depravity, if you imitate their excesses, and hanker after the same vanities, you will become royalists as well as they, and liable to be subdued by the same enemies, or by others in your turn; who, placing their reliance on the same religious principles, the same patience, the same integrity and discretion which made you strong, will deservedly triumph over you, who are immersed in debauchery, in the luxury and the sloth of kings. Then, as if God was weary of protecting you, you will be seen to have passed through the fire that you might perish in the smoke; the contempt which you will then experience will be great as the admiration which you now enjoy; and, what may in future profit others, but cannot benefit yourselves, you will leave a salutary proof what great things the solid reality of virtue and of piety might have effected, when the mere counterfeit and varnished resemblance could attempt such mighty atchievements, and make such considerable advances towards the execution. For, if either through your want of knowledge, your want of constancy, or your want of virtue, attempts so noble, and actions so glorious, have had an issue so unfortunate, it does not therefore follow, that better men should be either less daring in their projects or less sanguine in their hopes. But from such an abyss of corruption into which you so readily fall, no one not even Cromwell himself, nor a whole nation of Brutuses, if they were alive, could deliver you if they would, or would deliver you if they could. For who would vindicate your right of unrestrained suffrage, or of choosing what representatives you liked best, merely that you might elect the creatures of your own faction, whoever they might be, or him, however small might be his worth, who would give you the most lavish feasts, and enable you to drink to the greatest excess? Thus not wisdom and authority, but turbulence and gluttony, would soon exalt the vilest miscreants from our taverns and our brothels, from our towns and villages, to the rank and dignity of senators. For, should the management of the republic be entrusted to persons to whom no one would willingly entrust the management of his private concerns; and the treasury of the state be left to the care of those who had lavished their own fortunes in an infamous prodigality? Should they have the charge of the public purse, which they would soon convert into a private, by their unprincipled peculations? Are they fit to be the legislators of a whole people who themselves know not what law, what reason, what right and wrong, what crooked and straight, what licit and illicit means? who think that all power consists in outrage, all dignity in the parade of insolence? who neglect every other consideration for the corrupt gratification of their friendships, or the prosecution of their resentments? who disperse their own relations and creatures through the provinces, for the sake of levying taxes and confiscating goods; men, for the greater part, the most profligate and vile, who buy up for themselves what they pretend to expose to sale, who thence collect an exorbitant mass of wealth, which they fraudulently divert from the public service; who thus spread their pillage through the country, and in a moment emerge from penury and rags, to a state of splendour and of wealth? Who could endure such thievish servants, such vicegerents of thei[illegible]? Who could believe that the masters and a banditti could be the proper guardians [illegible] who would suppose that he should ever [illegible] hair more free by such a set of public fu[illegible] (though they might amount to five hundre[illegible] this manner from the counties and boroug[illegible] among them who are the very guardians o[illegible] and to whose custody it is committed, there [illegible] so many, who know not either how to use or t[illegible] liberty, who either understand the principles o[illegible] the possession? But what is worthy of remark, who are the most unworthy of liberty, are wo[illegible] behave most ungratefully towards their deli[illegible] Among such persons, who would be willing ei[illegible] fight for liberty, or to encounter the least peri[illegible] defence? It is not agreeable to the nature of that such persons ever should be free. Howe[illegible] they may brawl about liberty, they are slave[illegible] home and abroad, but without perceiving it; [illegible] they do perceive it, like unruly horses, that are of the bit, they will endeavour to throw off th[illegible] from the love of genuine liberty, (which a goo[illegible] loves and knows how to obtain,) but from t[illegible] of pride and little passions. But though t[illegible] tempt it by arms, they will make no adv[illegible] execution; they may change their mast[illegible] never be able to get rid of their servitude happened to the ancient Romans, wasted [illegible] enervated by luxury: and it has still m[illegible] fate of the moderns; when after a long i[illegible] they aspired under the auspices of Cres[illegible] tanus, and afterwards of Nicolas Ren[illegible] assumed the title of Tribune of the Pe[illegible] the splendour and re-establish the go[illegible] cient Rome. For, instead of fretting thinking that you can lay the blam[illegible] yourselves, know that to be free is th[illegible] to be pious, to be wise, to be temper[illegible] frugal and abstinent, and lastly, t[illegible] and brave; so to be the opposit[illegible] same as to be a slave; and it u[illegible] appointment, and as it were r[illegible] Deity, that that people whic[illegible]

selves, and moderate their passions, but crouch under the slavery of their lusts, should be delivered up to the sway of those whom they abhor, and made to submit to an involuntary servitude. It is also sanctioned by the dictates of justice and by the constitution of nature, that he, who from the imbecility or derangement of his intellect is incapable of governing himself, should, like a minor, be committed to the government of another; and least of all, should he be appointed to superintend the affairs of others or the interest of the state. You therefore, who wish to remain free, either instantly be wise, or, as soon as possible, cease to be fools; if you think slavery an intolerable evil, learn obedience to reason and the government of yourselves; and finally bid adieu to your dissensions, your jealousies, your superstitions, your outrages, your rapine, and your lusts. Unless you will spare no pains to effect this, you must be judged unfit, both by God and mankind, to be entrusted with the possession of liberty and the administration of the government; but will rather, like a nation in a state of pupillage, want some active and courageous guardian to undertake the management of your affairs. With respect to myself, whatever turn things may take, I thought that my exertions on the present occasion would be serviceable to my country, and, as they have been cheerfully bestowed, I hope that they have not been bestowed in vain. And I have not circumscribed my defence of liberty within any petty circle around me, but have made it so general and comprehensive, that the justice and the reasonableness of such uncommon occurrences explained and defended, both among my countrymen and among foreigners, and which all good men cannot but approve, may serve to exalt the glory of my country, and to excite the imitation of posterity. If the conclusion do not answer to the beginning, that is their concern; I have delivered my testimony, I would almost say, have erected a monument, that will not readily be destroyed, to the reality of those singular and mighty atchievements, which were above all praise. As the Epic Poet, who adheres at all to the rules of that species of composition, does not profess to describe the whole life of the hero whom he celebrates, but only some particular action of his life, as the resentment of Achilles at Troy, the return of Ulysses, or the coming of Æneas into Italy; so it will be sufficient, either for my justification or apology, that I have heroically celebrated at least one exploit of my countrymen; I pass by the rest, for who could recite the atchievements of a whole people? If after such a display of courage and of vigour, you basely relinquish the path of virtue, if you do any thing unworthy of yourselves, posterity will sit in judgment on your conduct. They will see that the foundations were well laid; that the beginning (nay it was more than a beginning) was glorious; but, with deep emotions of concern will they regret, that those were wanting who might have completed the structure. They will lament that perseverance was not conjoined with such exertions and such virtues. They will see that there was a rich harvest of glory, and an opportunity afforded for the greatest atchievements, but that men only were wanting for the execution; while they were not wanting who could rightly counsel, exhort, inspire, and bind an unfading wreath of praise round the brows of the illustrious actors in so glorious a scene.